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FROM THE BEQUEST OF
EDWIN CONANT
Class of 1829
OF WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

SHANGHAE ALMANAC

For the Bissextile or Leap Year

1856,
AND MISCELLANY.

THE PORT OF SHANGHAE IS IN NORTH LATITUDE $31^{\circ} 15' 41''$,

AND EAST LONGITUDE $121^{\circ} 20' 6''$;

VARIATION OF THE NEEDLE $20'$ EASTERLY.

China New Year,

FALLS ON THE 6TH FEBRUARY.

PRINTED AT THE "N.-C. HERALD" OFFICE,

Shanghai.

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Ch 2.19
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TO THE PUBLIC.

THE COMPILER in presenting his "FIFTH VOLUME" of the *Shanghai Almanac and Miscellany* to the public, has collected every thing useful and interesting that came within his reach. He begs to thank his many valuable Contributors for their gratuitous and welcome assistance; and hopes a continuance of the liberal support the work has hitherto enjoyed will be extended to the present volume.

"North-China Herald" Office,
Shanghae, 31st December, 1855.

K A L E N D A R

FOR THE BISSEXTILE OR LEAP YEAR

1856,

BEING THE 19-20TH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF

HER PRESENT MAJESTY

Queen Victoria,

(ACCESSION 20TH JUNE, 1837.)

AND THE 5-6TH YEAR OF HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY

HIEN-FUNG;

ALSO,

A MISCELLANY.

CONTENTS OF THE

—Kalendar:—

1. Moveable Festivals and Fixed Fasts and Festivals.
2. Eclipses of the Sun and Moon.
3. Phases of the Moon.
4. Thermometrical Observations for several years.
5. Decimal Fractions of a Rupee and a Catty.
6. Perpetual Tide Table.
7. Rates of Postage.
8. Sailing Directions for the Navigation of the Yang-tze-keang to Woosung and Shanghai, &c., &c., with latest corrections.
9. Monthly Kalendar and Memoranda.
10. Conditions of Residence of Chinese within the Foreign Limits. [Port of Shanghai.
11. Return of Foreign Shipping and Tea Export at the
12. Rates of Labor in San Francisco, March 1855.
13. List of Foreign Residents at Shanghai, Augt. 1855.
14. List of Foreign Residents at Ningpo, Dec. 1855.
15. List of Foreign Hongs at Shanghai, Dec. 1855.
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LEAP OR BISSEXTILE YEAR.

MOVEABLE FESTIVALS, &c.,

For A. D. 1856.

January	20, Septuagesima Sunday.
Feby.	6, Ash Wednesday.
March	25, Easter Day.
April	27, Rogation Sunday.
May	1, Ascension Day.
"	11, Whit Sunday.
"	18, Trinity Sunday.
	<i>N.R.</i> —Sundays after Trinity 27.
Novbr.	30, Advent Sunday.

FIXED FESTIVALS & FASTS.

January	1, Circumcision.
"	6, Epiphany.
"	25, Conversion of St. Paul.
"	30, Martyrdom of King Charleat 1st.
Feby.	2, Purification of Virgin Mary.
"	24, St. Matthias Apostle.
March	21, St. Benedict Abbot.
"	25, Annunciation of Virgin Mary.
April	4, St. Ambrose.
"	23, St. George.
"	25, St. Mark Evangelist.
May	19, St. Dunstan Archbishop.
"	26, Augustine Archbishop.
"	29, King Charles II. restored.
June	5, Boniface Bishop.
"	11, St. Barnabas Apostle.
"	17, St. Alban martyr.
"	24, St. John Baptist.
"	29, St. Peter Apostle.
July	2, Visitation of Virgin Mary.
"	15, St. Swithin Bishop.
"	22, St. Mary Magdalene.
"	25, St. James Apostle.
August	6, Transfiguration.
"	7, Naming of Jesus.
"	24, St. Bartholomew.
"	28, St. Augustine Bishop.
"	29, St. John Baptist beheaded.
Septbr.	8, Nativity of Virgin Mary.
"	21, St. Matthew Apostle.
"	29, St. Michael.
"	30, St. Jerome.
October	9, St. Denis.
"	18, St. Luke Evangelist.
"	28, St. Simon and St. Jude.
Novbr.	1, All Saints' Day.
"	5, Guy Fawkes' plot discovered.
"	30, St. Andrew Apostle.
Decbr.	8, Conception of Virgin Mary.
"	21, St. Thomas Apostle.
"	25, CHRISTMAS DAY.
"	26, St. Stephen Martyr.
"	27, St. John Evangelist.
"	28, Innocents' Day.

Golden number 14—Epect 23—Sunday Letter F. E.—
Sunday after Epiphany one.

ECLIPSES OF THE SUN AND MOON,

1856,

IN SHANGHAI MEAN TIME.

I.—April 5th, 1856.—A TOTAL ECLIPSE OF THE SUN, invisible at Shanghai:—

Begins,..... 1 h. 4 m. P.M.

Central Eclipse at noon,..... 1 h. 23 m. ,,

Ends, 3 h. 10 m. ,,

The line of Total Eclipse passes through Australia and bends South-west towards the South Pole.

II.—April 20th.—A PARTIAL ECLIPSE OF THE MOON, visible at Shanghai for a short time after sunset:—

Begins,..... 8 h. 40 m. P.M.

Middle,..... 5 h. 12 m. ,,

Ends, 6 h. 45 m. ,,

Seven tenths of the Moon's disc will be obscured.

III.—September 29th.—AN ANNULAR ECLIPSE OF THE SUN.—The shadow will be partially visible at Shanghai:—

Central Eclipse Begins, 11 h. 26 m. A.M.

do. do. Ends, 12 h. 44 m. P.M.

The line of Central and Annular Eclipse passes out of the North Polar Sea above Kamtschatka into the North Pacific Ocean.

The line where the shadow just touches the Sun's disc passes across central Asia and central China into the Pacific Ocean.

IV.—October 14th.—A PARTIAL ECLIPSE OF THE MOON, visible at Shanghai:—

Begins,..... 5 h. 27 m. A.M.

Middle, 7 h. 0 m. ,,

Ends, 8 h. 33 m. ,,

The obscuration of the Moon's disc will be nearly total.

PHASES OF THE MOON,

1856,

IN SHANGHAI MEAN TIME.

		<i>h. m.</i>
<i>January</i>	8,—New Moon,.....	7. 23. A.M.
	14,—Moon's First Quarter,....	11. 49. P.M.
	22,—Full Moon,.....	11. 35. A.M.
	30,—Moon's Last Quarter,....	4. 41. P.M.
	10,—Moon in Perigee,.....	4. —. "
<i>February</i>	26,—Moon in Apogee,.....	4. —. "
	6,—New Moon,.....	6. 42. P.M.
	13,—Moon's First Quarter,....	10. 18. A.M.
	21,—Full Moon,.....	5. 46. "
	29,—Moon's Last Quarter,....	9. 48. "
<i>March</i>	7,—Moon in Perigee,.....	9. —. P.M.
	23,—Moon in Apogee,.....	3. —. A.M.
	7,—New Moon,.....	4. 45. A.M.
	15,—Moon's First Quarter,....	10. 42. P.M.
	22,—Full Moon,.....	11. A.M.
<i>April</i>	29,—Moon's Last Quarter,....	10. 37. P.M.
	7,—Moon in Perigee,.....	9. —. A.M.
	21,—Moon in Apogee,.....	4. —. "
	5,—New Moon,.....	1. 59. P.M.
	12,—Moon's First Quarter,....	12. 58. "
<i>May</i>	20,—Full Moon,.....	5. 20. "
	28,—Moon's Last Quarter,....	7. 32. A.M.
	4,—Moon in Perigee,.....	8. —. P.M.
	17,—Moon in Apogee,.....	11. —. A.M.
	4,—New Moon,.....	10. 48. P.M.
<i>June</i>	12,—Moon's First Quarter,....	4. 51. A.M.
	20,—Full Moon,.....	8. 3. "
	27,—Moon's Last Quarter,....	1. 39. P.M.
	3,—Moon in Perigee,.....	3. —. A.M.
	15,—Moon in Apogee,.....	2. —. "
<i>July</i>	30,—Moon in Perigee,.....	8. —. P.M.
	8,—New Moon,.....	7. 46. A.M.
	16,—Moon's First Quarter,....	9. 56. P.M.
	24,—Full Moon,.....	7. 58. "
	31,—Moon's Last Quarter,....	6. 23. "
<i>August</i>	8,—Moon in Apogee,.....	8. —. P.M.
	17,—Moon in Perigee,.....	3. —. "
	25,—New Moon,.....	11. 32. A.M.
	3,—Full Moon,.....	4. 19. "
	11,—Moon's Last Quarter,....	2. 50. P.M.
<i>September</i>	19,—New Moon,.....	4. 51. "
	27,—Moon in Perigee,.....	8. —. P.M.
	5,—Moon in Apogee,.....	2. —. "
	13,—New Moon,.....	5. 36. P.M.
	21,—Moon's First Quarter,....	3. 28. "
<i>October</i>	29,—Full Moon,.....	5. 37. A.M.
	6,—Moon's Last Quarter,....	11. 8. P.M.
	14,—Moon in Apogee,.....	2. —. P.M.
	22,—Moon in Perigee,.....	2. —. "
	30,—New Moon,.....	7. 20. P.M.
<i>November</i>	8,—Moon's First Quarter,....	5. 14. A.M.
	16,—Moon's First Quarter,....	8. 28. "
	24,—Full Moon,.....	2. 1. P.M.
	3,—Moon's Last Quarter,....	5. 13. A.M.
	11,—New Moon,.....	7. 20. P.M.
<i>December</i>	19,—Moon in Apogee,.....	8. —. A.M.
	27,—Moon in Perigee,.....	9. —. P.M.
	5,—Moon's First Quarter,....	3. A.M.
	13,—Full Moon,.....	10. 14. P.M.
	21,—Moon's Last Quarter,....	1. 54. "

		<i>h. m.</i>
<i>January</i>	2,—New Moon,.....	5. 36. P.M.
	10,—Moon's First Quarter,....	3. 28. "
	18,—Full Moon,.....	5. 37. A.M.
	26,—Moon's Last Quarter,....	11. 8. P.M.
	9,—Moon in Apogee,.....	2. —. P.M.
<i>February</i>	21,—Moon in Perigee,.....	2. —. "
	1,—New Moon,.....	5. 14. A.M.
	9,—Moon's First Quarter,....	8. 28. "
	16,—Full Moon,.....	2. 1. P.M.
	23,—Moon's Last Quarter,....	5. 13. A.M.
<i>March</i>	30,—New Moon,.....	7. 20. P.M.
	6,—Moon in Apogee,.....	8. —. A.M.
	18,—Moon in Perigee,.....	9. —. P.M.
	8,—Moon's First Quarter,....	5. A.M.
	14,—Full Moon,.....	10. 14. P.M.
<i>April</i>	21,—Moon's Last Quarter,....	1. 54. "
	29,—New Moon,.....	11. 54. A.M.
	2,—Moon in Apogee,.....	11. —. P.M.
	15,—Moon in Perigee,.....	4. —. "
	30,—Moon in Apogee,.....	7. —. A.M.
<i>May</i>	7,—Moon's First Quarter,....	1. 44. P.M.
	14,—Full Moon,.....	7. 5. A.M.
	21,—Moon's Last Quarter,....	2. 12. "
	29,—New Moon,.....	6. 1. "
	14,—Moon in Perigee,.....	3. —. P.M.
<i>June</i>	27,—Moon in Apogee,.....	9. —. A.M.
	6,—Moon's First Quarter,....	1. 28. A.M.
	12,—Full Moon,.....	5. 1. P.M.
	19,—Moon's Last Quarter,....	6. 40. "
	28,—New Moon,.....	7. A.M.
<i>July</i>	11,—Moon in Perigee,.....	2. —. P.M.
	23,—Moon in Apogee,.....	8. —. "
	5,—Moon's First Quarter,....	11. 32. A.M.
	12,—Full Moon,.....	4. 19. "
	19,—Moon's Last Quarter,....	2. 50. P.M.
<i>August</i>	27,—New Moon,.....	4. 51. "
	9,—Moon in Perigee,.....	8. —. P.M.
	21,—Moon in Apogee,.....	2. —. "
	29,—Moon's First Quarter,....	11. 32. A.M.
	6,—Full Moon,.....	4. 19. "

ABSTRACT

OF

OBSERVATIONS BY THE THERMOMETER,

IN THE OPEN AIR,

IN A SHADED SITUATION WITH A SOUTHERN EXPOSURE ;

THE MAXIMUM BY DAY, AND THE MINIMUM FOR THE NIGHT,

TAKEN BY A SELF-REGISTERING THERMOMETER ;

YEARS									YEARS								
1849 a November 1855									1849 a November 1855								
	Max. by day.	Min. by day.	Max. by night.	Min. by night.	Average by day.	Average by night.	Rainy days.	Rain Table.		Max. by day.	Min. by day.	Max. by night.	Min. by night.	Average by day.	Average by night.	Rainy days.	Rain Table.
Jan. 1849	60	30	45	17	46	33	8	.....	July 1849	93	73	79	64	84	73	12	.....
....1850	65	32	42	24	46	32	8	.....	....1850	93	70	80	67	85	76	10	.....
....1851	65	42	45	24	51	33	7	1 1/2 in.	1851	96	70	81	66	88	75	7	4 1/2 in.
....1852	66	25	40	18	48	30	3	1 in.	1852	100	82	81	75	92	78	8	3 1/2 in.
....1853	66	30	43	18	45	30	10	10 1/2 in.	1853	99	83	81	77	90	80	2	3 1/2 in.
....1854	67	32	53	24	51	37	9	3 in.	1854	98	72	84	70	88	78	13	14 in.
....1855	52	33	40	18	44	25	4	1 1/2 in.	1855	94	82	82	73	89	78	8	5 in.
Feb. 1849	63	40	48	30	49	41	14	.....	Aug. 1849	96	77	80	70	88	76	9	.....
....1850	58	32	43	25	45	33	9	.....	....1850	100	85	81	68	90	77	4	.....
....1851	65	38	42	26	49	34	10	2 in.	1851	93	76	82	63	87	77	11	9 in.
....1852	60	38	40	19	45	31	13	2 in.	1852	94	82	82	67	88	76	7	3 1/2 in.
....1853	56	33	40	20	45	31	11	1 in.	1853	95	82	80	70	86	73	13	13 1/2 in.
....1854	62	32	43	25	44	32	12	5 in.	1854	99	75	81	65	89	79	10	8 in.
....1855	68	35	45	18	51	30	5	4 in.	1855	99	83	81	75	87	78	12	7 1/2 in.
Mar. 1849	72	40	56	31	54	42	9	.....	Sep. 1849	89	70	77	60	79	71	5	.....
....1850	75	44	49	29	58	39	3	.....	....1850	83	71	77	62	82	67	14	.....
....1851	63	40	55	28	52	41	16	6 1/2 in.	1851	89	66	77	51	78	67	11	4 1/2 in.
....1852	62	43	45	33	51	38	12	3 1/2 in.	1852	92	70	79	56	79	66	10	6 1/2 in.
....1853	67	46	57	35	56	42	10	5 in.	1853	90	70	78	64	82	70	12	7 1/2 in.
....1854	67	42	47	32	52	41	10	3 1/2 in.	1854	90	66	79	59	80	69	9	4 in.
....1855	72	36	57	30	55	41	11	5 1/2 in.	1855	88	70	78	58	81	70	8	4 1/2 in.
Apr. 1849	75	45	64	33	61	49	10	.....	Oct. 1849	80	57	66	37	73	56	..	.....
....1850	78	54	57	35	63	47	11	.....	....1850	82	63	70	48	73	61	9	2 1/2 in.
....1851	70	50	56	33	59	48	21	9 1/2 in.	1851	90	57	72	43	70	51	10	1 1/2 in.
....1852	72	50	61	35	62	48	10	1 in.	1852	83	62	70	49	74	58	4	2 1/2 in.
....1853	79	50	60	38	63	50	17	6 1/2 in.	1853	88	65	77	46	73	60	6	1 1/2 in.
....1854	75	56	60	40	64	49	10	2 in.	1854	88	63	70	50	74	60	5	1 in.
....1855	82	52	67	37	63	51	15	11 1/2 in.	1855	80	65	69	45	73	58	3	1 1/2 in.
May 1849	87	60	68	47	72	58	11	.....	Nov. 1849	73	46	55	31	60	45	4	.....
....1850	85	54	73	46	74	61	7	.....	....1850	80	44	62	25	63	48	7	2 1/2 in.
....1851	83	60	68	47	70	57	5	2 1/2 in.	1851	76	55	60	41	66	48	10	4 1/2 in.
....1852	84	60	68	52	73	60	8	1 1/2 in.	1852	80	53	62	32	64	48	2	7 in.
....1853	86	62	68	50	72	59	11	4 in.	1853	76	48	65	32	66	50	14	4 1/2 in.
....1854	84	64	70	37	73	61	15	5 1/2 in.	1854	76	52	60	31	66	45	3	1 1/2 in.
....1855	90	60	73	50	74	63	18	8 1/2 in.	1855	78	55	62	33	62	49	11	4 in.
June 1849	84	69	75	60	75	66	21	.....	Dec. 1849	72	42	54	25	54	37	11	.....
....1850	90	65	75	62	79	69	10	.....	....1850	72	45	45	25	58	36	2	.....
....1851	83	68	75	60	77	67	10	11 in.	1851	64	45	47	25	54	36	5	.....
....1852	99	66	81	58	81	73	17	5 1/2 in.	1852	65	42	52	19	54	32	1	.....
....1853	93	70	78	59	81	69	13	4 in.	1853	66	40	46	27	54	38	3	.....
....1854	90	71	80	62	79	69	10	7 1/2 in.	1854	66	40	46	26	55	39	4	
....1855	90	73	79	56	79	70	7	5 in.	1855	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	

DECIM.

ANNA OF A RUP.

1,.....	1
2,.....	—
3,.....	—
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5,.....	—
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PICE

1,.....	1
2,.....	1
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PICE

1,.....	1
2,.....	1
3,.....	1
4,.....	1
5,.....	1
6,.....	1

CHINESE CALCULATION

FOREIGN &

DAYS OF MOON.

1, 2, 3,.....	
4, 5,	
6, 7, 8,.....	
9, 10,	
11, 12, 13,.....	
14, 15,	
16, 17, 18,.....	
19, 20,	
21, 22, 23,.....	
24, 25,	
26, 27, 28,.....	
29, 30,	

.....	5, 6,
.....	7, 8,
.....	9, 10,
.....	11, 12,
.....	1, 2,

The above is a constant measure
Tide

approximation to the *Flow* and *Ebb* of the
for general purposes.

Sailing Directions for the Navigation of the Yang-tsze-kiang to Wusung and Shanghai, &c., &c.

ERRATA.

2d page, 1st paragraph, 18th line, the word "rendevous" read *rendezvous*—also on the same page and paragraph last line, insert word *going* after "Compass signal."

3d ,, 6th paragraph, 2d line, for "alternatively" read *alternatingly*.

3d ,, 6th ,, 3d ,, for "river edge" read *inner* or *southern edge*.

3d ,, 6th ,, 15th ,, for "as obstructions" read *on obstructions*.

7th ,, 2d ,, 5th ,, for bears above W.S.W. read bears *about*, &c.

7th ,, 3d ,, 13th ,, insert the words *clump of* between "The second" and "large bushy trees" so that it will read *The second clump of large bushy trees*—and in the next line read *point* for *part*, and "over the square," &c., for *of the square*, &c.

8th ,, 5th paragraph, 2d line, read *use of a ground log*, for "rise of a ground log," also last line but one of remarks on "the *Tides*" read *at a quarter ebb* instead of "at a quarter *flood*" as printed.

9th ,, Heading of the Temperature read *minimum* by night, instead of "maximum."

A comma after the word generally,* so that it will read Chinese Coast generally, and the letter *s* omitted from the word "holds" in the remark respecting Barometrical observations.

Add also to the memorandum respecting the Pilots, next above signature:—"The authorized Pilot's Flag is half red and half white horizontally striped with the boat's number in black across the stripes.

* Ninth page, fourth paragraph, fourth line.



UNITED STATES CONSULATE,
Shanghai, November 3d, 1855.

THE within Report and Sailing Directions for the entrance to this Port
by Lieut. PREBLE, U. S. Navy, are published for general information.

R. C. MURPHY,
Consul U. S. A.



SHANGHAI, *November 3rd, 1855.*

SIR,—Agreeably to an order from Commodore Joel Abbot, Commander-in-Chief of the U. S. Naval Forces in the East India and China Seas, &c., &c., to me directed under date July 25th, 1855, to co-operate with you in carrying out an agreement entered into between yourself and His Excellency Chaou with reference to the marking and buoying the Yang-tse-kiang dated July 21st, 1855. I have the honor to report that the following marks, &c., for improving the navigation of the Yang-tse-kiang up to Wúsung have been decided upon and are now being placed and erected at the expense of the Chinese Authorities.

FIRST.—A Light vessel of one hundred and thirty-one tons burthen has been moored with heavy chains and anchor in four fathoms of water at Low Water spring tides, near the Southwestern extremity of the South Eastern part of the North Tung-sha Banks. This vessel is placed in Latitude by observation $31^{\circ} 09' 15''$ N. Longitude by the mean of several observations by the three Chronometers of the U. S. S. *Macedonia* $121^{\circ} 59' E$: and bears by Compass from the centre of Gutzlaff N.N.W. from which she is distant 25 miles. This position places her on the inner edge of the outer bar marked on Collinson's Chart of the river, and well up towards the North bank. In working in she should never be brought to the Westward of W. by N. in a ship of heavy draft, or to the Southward of West with a smaller vessel. The Light ship will be readily distinguished from ordinary cruising vessels, from having her two lower masts and topmasts only aloft, and from her hull and masts being painted a bright red, also from having inverted Cones of basket work six feet in diameter placed over each of her topmast heads. For the present at night she will hoist an ordinary ship's light until a better one can be provided. She is provided with a set of Marryat's Signals in order to communicate when requisite, with vessels in the offing. She has on board a European Captain and Chinese crew to attend her, and it is hoped will prove a rendezvous for the European Pilots whence they can board in-bound vessels. It is proposed that when from her a stranger is observed to be running into any danger, she first fire a gun to attract his attention and then hoist Marryat's Signal in Part V. No. 1680. "Vessel is running into danger" followed by the Compass signal the course to be steered to avoid it.

SECOND.—Contracts have been entered into for building a Beacon tower of masonry to be twenty feet square at its base, and fifty feet high, and tapering off to ten feet square at that altitude, and to be surmounted by a mast or spar fifty additional feet thus making its whole height one hundred feet.

This Beacon will be erected on the South shore near what is known to pilots and others as the "Three Trees." When completed the Beacon is to be white washed, and the mast painted black to afford the most distinguishable contrasts and will be seen in any ordinarily clear day before losing sight of the hull of the Light Ship.

THIRD.—A Large *nun buoy* painted *red* has been placed upon the South Eastern extremity of the Wúsung North spit in three fathoms water at Lowest spring tides.

FOURTH.—A Large *nun buoy* painted *black* has been placed upon the North Eastern extremity of the Wúsung South spit in three and-a-half fathoms water at Lowest spring tides.

FIFTH.—The three poles on the inner angle of the stone fortification on the right or Northernmost bank at Wúsung, used as leading marks for the entrance of Wúsung river are to be replaced by three new ones each sixty feet high. The two rear ones are to have crows nests built around them, and will be painted *red*. The pole in front will be *shorter* than the other two and have on its top a bull's eye or target, and will be painted *white*.

The *white* pole between the two *red* poles is the leading mark for entering the Wúsung river.

SIXTH.—Eight iron first class buoys have been ordered from England, when received I would recommend their being placed in equal numbers alternatively, along the river edge of the North bank upon its most projecting points, to be hereafter determined by soundings, and upon the Northernmost projecting points of the South shore bank. It may be well to place one of these buoys or the Refuge buoy beacon invented by Captain George Peacock, R.N., which is admirably adapted to this position as *channel buoy* "Gutzlaff bearing *South* fifteen miles," and one or more small bouys to mark the middle ground in the Wúsung river. Cask buoys would be all sufficient for this last purpose, I would recommend that all these buoys should be numbered and painted according to the following rules, which are those adopted for all buoys on the coasts of the United States, by Law of Congress, and are I believe those recognized and sanctioned by the universal usage of all the principal maritime nations, viz: "In entering a harbor from *seaward* Channel Buoys with black and white perpendicular stripes may be passed close on either hand. Buoys with red and black horizontal stripes are as obstructions, with channels on either side of them, and may be left on either hand in passing. *Red* Buoys with *even* numbers should be left on the starboard hand. *Black Buoys* with *odd* numbers should be left on the port hand.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, &c., your obedient servant,

GEORGE HENRY PREBLE,

Lieutenant U. S. Navy.

To ROBERT C. MURPHY, Esq.,

U. S. Consul, Shanghai.

SHANGHAI, *November 3rd, 1855.*

SIR,—A Floating Beacon with other marks and buoys having been placed to improve and facilitate the navigation of the Yang-tse-kiang up to Wúsung some changes in the existing sailing directions have become necessary.

In compliance therefore with my instructions from Commodore Abbot I submit the accompanying revised directions.

In the preparation of them, such examinations have been made and soundings taken as was practicable and Collinson's Chart and Admiralty survey of 1843, published by Authority of the British Admiralty has been used and consulted.

The sailing directions of Captain Bethune of the *Conway*, Captain Wellesley of the *Childers* and Captain Collinson, published in the *Chinese Repository*, and those published in the *North-China Herald* over the signature of a "Young-salt" have all been examined, and to some extent incorporated and adopted.

I am also under great obligations to Captain T. D. Dearborn of the Steamer *Confucius* for the assistance of his advice and practical experience on the river, and for the kindness, with which he has at all times and in every way assisted me in carrying out my instructions, and I am also indebted to Captain Mark L. Potter for several valuable suggestions.

Collinson's Chart embodies the latest and best published survey of the river, and is believed to be at this time sufficiently accurate for ordinary use and reference, though it is known that the North or Tungsha Banks have shoaled, changed and extended since the date of his survey and perhaps other less material changes, usual to the debouchment of a great river have taken place, considering therefore the great and increasing commercial importance of Shanghai, these changes render a new survey or a systematic verification of the present one very desirable; until that is done I would recommend all shipmasters bound to Shanghai to provide themselves with the two sheets of Collinson, which include the Yang-tse and Wúsung rivers with all their adjacent coasts and islands to the Eastward and Southward and Eastward necessary for a safe navigation.

The great and only difficulties to a safe navigation of the Yang-tse-kiang from Gutzlaff Island to Wúsung have been a lack of distinguishing marks to guide the stranger over its muddy waters, and the very general similarity of the soundings which can without a correct knowledge of the state of tide, from that reason afford little or any guide. It is hoped the present established marks with the addition of the eight buoys ordered from England will prove sufficient to remedy both those evils.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, &c., your obedient servant,

GEORGE HENRY PREBLE,

Lieutenant U. S. Navy.

To ROBERT C. MURPHY, Esq.,

U. S. Consul, Shanghai.

. SAILING DIRECTIONS
FOR THE
NAVIGATION OF THE YANG-TSZE-KIANG
TO
WUSUNG AND SHANGHAI,
PREPARED BY
Lieut. Preble, U. S. N.,
BY ORDER OF
COMMODORE JOEL ABBOT,
*Commander-in-Chief U. S. Naval Forces in India and
China Seas, &c., &c., &c.*

Vessels bound to Shanghai from the West Coast of America, or the Pacific, and all who are unacquainted with the navigation of the Chinese Coast are recommended in the northerly monsoon to make the Saddle group of islands as being the most weatherly land-fall.

Recommended
to make Saddle
Islands in N.W.
Monsoon.

During the South-west monsoon for the same reason they are advised to steer for the high dome-shaped island of "Video" called by the Chinese "Wong-shing-shan" which is the highest island to the southward, and in a clear day can be seen fifty or sixty miles. This island has a bold precipitous appearance and is nearly square. It has also a remarkable white cliff, which near to, shows distinctly when the island bears N.W. by N.

Recommended
to make Video in
the S.W. Mon-
soon.

The summit of Video is in Latitude 30 deg. 8 min. N., Longitude 122 deg. 46 min. East of Greenwich.

N. 74 deg. E. from Video and five miles distant are seven rocks called the "Four Sisters," and N. 78 deg. E. nine miles are two rocks called the "Brothers." Between these rocks and Video, and between the two groups of rocks themselves there are safe passages, the depths varying from thirty to forty fathoms.

The Four Sisters
and the Brothers.

N. 24 deg. E. and 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ miles from Video is *Leuconna* which appears when seen from the South at that distance three abrupt and round-top hummocks.

Leuconna.

N. 17 deg. W. 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Video is the "*Beehive Rock*" 35 feet high, with a rock awash three cables to the eastward of it, otherwise the depth of water around it is from 14 to 17 fathoms.

Beehive Rock.

Between *Leuconna* and the East saddle, is "*Childers Rock*," which is a rock awash and which does not always show. When on it, the peak of E. Saddle bears N. 9 deg. W. the Barren islands N. 70 deg. E. and *Leuconna* S. 15 deg. E. the lead gives no warning of it, the depth being 24 fathoms close to.

Childers Rock.

This is the only hidden danger in the passage up to and beyond the Saddles. It is therefore needless to mention the appearance of any of the other land beyond and to the Westward, the Charts being a sufficient guide.

Saddle Islands.

The Saddle Islands form the Northern boundary of the Chusan archipelago, and comprise a group of five large islands called "North" "South" "East" "False and Side" Saddles with numerous smaller islets and rocks included between the Latitudes of 30 deg. 40 min. and 30 deg. 50 min. N., and Longitudes 122 deg. 35 min. and 122 deg. 49 min. E. The two largest of the group are saddleshaped about 800 feet high and of similar appearance when seen from the Eastward. The Northernmost point of the North Saddle Island is in Latitude 30 deg. 50 min., and its Easternmost point in Long. 124 deg. 42 min. E.

The Barren Islands.

East by South from the North Saddle and to the Eastward of the East Saddle in Latitude 30 deg. 43 min. N., Long. 123 deg. 09 min. E., are the Barren Islands which are three rocks about fifty feet high, nearly East and West from each other. To the South Eastward of the Eastern rock is a rock awash, distant from it about two cables. In some of the former directions navigators have been recommended to make these islands probably as a caution in coming from the Eastward as they are the most Eastern rocks on the Chinese coast belonging to China.

From Saddle Islands.

Leaving the Saddle Islands. Keep the North Saddle bearing about S.E. by E., and bring Gutzlaff Island to bear South fifteen or sixteen miles distance, when the Amherst rocks *if in sight* will bear N.E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E., twelve miles.

Gutzlaff Island.

Gutzlaff Island is 210 feet high, and in a clear day can be seen twenty-seven miles. It appears a small round lump and has a small rock or islet off its N. Eastern point.

It is to be hoped that at no very distant day a Light-house will be established on this island, which standing as it does in the gateway to the Yang-tse-kiang affords the best possible position for one.

The Light should be a first class light, of the flashing or revolving kind, which can be seen *thirty* miles or more.

As the Island is more than high enough, a tower of sufficient size to contain the lighting apparatus and keeper's dwelling, would only be required; its cost therefore would be inconsiderable. The yearly expense for keeping would be much less than what is required for keeping up the Light-ship, for which a *beacon* of some kind might *then* be substituted.

Amherst Rocks.

The Amherst rocks are a small cluster of ragged rocks, of which one is larger than the rest, and elevated twenty feet above low water. Including the surrounding reef they occupy an area of half-a-mile in extent, and mark the Easternmost extent of the North banks. In the old sailing directions it was recommended to make them, but it is now considered best for reasons which are obvious, to make Gutzlaff as above. It may be well here to remark that no vessel should attempt to pass up the river without first sighting Gutzlaff or the Light-vessel. The Amherst rocks are in Latitude 31 deg. 09 min. 03 sec. N., Longitude 122 deg. 23 min. 06 sec. E., and bear from the North Saddle N. 42 deg. E., distant 24 miles.

Ariadne Rocks.

W. 14 deg. S. from the Amherst Rock are the Ariadne Rocks on which several vessels have struck. These are all under water, and seldom seen, and therefore to be avoided.

In heavy weather the sea is said to break upon them, but several of the most experienced Pilots say they have never seen them.

Shaweishan.

North of the "Ariadne Rocks" sixteen miles and about N. by W. from the "Amhersts" is the Island of "*Shaweishan*" about the size or a little larger than Gutzlaff and one hundred and ninety-six feet high. It is not often seen when a ship is in the right position for approaching the North bank—vessels approaching the river are therefore cautioned, that when it shows plainer than Gutzlaff (which is about the

same height), that they are too far to the Northward and in danger of entering the *False Channel* to the Northward of the North Bank.

After bringing Gutzlaff on the before-mentioned distance and bearing, if a clear day the Light-ship under the North Bank will be seen, when steer for her to cross the outer bar. If the day is not clear, steer North-west until she is seen, when steer for her as before directed and pass her at any convenient distance leaving her on your starboard hand. If working in, be careful not to bring the Light-ship to bear to the Westward of W. by N. if in a ship of large draft, or to the Southward of West, if in a small vessel, as the bank shoals suddenly from four or five fathoms to two according to position, and the Ariadne Rocks bear East 11 deg. South from the Light-ship 13 miles distant.

Gutzlaff to the
Light-ship.

Using this caution you may when up with, pass the Light-ship close to, as most convenient, though strangers are *not* recommended to go inside of her. Thence steer W.N.W. until you sight the Beacon erected on the South Shore at the "Three trees." When the South Shore Beacon or the "Three trees" bears above W.S.W. your ship will be in six fathoms at low water and the South Shore will be plain in sight.

Light-ship to
the South Shore
Beacon.

Continue now a N.W. by W. course and pass the South Shore Beacon at two or more miles distance when you will in all probability see the dry North-bank on your starboard hand, which is only covered at the highest spring tides. You will soon rise "Block House Island" which at first has the appearance of a cluster of fishing-boats, gradually showing itself a low island covered with Bushy trees. When the large House on this island bears N.E. by E. you are in the narrowest part of the channel which at that point is only one mile and one quarter wide. After passing Block House on the starboard hand, you should gradually close with the South Shore to about a mile and keep it at that distance until the marks and buoys for Wúsung spit are seen. As the South Shore bank is steep to, that Shore should not be approached nearer than three-quarters-of-a-mile. The second large bushy trees on the low part open half-a-point of the square and well-defined outer point of Pausan will clear you of the Wúsung South spit if the buoy should at any time be removed.

Beacon to Block
House Island.

The foregoing directions apply to vessels of a heavy draught say eighteen feet, small craft may use much more freedom, closing with the South Bank when Gutzlaff is 12 or 15 miles to the Southward, and working up with the lead for a guide. The Southern shore is *not* to be depended on all the way, however, as after passing the Beacon the Bank is very steep, and should not be approached under three-quarters-of-a-mile.

Block House to
Wúsung.

After passing Wúsung marks, keep the Western shore well on board until after passing Wúsung villages and up to the First point on the Eastern side, or until you open the second creek on the Eastern shore which will be about a mile above the village, then cross over and keep the Eastern shore *close* on board until up to the head of this reach, where a fleet of Junks are usually moored opposite a village, which course will also take you over the bar above Wúsung. The Channel over which bar in some places is scarcely a Cable wide. Through the next reach the course is nearly south, and keep in mid-channel when up with Half-way-point close with the Eastern bank again and keep it close on board until the Foreign settlement of Shanghai is in sight when cross over and keep nearest to the right or Western shore.

Vessels of Light
draught may use
more freedom.

Wúsung to
Shanghai.

The depth of water on the outer bar at the Lowest Spring tides is twenty-one feet, and on the bar *above* Wúsung it is about twelve feet. The greatest draught of water ever brought up to Shanghai, has been

Depth of Water
on the Inner and
outer Bar.

between twenty-one and twenty-two feet, and a Ship drawing that much water will have to wait for the Spring tides to pass up or down the Wúsung river.

Working in after leaving the Light-ship.

In working up after passing the Light-ship you should not in standing towards the North Bank bring her to bear to the Southward of S.E. by E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E., and on the South Bank side should go about when in $3\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms of water.

The deepest water is near and along the South edge of the North Bank. Generally the inner edge of the North Bank is lined with heavy fishing stakes close to, which are planted in four and five fathoms of water. A ship's length inside of them there is but, a *few feet* of water.

Can Anchor off Entrance in Usual Weather.

It will be generally safe for a vessel to anchor off the entrance of the river, outside of "Gutzlaff" in four, five to six fathoms water, and I would not recommend an anchorage being sought under the Islands at night *unless there are appearances of bad weather*, as it will frequently take all the daylight of the next day to work up from the Islands.

Anchor under the Islands on Gale Approaching.

In the summer time if bad weather is approaching which the Barometer will usually foretell, an anchorage should be sought under the Islands or the vessel kept to sea, as it is dangerous to enter the river a gale coming on, without a prospect of getting in. It is I think preferable to anchor rather than stand to sea, as the weather is sometimes thick or foggy; the tides are strong and uncertain, and the ship's position may be lost.

The Tides.

All the compass courses given in these directions are to be varied according to the stages and strength of the tides, the rise of a ground log for both course and distance is therefore recommended, the ship's course being materially affected both by the strength and set of the tide.

It is high water at the Full and change of the moon in the neighborhood and to the Eastward of Gutzlaff between 11 and 12 o'clock.

In the river off Wúsung High water occurs at the Full and change about 1 hour 30 minutes. The rise is uncertain, but ranges from one fathom to fifteen feet. Its velocity is from $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ knots but it is affected both in velocity and direction by the prevailing wind.

From the saddle Islands to Wúsung the tide generally sets N.W. by W. and S.E. by E. when fully made; if no such cause as N.E. gales or heavy rains interfere. The *flood* makes first to the Southward, then S.W. and gradually round to N.W. at half-flood which is its direction at the strength of the tide.

The first of the *Ebb* sets to the Northward over the North Bank, and in like manner changes round to the Eastward gradually running the strongest when S.E.

It is at the turn of both tides that most caution is necessary to avoid being set out of the channel.

Round the S.E. edges of the South Bank the flood sets W.S.W. and the ebb the contrary way.

Leaving the position off Gutzlaff at a quarter flood, a vessel will carry the flood to Wúsung if there is any wind.

The Winds.

By a meteorological register kept at Shanghai, the prevailing winds for the last seven years appear to have been in—

January,	N.E. to N.N.W. and generally N.N.W.
February,	N.E. to N.W. and generally N.W.
March,	N.E. to S.E. and variable.
April,	E.N.E. to S.E. chiefly S.S.E. and variable.
May,	E.S.E. to S.S.E.
June,	S.E. to S.S.E.
July and August,	S.S.E.
September,	N.E. to E.
October,	N.E. to N.W.

November, N.W. and variable.
 December, N. to N.W.

The Temperature by day and night taken by a self-registering Fahrenheit's Thermometer in the open air in the shade at Shanghai from 1848 to 1854 gives the following as the *extreme* ranges, and the average *mean* temperature of each of the months for those seven years—

Temperature at
Shanghai.

	<i>Maximum by Day.</i>	<i>Maximum by Night.</i>	<i>Average Monthly Mean.</i>
January,.....	67	18	41
February,	65	19	42
March, 75	28	50	
April, 79	33	59	
May, 87	37	69	
June, 99	58	75	
July, 100	64	85	
August, 100	63	84½	
September, ... 92	51	77½	
October, 90	37	67	
November, 80	25	56	
December, 77	19	46	

The mean average height of the Barometer in the Spring and Winter months is above 30 inches, and in the summer months below it, viz: for January to April inch 30.25. From October to December inch 30.34. From May to September inch 29.83, ranging lowest with southerly winds and during the N.E. monsoon season.

The Barometer.

January is generally fine. In February thick fogs occur, March is damp and disagreeable, April has more rainy days than any other month, except June which is the wettest month. In May there is but little rain and that little occurs in heavy showers. July is hot, dry, scorching with considerable rain in the form of evening thunder-showers. July and August are the hottest months. In September the S.W. monsoon is wholly broken up, and the temperature is very changeable. In November the Winter fairly sets in, the first frost appearing from the 12th to the 20th. December is the driest month of the year, and the weather clear and freezing, though fogs are of occasional occurrence. In May, June, and July fogs also occur.

The Weather.

The summer gales are strongest from the S.E. and generally give good notice, the Barometer beginning to fall sometimes as much as 24 hours previous. The rules for judging the Barometer on the Chinese Coast generally holds good for the neighbourhood of Shanghai. A rapid fall of the Barometer betokens a Gale, and a high range the continuance of Northerly winds.

Captains can deposit their Chronometers and have them rated by Transits, at the observatory of Messrs. Kupferschmid & Dato, Shanghai. Their observatory in Church Street, is in Latitude 31 deg. 14 min. 08-9 sec. N. Longitude 8 hours 6 minutes and 2 seconds East of Greenwich.

Competent Foreign pilots (English and American) will be found cruising in the neighbourhood of the Saddle Islands during the summer months, and at the entrance of the river outside of Gutzlaff in the winter. No Sailing directions can do away with their usefulness to the stranger where the safety of the Ship depends so much upon a correct knowledge of the tides.

GEORGE HENRY PREBLE,
Lieutenant U. S. Navy.

ROBERT C. MURPHY, Esq.,
U. S. Consul, Shanghai.

JANUARY 1856.

XXXI DAYS.

WEATHER—Generally, fine; occasional showers, dead calms accompanied by dense fog, or more rarely snow alternate with a fair frosty bracing atmosphere. Wind is generally N.W. or N.E. with occasional Southerly breezes, which last for two or three days.

Day of Month.	Day of Week.	Day of Moon.	CALENDAR.
1	tu.	24	<i>Circumcisión.</i> 11th Chinese Moon, 30 days, 5th year Emp. Hienfung.
2	w.	25	
3	th.	26	
4	f.	27	<i>Insurgents attacked at Tuh-lew, 1854.</i>
5	s.	28	
6	S.	29	<i>Epiphany.</i> Sun's apparent declination S. 22° 34' 1".*
7	m.	30	
8	tu.	1	New Moon, 7h. 23m. A.M.† 12th Chinese Moon, 29 days.
9	w.	2	
10	th.	3	Moon in Perigee, 4h. P.M.
11	f.	4	
12	s.	5	<i>Woo-ch'ang stormed and taken by the Insurgents, 1853.</i>
13	S.	6	First Sunday after Epiphany. Sun's apparent declination S. 21° 34' 10".
14	m.	7	Moon's first quarter, 11h. 42m. P.M.
15	tu.	8	
16	w.	9	
17	th.	10	
18	f.	11	
19	s.	12	
20	S.	13	<i>Septuagesima Sunday.</i> Sun's apparent declination S. 20° 13' 56".
21	m.	14	
22	tu.	15	Full Moon, 11h. 35m. A.M.
23	w.	16	
24	th.	17	
25	f.	18	<i>Conversion of St. Paul.</i>
26	s.	19	Moon in Apogee, 4h. P.M.
27	S.	20	<i>Sexagesima Sunday.</i> Sun's apparent declination S. 18° 35' 11".
28	m.	21	
29	tu.	22	
30	w.	23	King Charles 1st beheaded. Moon's last quarter 4h. 41m. P.M.
31	th.	24	

* Apparent noon by Nautical Almanac.

† In Shanghai mean time.

JANUARY 1856.

XXXI DAYS.

* Mean temperature 40.7 in the Shade,—56.2 in the Sun.

Mean height of the Barometer 30.427.

Mean fall of rain 1.70—average number of rainy days 7.

Day of Month.	Day of Week.	Day of Moon.	MEMORANDA.
1	tu.	24	
2	w.	25	
3	th.	26	
4	f.	27	<i>Am Fu Kung auf Seibang verbr.</i>
5	s.	28	
6	So.	29	
7	m.	30	
8	tu.	1	<i>Mit Leichen auf Fu Kung?</i>
9	w.	2	<i>Abend auf Hoou</i>
10	th.	3	
11	f.	4	
12	s.	5	
13	So.	6	
14	m.	7	<i>Mit Leichen auf Fu Kung</i>
15	tu.	8	
16	w.	9	
17	th.	10	
18	f.	11	
19	s.	12	
20	So.	13	
21	m.	14	<i>Mit Leichen auf Seibang verbr.</i>
22	tu.	15	
23	w.	16	<i>Frucht auf Hong Kong</i>
24	th.	17	
25	f.	18	
26	s.	19	
27	So.	20	<i>Abendg. Leichen des Fischen.</i>
28	m.	21	
29	tu.	22	
30	w.	23	
31	th.	24	<i>Genähr. d. Fische kommen aus Hong Kong.</i>

* Mean of seven years.

FEBRUARY 1856.

XXIX DAYS.

WEATHER.—During the first fortnight of this month, and the last half of January, the coldest weather of the year generally occurs. The greater portion of the snow that falls in Shanghai descends in this month. The wind continues much as in January, with a greater bias towards the N.W., and thick fogs also occur.

Day of Month.	Day of Week.	Day of Moon.	KALENDAR.
1	f.	25	12th Chinese Moon, 29 days, 5th year Emp. Hienfung. [by Shing-puou.
2	s.	26	Purification of the VIRGIN MARY. Insurgents again attacked at Tuh-lew
3	S.	27	Quinquagesima Sunday. Sun's apparent declination S. 16° 39' 51".*
4	m.	28	
5	tu.	29	Shrove Tuesday.
6	w.	1	Ash Wednesday. New Moon, 6h. 42m. P.M.† Chinese New Year.
7	th.	2	Moon in Perigee, 9h. P.M. [1st Chinese Moon, 6th year Emp. Hien-fung,
8	f.	3	[30 days. Insurgents attacked at Tze-yay and Chang-kea-chang, 1854.
9	s.	4	Queen VICTORIA married to Prince ALBERT, 1840.
10	S.	5	Quadragesima or First Sunday in Lent. Sun's apparent declination S. 14°
11	m.	6	[30° 24".
12	tu.	7	
13	w.	8	Moon's first quarter, 10h. 18m. A.M.
14	th.	9	St. Valentine's day.
15	f.	10	
16	s.	11	
17	S.	12	Second Sunday in Lent. Sun's apparent declination S. 12° 9' 6".
18	m.	13	
19	tu.	14	Peking Gazettes of this date controvert much of asserted preceding successes.
20	w.	15	Kemun taken by the Rebels.
21	th.	16	Full Moon, 5h. 46m. A.M.
22	f.	17	
23	s.	18	[Suh-ching, 1854. Moon in Apogee, 9h. A.M. Fresh victories reported over the Insurgents at
24	S.	19	Third Sunday in Lent. St. Matthias' day. Sun's apparent declination S.
25	m.	20	[9° 38' 23".
26	tu.	21	
27	w.	22	
28	th.	23	
29	f.	24	Moon's last quarter, 9h. 48m. A.M.

* Apparent noon by Nautical Almanac.

† In Shanghai mean time.

FEBRUARY 1856.

XXIX DAYS.

*Mean temperature 41.8 in the Shade,—50.3 in the Sun.

Mean height of the Barometer 30.36.

Mean fall of rain 2.18—average number of rainy days 9.

Day of Month.	Day of Week.	Day of Moon.	MEMORANDA.
1	f.	25	
2	s.	26	
3	So.	27	
4	m.	28	
5	tu.	29	
6	w.	1.	
7	th.	2	Mit Leidenwits auf den Berg.
8	f.	3	Auf Finkenb. mit Apoll.
9	s.	4	
10	So.	5	
11	m.	6	
12	tu.	7	Auf Lichenberg für mich
13	w.	8	
14	th.	9	
15	f.	10	
16	s.	11	
17	So.	12	
18	m.	13	
19	tu.	14	Ueber Aufbruch zum Berg, (Koblenz u. Coo).
20	w.	15	
21	th.	16	Auf Berg. Senken auf Hongkong.
22	f.	17	Aufbruch meines Leibes.
23	s.	18	früher von dem
24	So.	19	
25	m.	20	
26	tu.	21	
27	w.	22	
28	th.	23	
29	f.	24	

• Mean of seven years.

MARCH 1856.

XXXI DAYS.

WEATHER.—The weather of this month is generally damp and disagreeable. Frost now becomes rare; but the thermometer scarcely offers a true criterion of the oppressiveness of the atmosphere, as it seldom indicates a heat above 60 deg., although on a few occasions it has been observed to indicate a temperature as high as 77 deg. The wind becomes variable;—not unfrequently blowing from the S.E., with occasional N.W. gales.

Day of Month.	Day of Week.	Day of Moon.	KALENDAR.
1	s.	25	<i>St. David's day. 12th Chinese Moon, 30 days, 6th year Emp. Hienfung.</i>
2	S.	26	<i>Fourth Sunday in Lent. Sun's apparent declination S. 7° 0' 35".*</i>
3	m.	27	
4	tu.	28	
5	w.	29	
6	th.	30	<i>[near Le-wan, 1854. Rebels took T'hae-ping-foo, 1853.</i>
7	f.	1	<i>29 days. Shen-luh gains some advantages over the Rebels</i> <i>Moon in Perigee, 9h. A.M.† New Moon, 4h. 46m. A.M. 2d Chinese Moon.</i>
8	s.	2	
9	S.	3	<i>[deserted Ningpo, 1842.</i> <i>Fifth Sunday in Lent. Sun's apparent declination S. 4° 17' 51". Chinese</i>
10	m.	4	<i>British forces at Ningpo and Chinhae, attacked by the Chinese, 1842.</i>
11	tu.	5	
12	w.	6	<i>St. Gregory's day. Fow-ching invited by Wang-shih-lin-sin, 1854.</i>
13	th.	7	<i>Moon's first quarter, 10h. 42m. P.M.</i>
14	f.	8	
15	s.	9	<i>Chinese entrenched camp destroyed on the heights of Segao near Tsz-ki, 1842.</i>
16	S.	10	<i>Palm Sunday. Sun's apparent declination S. 1° 32' 31".</i>
17	m.	11	<i>St. Patrick's day.</i>
18	tu.	12	
19	w.	13	<i>Nanking taken by the Rebels, 1853.</i>
20	th.	14	<i>[enters Aries. Spring commences. Sun rises and sets 6h.;</i> <i>Good Friday. Moon in Apogee, 9h. A.M. Vernal Equinox. The Sun</i>
21	f.	15	
22	s.	16	<i>Easter Even. Full Moon, 9h. 11m. A.M.</i>
23	S.	17	<i>EASTER SUNDAY. Sun's apparent declination N. 1° 18' 13".</i>
24	m.	18	<i>Easter Monday.</i>
25	tu.	19	<i>Easter Tuesday. Annunciation of VIRGIN MARY.</i>
26	w.	20	
27	th.	21	
28	f.	22	
29	s.	23	<i>Moon's last quarter, 10h. 37m. P.M.</i>
30	S.	24	<i>Low Sunday. Sun's apparent declination N. 3° 57' 26".</i>
31	m.	25	<i>Chin-keang-foo quietly taken possession of, by the Rebels, 1853.</i>

* Apparent noon by Nautical Almanac.

† In Shanghai mean time.

MARCH 1856.

XXXI DAYS.

* Mean temperature 50.0 in the Shade,—56.2 in the Sun.

Mean height of the Barometer 30.239.

Mean fall of rain 3.50—average number of rainy days 13.

Day of Month.	Day of Week.	Day of Moon.	MEMORANDA.
1	s.	25	<i>Geizzeit.</i>
2	S.	26	
3	m.	27	
4	tu.	28	
5	w.	29	
6	th.	30	
7	f.	1	
8	s.	2	
9	S.	3	
10	m.	4	<i>Ende der Laie & Wirt an der</i>
11	tu.	5	
12	w.	6	
13	th.	7	<i>Reise nach ...</i>
14	f.	8	
15	s.	9	
16	S.	10	
17	m.	11	
18	tu.	12	
19	w.	13	
20	th.	14	
21	f.	15	
22	s.	16	<i>mit ...</i>
23	S.	17	
24	m.	18	
25	tu.	19	
26	w.	20	
27	th.	21	
28	f.	22	
29	s.	23	
30	S.	24	<i>Reise nach ...</i>
31	m.	25	<i>Gründung ...</i>

* Mean of seven years.

APRIL 1856.

XXX DAYS.

WEATHER.—With the single exception of June there are more rainy days in this month than in any other of the twelve. The amount that falls, however, does not approach that of the succeeding three months. The temperature steadily increases, which accompanied with the damp is exceedingly disagreeable. The greater frequency of Southerly breezes announces the near approach of Summer.

Day of Month.	Day of Week.	Day of Moon.	KALENDAR.
1	tu.	26	2d Chinese Moon, 30 days, 6th year Emp. Hienfung. <i>Rebels took Kwa-chow</i> [and city of Yang-chow, 1853.]
2	w.	27	
3	th.	28	
4	f.	29	Moon in Perigee, 8h. P.M.*
5	s.	1	New Moon, 1h. 59m. P.M. 3d Chinese Moon, 29 days.
6	S.	2	Second Sunday after Easter. Sun's apparent declination N. 6° 38' 10". †
7	m.	3	
8	tu.	4	Money deficient at Peking, 1854.
9	w.	5	Bombardment of Sebastopol re-opened, 1855. <i>Shing-paou attacks and routs</i> [the Rebels at Lin-keau-yen, 1854.]
10	th.	6	
11	f.	7	Further advantages gained by the Imperialists, 1854.
12	s.	8	Moon's first quarter, 12h. 58m. P.M. <i>Lin-tsing taken by the Rebels, 1854.</i>
13	S.	9	Third Sunday after Easter. Sun's apparent declination N. 9° 13' 20".
14	m.	10	
15	tu.	11	Easter term begins.
16	w.	12	
17	th.	13	Moon in Apogee, 11h. A.M.
18	f.	14	
19	s.	15	Irruption of the Rebels into Pih-chih-le, 1854.
20	S.	16	Fourth Sunday after Easter. Full Moon, 5h. 30m. A.M.. Sun's apparent [declination N. 11° 40' 56".
21	m.	17	
22	tu.	18	
23	w.	19	St. George's day. Moon's last quarter 7h. 32m. A.M.
24	th.	20	
25	f.	21	St. Mark's day.
26	s.	22	
27	S.	23	Rogation Sunday. Sun's apparent declination N. 13° 59' 10".
28	m.	24	
29	tu.	25	
30	w.	26	

* In Shanghai mean time.

† Apparent noon by Nautical Almanac.

APRIL 1856.

XXX DAYS.

* Mean temperature 59.0 in the Shade,—66.1 in the Sun.

Mean height of the Barometer 30.050.

Mean fall of rain 4.27—average number of rainy days 13.

MEMORANDA.

Day of Month.	Day of Week.	Day of Moon.	
1	tu.	26	<i>Sensche, Liebler, Weinmann auf Hongkong; Lohscheid zu Lohscheid auf Hongkong.</i>
2	w.	27	
3	th.	28	
4	f.	29	
5	s.	1	
6	S.	2	
7	m.	3	
8	tu.	4	
9	w.	5	
10	th.	6	
11	f.	7	
12	s.	8	<i>Geräte in der Luft. Gerüst & Refugium über die Dächer.</i>
13	S.	9	
14	m.	10	
15	tu.	11	
16	w.	12	
17	th.	13	
18	f.	14	<i>Lohscheid, Liebler & Weinmann auf Hongkong</i>
19	s.	15	
20	S.	16	
21	m.	17	<i>Die 3 Länder ab nach Peking.</i>
22	tu.	18	
23	w.	19	<i>Die Dächer bauen in off.</i>
24	th.	20	
25	f.	21	<i>Waismann, Liebler, Weinmann auf Hongkong.</i>
26	s.	22	
27	S.	23	<i>Anders in Peking</i>
28	m.	24	
29	tu.	25	
30	w.	26	

* Mean of seven years.

M A Y 1856.

XXXI DAYS.

WEATHER.—During this month the amount of rain that falls is usually small, and what descends does so in the shape of heavy temporary showers. The weather now becomes decidedly warm, and the wind though variable is most generally from S.E. to E.S.E.

Day of Month.	Day of Week.	Day of Moon.	CALENDAR.
			[3d Chinese Moon, 6th year Emp. Hienfung, 29 days.
1	th.	27	Ascension day. St. Philp & St. James' day. Prince ARTHUR born, 1850.
2	f.	28	Rebels attack Pei-ching's camp, 1854. Lin-suy sets out with 1,000 Ghiris
3	s.	29	Moon in Perigee, 3h. A.M.* [Tartars to attack the Rebels, 1854.
4	S.	1	Sunday after Ascension. New Moon, 10h. 48m. P.M. 4th Chinese Moon,
5	m.	2	[30 days. Sun's apparent declination N. 16° 6' 15".†
6	tu.	3	British forces evacuated Ningpo and Chinhae to go to the North, 1842.
7	w.	4	
8	th.	5	
9	f.	6	
10	s.	7	
11	S.	8	Whit Sunday. Pentecost. Sun's apparent declination N. 18° 0' 17".
12	m.	9	Moon's first quarter, 4h. 51m. A.M.
13	tu.	10	
14	w.	11	
15	th.	12	Ember week. Moon in Apogee, 2h. A.M. Rebels attack Kwei-lin provincial
16	f.	13	[Capital of Kwang-se, 1852.
17	s.	14	[ured by the British, 1842. Triad Society seize Amoy, 1853.
18	S.	15	Trinity Sunday. Sun's apparent declination N. 19° 39' 30". Chapoo capt-
19	m.	16	St. Dunstan Archbishop. Siege of Kwei-lin raised by the Rebels, 1852.
20	tu.	17	Full Moon, 8h. 3m. A.M.
21	w.	18	
22	th.	19	CORPUS CHRISTI.
23	f.	20	[captured by the Imperialists, 1854.
24	s.	21	H. M. G. M. QUEEN VICTORIA born, 1819. K'een-le in Hoo-pih re-
25	S.	22	1st Sunday after Trinity. Sun's apparent declination N. 21° 2' 23".
26	m.	23	St. Augustine Archbishop.
27	tu.	24	Moon's last quarter 1h. 39m. P.M.
28	w.	25	Rebels take Fung-yang city in Gnan-hwuy, 1853. Shing-paou attacks the
29	th.	26	Restoration of CHARLES II. [Rebels from L'een-chin, 1854.
30	f.	27	Moon in Perigee, 8h. P.M.
31	s.	28	Ying-san in Hoo-pih, Tih-gnan and Yun-mung reported to be recaptured by
			[the Imperialists, 1854.

* In Shanghai mean time.

† Apparent noon by Nautical Almanac.

M A Y 1856.

XXXI DAYS.

* Mean temperature 69.6 in the Shade,—83.9 in the Sun.

Mean height of the Barometer 29.929.

Mean fall of rain 4.56—average number of rainy days 10.

Day of Month.	Day • of Week.	Day of Moon.	MEMORANDA.
1	th.	27	
2	f.	28	<i>Anders in St. au.</i>
3	s.	29	
4	So.	1	
5	m.	2	
6	tu.	3	
7	w.	4	
8	th.	5	
9	f.	6	<i>V.</i>
10	s.	7	
11	So.	8	<i>Unser der St. Anders in St.</i>
12	m.	9	
13	tu.	10	
14	w.	11	
15	th.	12	
16	f.	13	
17	s.	14	<i>+ 1</i>
18	So.	15	<i>Ergebnisse der Arbeit der Kommission in St. au.</i>
19	m.	16	
20	tu.	17	
21	w.	18	
22	th.	19	
23	f.	20	<i>Meine Reise in St. au, Leichter Anwalt.</i>
24	s.	21	
25	So.	22	<i>Die Arbeit der Kommission der St. au, Leichter Anwalt.</i>
26	m.	23	
27	tu.	24	
28	w.	25	
29	th.	26	<i>Ergebnisse der Kommission der St. au, Leichter Anwalt.</i>
30	f.	27	
31	s.	28	

* Mean of seven years.

JUNE 1856.

XXX DAYS.

WEATHER.—This is usually the wettest month in the year. The average number of inches of rain which falls being nearly 8.0. The temperature continues to increase, but is not yet oppressive from the coolness of the nights, during which the thermometer seldom rises above 75 degrees.

Day of Month.	Day of Week.	Day of Moon.	CALENDAR.
1	S.	29	2d Sunday after Trinity. Sun's apparent declination N. 22° 7' 38".*
2	m.	30	[4th Chinese Moon, 6th year Emp. Hienfung, 30 days.
3	tu.	1	New Moon, 7h. 46m. A.M.† 5th Chinese Moon, 29 days.
4	w.	2	
5	th.	3	Dr. Charles Taylor, M.D., visits Chin-keang, alone, 1853.
6	f.	4	
7	s.	5	Mamelon fort at Sebastopol taken by the French, 1855.
8	S.	6	3d Sunday after Trinity. Sun's apparent declination N. 22° 54' 1". Rebel
9	m.	7	[encampment destroyed at Loo-chow, 1854.
10	tu.	8	Moon's first quarter, 9h. 56m. P.M.
11	w.	9	St. Barnabas Apostle. Moon in Apogee, 8h. P.M. Chang-tih in Hoo-nan
12	th.	10	[taken by the Rebels, 1854.
13	f.	11	
14	s.	12	Chin-keang unsuccessfully attacked by the Imperialists, 1853.
15	S.	13	4th Sunday after Trinity. Sun's apparent declination N. 23° 20' 43".
16	m.	14	Woosung batteries destroyed by the British, 1842.
17	tu.	15	St. Alban martyr.
18	w.	16	Full Moon, 7h. 58m. P.M.
19	th.	17	
20	f.	18	QUEEN VICTORIA'S Accession, 1837. Skirmish at Lëen-chin, 1852.
21	s.	19	QUEEN VICTORIA'S Proclamation, 1837.
22	S.	20	5th Sunday after Trinity. Sun's apparent declination N. 23° 27' 17".
23	m.	21	British troops quit Shanghai, 1842.
24	tu.	22	St. John Baptist's day. Kertch occupied by the Allies, 1855. Mid-summer
25	w.	23	Moon's last quarter, 6h. 23m. P.M. Moon in Perigee, 3h. P.M.
26	th.	24	Kwa-chow attacked by Yeh, (of Shanghai celebrity,) and Tsing-lin attacked
27	f.	25	[by the Insurgents, 1854.
28	s.	26	Coronation of QUEEN VICTORIA, 1838. Lord Raglan died, 1855.
29	S.	27	6th Sunday after Trinity. St. Peter Apostle. Sun's apparent declination
30	m.	28	[N. 23° 13' 40".

* Apparent noon by Nautical Almanac.

† In Shanghai mean time.

JUNE 1856.

XXX DAYS.

* Mean temperature 74.6 in the Shade,—86.0 in the Sun.

Mean height of the Barometer 29.815.

Mean fall of rain 7.15—average number of rainy days 15½.

Day of Month.	Day of Week.	Day of Moon.	MEMORANDA.
1	S.	29	
2	m.	30	
3	tu.	1	
4	w.	2	
5	th.	3	
6	f.	4	
7	s.	5	
8	S.	6	<i>Reinen Zeit lang fortwähren.</i>
9	m.	7	<i>Schneidezeit auf die Nacht.</i>
10	tu.	8	
11	w.	9	<i>Reinen Zeit.</i>
12	th.	10	
13	f.	11	
14	s.	12	
15	S.	13	
16	m.	14	
17	tu.	15	
18	w.	16	
19	th.	17	
20	f.	18	
21	s.	19	
22	S.	20	
23	m.	21	
24	tu.	22	
25	w.	23	<i>Schneidezeit auf die Nacht</i>
26	th.	24	
27	f.	25	<i>Schneidezeit. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31.</i>
28	s.	26	
29	S.	27	
30	m.	28	

* Mean of seven years.

JULY 1856.

XXXI DAYS.

WEATHER.—This month is, not inaptly, described as hot, dry, and scorching; considerable rain however falls, but generally in the evening in the form of heavy thunder showers; these are sometimes very severe. On the 20th of this month, 1848, a typhoon (*tai-fung*) occurred.

Day of Month.	Day of Week.	Day of Moon.	CALENDAR.
1	tu.	29	[11th, Mow-ning attacked by the Imperialists, 1854. 5th Chinese Moon, 5th year Emp. Hienfung, 29 days. From this date to the
2	w.	1	Visitation of VIRGIN MARY. New Moon, 5h. 36m. P.M.* 6th Chinese
3	th.	2	Dog days begin. [Moon, 30 days.
4	f.	3	
5	s.	4	
6	S.	5	7th Sunday after Trinity. Sun's apparent declination N. 22° 40' 6".†
7	m.	6	Thomas-à-Becket's day.
8	tu.	7	Hwae-kh'ing-foo besieged by the Rebels, 1853.
9	w.	8	Moon in Apogee, 2h. P.M.
10	th.	9	Moon's first quarter, 3h. 28m. P.M.
11	f.	10	
12	s.	11	
13	S.	12	8th Sunday after Trinity. Sun's apparent declination N. 21° 47' 18".
14	m.	13	Forts below Chin-keang-foo, taken by the British, 1842.
15	tu.	14	St. Swilthin Bishop. Gazette of this date recites the great scarcity of Copper
16	w.	15	Repeated attacks by the Imperialists on Loo-chow, 1854. [at Peking, 1854.
17	th.	16	
18	f.	17	Full Moon, 5h. 37m. A.M. [Amoor Tartars beaten at Poo-k'how, 1853.
19	s.	18	[Kh'ae-fung-foo taken by the Rebels, 1853. The
20	S.	19	Mien-yang retaken by the Imperialists, 1854. Fung-yang, Kwei-tih and
21	m.	20	9th Sunday after Trinity. Sun's apparent declination N. 20° 36' 18".
22	tu.	21	Moon in Perigee, 2h. P.M. [Chin-keang-foo taken by the British, 1842.
23	w.	22	St. Mary Magdalene.
24	th.	23	Yoh-chow regained by the Imperialists, 1854.
25	f.	24	Moon's last quarter, 11h. 8m. P.M. Attack by the Imperialists on the City of
26	s.	25	[Shanghai: three mines sprung, 1854. Hwae-
27	S.	26	St. James Apostle. [k'ing-foo stormed but not taken, 1853.
28	m.	27	Much fighting at Shoo-ching. Canton Rebels occupy the New-lan heights, 1854.
29	tu.	28	10th Sunday after Trinity. Sun's apparent declination N. 19° 8' 20".
30	w.	29	[Rebels defeated at Ching-lin-ke, 1854.
31	th.	30	More fighting at Shoo-ching, 1854. { Coins of 1000, 500, 400, 300 and 200 cash abolished by the Imperial Decree, 1854. Victory over the Rebels at Taou-lin-ke, 1854. Rebels raised the siege of Hwae-k'ing, 1854. Rebels beaten near Ts'een-keang, 1854.

* In Shanghai mean time.

† Apparent noon by Nautical Almanac.

JULY 1856.

XXXI DAYS.

*Mean temperature 85.3 in the Shade,—94.1 in the Sun.

Mean height of the Barometer 29.675.

Mean fall of rain 4.93—average number of rainy days 10.

Day of Month.	Day of Week.	Day of Moon.	MEMORANDA.
1	tu.	29	<i>Apf. kühlt ein. Land der Maizen.</i>
2	w.	1	
3	th.	2	
4	f.	3	<i>Land von Fied. Pinner?</i>
5	s.	4	<i>Leguabrip.</i>
6	S.	5	
7	m.	6	
8	tu.	7	
9	w.	8	
10	th.	9	
11	f.	10	<i>Schneid. auf Onka R. der Thule meier S.</i>
12	s.	11	<i>Schneid. zuwärt.</i>
13	S.	12	
14	m.	13	
15	tu.	14	<i>Landwirthschaft. Regen. Land zuwärt.</i>
16	w.	15	
17	th.	16	
18	f.	17	<i>Schneid. auf Onka R. der Thule meier S.</i>
19	s.	18	
20	S.	19	
21	m.	20	
22	tu.	21	
23	w.	22	<i>Landwirthschaft. Regen. Land zuwärt.</i>
24	th.	23	
25	f.	24	
26	s.	25	
27	S.	26	
28	m.	27	
29	tu.	28	
30	w.	29	
31	th.	30	

* Mean of seven years.

AUGUST 1856.

XXXI DAYS.

WEATHER.—The hottest weather generally occurs about the commencement of this month, but as the wind is frequently very high of the same time, a true indication will not be given by the Thermometer without the greatest care being observed. What rain falls is generally in drizzling showers.

<i>Day of Month.</i>	<i>Day of Week.</i>	<i>Day of Moon.</i>	KALENDAR.
1	<i>f.</i>	1	<i>Lammas' day.</i> New Moon, 5h. 14m. A.M.* · 7th Chinese Moon, 6th year [Emp. Hienfung, 29 days.]
2	<i>s.</i>	2	
3	<i>S.</i>	3	11th Sunday after Trinity. Sun's apparent declination N. 17° 24' 50".†
4	<i>m.</i>	4	
5	<i>tu.</i>	5	[S.E. of Kh'ae-fung-foo at this time, 1853.]
6	<i>w.</i>	6	<i>Transfiguration.</i> Moon in Apogee, 8h. A.M. <i>Rebels take Sze-shung 20 miles</i>
7	<i>th.</i>	7	<i>Naming of JESUS.</i> <i>Fight at Ching-ling and Ke-lo-san, many Rebel boats</i> [and men destroyed, 1854.]
8	<i>f.</i>	8	
9	<i>s.</i>	9	Moon's first quarter, 6h. 28m. A.M.
10	<i>S.</i>	10	12th Sunday after Trinity. <i>St. Laurence's day.</i> Sun's apparent declination [N. 15° 27' 28". <i>British troops before Nanking, 1842.</i>
11	<i>m.</i>	11	<i>Rebels took Kwei-yang and Kea-ho in Hoo-nan, 1853.</i>
12	<i>tu.</i>	12	
13	<i>w.</i>	13	
14	<i>th.</i>	14	
15	<i>f.</i>	15	
16	<i>s.</i>	16	Full Moon, 2h. 1m. P.M. <i>Battle of Tchernaya, 1855, Russian loss 3,000 men.</i>
17	<i>S.</i>	17	13th Sunday after Trinity. Sun's apparent declination N. 13° 18' 3".
18	<i>m.</i>	18	<i>Queen VICTORIA visits Paris, 1855.</i> Moon in Perigee, 9h. P.M.
19	<i>tu.</i>	19	<i>Mahomedan disturbances at Tsin-féen in Yun-nan, 1853—the Emperor orders</i> [their extermination.]
20	<i>w.</i>	20	
21	<i>th.</i>	21	
22	<i>f.</i>	22	
23	<i>s.</i>	23	Moon's last quarter 5h. 13m. P.M.
24	<i>S.</i>	24	14th Sunday after Trinity. <i>St. Bartholomew.</i> Sun's apparent declination [N. 10° 58' 17". <i>Ambuscade of the Mulakhoff</i> [taken by the French, 1855.]
25	<i>m.</i>	25	
26	<i>tu.</i>	26	H. R. H. PRINCE ALBERT born, 1819.
27	<i>w.</i>	27	
28	<i>th.</i>	28	<i>St. Augustine Bishop.</i>
29	<i>f.</i>	29	<i>St. John Baptist beheaded.</i>
30	<i>s.</i>	1	New Moon, 7h. 20m. P.M. 8th Chinese Moon, 30 days.
31	<i>S.</i>	2	15th Sunday after Trinity. Sun's apparent declination N. 8° 29' 53".

* In Shanghai mean time.

† Apparent noon by Nautical Almanac.

AUGUST 1856.

XXXI DAYS.

*Mean temperature 84.4 in the Shade,—100.8 in the Sun.

Mean height of the Barometer 29.793.

Mean fall of rain 3.55—average number of rainy days 8½.

Day of Month.	Day of Week.	Day of Moon.	MEMORANDA.
1	f.	1	
2	s.	2	<i>Prof. bunge. infallens.</i>
3	sa.	3	<i>Sanctum.</i>
4	m.	4	
5	tu.	5	
6	w.	6	
7	th.	7	
8	f.	8	
9	s.	9	<i>Ent. and Hong Kong, in D. and h. a.</i>
10	sa.	10	
11	m.	11	<i>Subsided 2. Lifting in the air.</i>
12	tu.	12	
13	w.	13	
14	th.	14	
15	f.	15.	
16	s.	16	<i>Calmy fresh.</i>
17	sa.	17	<i>Subsided 2. Lifting in the air.</i>
18	m.	18	<i>Subsided 2. Lifting in the air.</i>
19	tu.	19	
20	w.	20	
21	th.	21	
22	f.	22	<i>Subsided 2. Lifting in the air.</i>
23	s.	23	
24	sa.	24	
25	m.	25	
26	tu.	26	
27	w.	27	<i>May 27th</i>
28	th.	28	<i>May 28th</i>
29	f.	29	
30	s.	1	<i>May 29th</i>
31	sa.	2	

* Mean of seven years.

SEPTEMBER 1856.

XXX DAYS.

WEATHER.—By this time the monsoon is wholly broken up and the wind prevails from E. to N.E. The temperature becomes very changeable, sometimes as great a range as 22 deg. occurring in the course of a day. Although the weather is frequently damp much rain does not generally fall during the month. The reverse however happened in 1850, in which no less than 16.67 inches were registered.

Day of Month.	Day of Week.	Day of Moon.	KALENDAR.
1	m.	3	8th Chinese Moon, 6th year Emp. Hienfung, 30 days.
2	tu.	4	Moon in Apogee, 11h. P.M. • <i>Rebels raised siege of Hwae-kh'ing-foo and proceeded towards Nanking, 1852.</i>
3	w.	5	
4	th.	6	
5	f.	7	
6	s.	8	
7	3.	9	16th Sunday after Trinity. Sun's apparent declination N. 5° 54' 47".† [by the French, 1855. Moon's first quarter, Oh. 3m. A.M.]
8	m.	10	Nativity of Blessed VIRGIN MARY. Malakhoff tower at Sebastopol taken
9	tu.	11	Ping-yang and Hung-ting in Shan-se taken by the Rebels about this time, 1853.
10	w.	12	Rebels quit Ch'hin-chow to go Northward, 1852.
11	th.	13	
12	f.	14	[Hwan-keh taken, about this time, 1853. Sebastopol evacuated by the Russians, town and shipping destroyed, 1855.]
13	s.	15	[perialists, 1854, (about 160 miles S.W. of Loo-chow.) declination N. 3° 14' 57". Ying-san taken by the Im-
14	3.	16	17th Sunday after Trinity. Full Moon, 10h. 14m. P.M. Sun's apparent
15	m.	17	Moon in Perigee, 4h. P.M. <i>Rebels take Jung-hing, Guan-jin, Yew-heen and</i>
16	tu.	18	<i>Le-ling cities, North of Ch'hin-chow, about this time, 1852.</i>
17	w.	19	
18	th.	20	<i>Rebels sprang mine under walls of Chang-sha, 1852.</i>
19	f.	21	<i>Victory of Allies at the Alma—5,000 Russians killed, 1854.</i>
20	s.	22	[Imperialists gain victories near Hoo-k'how, 1854. [54m. P.M. Sun's apparent declination N. 0° 32' 11".
21	3.	23	18th Sunday after Trinity. St. Matthew Apostle. Moon's last quarter 1h.
22	m.	24	King-san retaken by Imperialists, 1854.
23	tu.	25	Autumnal Equinox. Sun rises and sets 6h.; twilight 1h. 25m.
24	w.	26	Cities of Kin-shwuy and Kwang-se retaken by Imperialists, also Lo-tien city,
25	th.	27	Tsung-yang recaptured by the Imperialists, 1854. [1854.
26	f.	28	St. Cyprian's day.
27	s.	29	[the want of copper for cash, 1854. [Lead recommended at Peking to supply
28	3.	30	19th Sunday after Trinity. Sun's apparent declination S. 2° 11' 42".
29	m.	1	St. Michael's day. New Moon, 11h. 54m. A.M. 9th Chinese Moon, 30 days.
30	tu.	2	St. Jerome's day. Moon in Apogee, 7h. A.M.

* In Shanghai mean time.

† Apparent noon by Nautical Almanac.

SEPTEMBER 1856.

XXX DAYS.

* Mean temperature 77.6 in the Shade,—81.1 in the Sun.

Mean height of the Barometer 29.996.

Mean fall of rain 5.64—average number of rainy days 10½.

Day of Month.	Day of Week.	Day of Moon.	MEMORANDA.
1	m.	3	Von Fakhing-nag Scibearz
2	tu.	4	Nach Pukab
3	w.	5	Gründet nach No an.
4	th.	6	
5	f.	7	Lohscheidt geht nach dem Meis
6	s.	8	
7	S.	9	
8	m.	10	Von Pampun nach dem Meis
9	tu.	11	Die Meis Gruppe für zum Anbau.
10	w.	12	
11	th.	13	
12	f.	14	Antwort von Dr. Secker 2. Leichter.
13	s.	15	
14	S.	16	
15	m.	17	Nach der Pampun nach dem Meis.
16	tu.	18	
17	w.	19	
18	th.	20	
19	f.	21	Leichter nach ab nach Pukab
20	s.	22	
21	S.	23	Leichter 2. Pampun.
22	m.	24	Leichter 2. Lohscheidt nach Pukab:
23	tu.	25	Lohscheidt gründet 2.
24	w.	26	nach dem Meis.
25	th.	27	
26	f.	28	
27	s.	29	
28	S.	30	
29	m.	1	
30	tu.	2	

* Mean of seven years.

OCTOBER 1856.

XXXI DAYS.

WEATHER.—During this month but little rain falls, and the atmosphere assumes a clearness quite peculiar. The temperature now becomes pleasantly cool.

Day of Month.	Day of Week.	Day of Moon.	KALENDAR.
1	w.	3	Pheasant shooting begins. 9th Chinese Moon, 6th year Emp. Hienfung, 30 [days.
2	th.	4	
3	f.	5	
4	s.	6	
5	S.	7	20th Sunday after Trinity. Sun's apparent declination S. 4° 54' 40".*
6	m.	8	
7	tu.	9	Moon's first quarter, 1h. 44m. P.M.†
8	w.	10	
9	th.	11	St. Denis' day.
10	f.	12	Chin-hae taken, 1841—1,500 Chinese killed.
11	s.	13	Old Michaelmas' day. Yu-kien kills himself, 1841. [at Han-k'how, 1854. [Victory over the Rebels
12	S.	14	21st Sunday after Trinity. Sun's apparent declination S. 7° 34' 33".
13	m.	15	Ningpo taken by British forces, 1841. Han-yang and Hang-k'how retaken [by Imperialists, 1854.
14	tu.	16	Full Moon, 7h. 5m. A.M. Moon in Perigee, 3h. P.M. Woo-ch'hang retaken [by Imperialists, 1854.
15	w.	17	Lung-ping and Pih-heang in Pih-chih-le, taken by Rebels, 1853.
16	th.	18	
17	f.	19	Ghing-ting besieged by Rebels, 1853.
18	s.	20	St. Luke's day.
19	S.	21	22d Sunday after Trinity. Sun's apparent declination S. 10° 9' 19".
20	m.	22	
21	tu.	23	Moon's last quarter, 2h. 12m. A.M. Battle at Woo-ning, 1854.
22	w.	24	
23	th.	25	
24	f.	26	Gates of Nanking closed against "Lord Amherst," 1816.
25	s.	27	St. Crispin's day. Battle of Balaclava—Russians routed, 1854.
26	S.	28	23d Sunday after Trinity. Sun's apparent declination S. 12° 36' 50".
27	m.	29	Moon in Apogee, 9h. A.M.
28	tu.	30	St. Simon and St. Jude.
29	w.	1	New Moon, 6h. 1m. A.M. 10th Chinese Moon, 29 days.
30	th.	2	
31	f.	3	All Hallows Eve.

* Apparent noon by Nautical Almanac.

† In Shanghai mean time.

OCTOBER 1856.

XXXI DAYS.

* Mean temperature 67.3 in the Shade,—801.2 in the Sun.

Mean height of the Barometer 30:225.

Mean fall of rain 1.50—average number of rainy days 6.

Day of Month.	Day of Week.	Day of Moon.	MEMORANDA.
1	w.	3	
2	th.	4	
3	f.	5	<i>Leinige über den Ort der Mutter.</i>
4	s.	6	
5	S.	7	<i>Lein der Abendmahl, mit mir zu sein.</i>
6	m.	8	
7	tu.	9	
8	w.	10	
9	th.	11	<i>Abend der Zeit 2. Lich. auf Hongkong. Für</i>
10	f.	12	<i>auf Long kan zu sein etc.</i>
11	s.	13	
12	S.	14	
13	m.	15	
14	tu.	16	<i>Der Wei. Lich. am 16. 17.</i>
15	w.	17	<i>Was für's zu sein</i>
16	th.	18	
17	f.	19	
18	s.	20	
19	S.	21	
20	m.	22	
21	tu.	23	<i>Auf Fu Kach</i>
22	w.	24	<i>Auf Lich. auf</i>
23	th.	25	
24	f.	26	<i>Auf Fu Kach</i>
25	s.	27	
26	S.	28	
27	m.	29	
28	tu.	30	<i>Auf Lich. auf zu sein</i>
29	w.	1	
30	th.	2	
31	f.	3	<i>Mit der Sonne auf Hongkong</i>

* Mean of seven years.

NOVEMBER 1856.

XXX DAYS.

WEATHER.—The winter is now fairly set in; the first frost appearing from the 12th to the 20th. The wind prevails from the N.W. steadily, and very little rain falls.

Day of Month.	Day of Week.	Day of Moon.	KALENDAR.
1	s.	4	<i>All Saints.</i> 10th Chinese Moon, 6th year Emp. Hienfung, 29 days.
2	S.	5	24th Sunday after Trinity. Sun's apparent declination S. 14° 54' 49".*
3	m.	6	
4	tu.	7	
5	w.	8	<i>Guy Fawkes' day.</i> <i>Victory of the Inkermann—Russian Loss</i> —5 a 6,000 kil-
6	th.	9	Moon's first quarter, 1h. 28m. A.M.† [led, 1854.
7	f.	10	
8	s.	11	
9	S.	12	25th Sunday after Trinity.— PRINCE OF WALES born, 1841. Sun's ap-
10	m.	13	[arent declination S. 17° 0' 49". <i>Triads evacuate Amoy</i> , 1853.
11	tu.	14	<i>St. Martin's day.</i> Moon in Perigee, 2h. P.M.
12	w.	15	Full Moon, 5h. 1m. P.M.
13	th.	16	
14	f.	17	
15	s.	18	
16	S.	19	26th Sunday after Trinity. Sun's apparent declination S. 18° 52' 34".
17	m.	20	
18	tu.	21	
19	w.	22	Moon's last quarter, 6h. 40m. P.M.
20	th.	23	
21	f.	24	PRINCESS ROYAL born, 1840.
22	s.	25	<i>St. Cecilia's day.</i>
23	S.	26	27th Sunday after Trinity. <i>St. Clement's day.</i> Moon in Apogee, 8h. P.M.
24	m.	27	[Sun's apparent declination S. 20° 27' 54".
25	tu.	28	[Rebels attacked Chang-sha, 1852.
26	w.	29	
27	th.	1	PRINCESS CAMBRIDGE born, 1833. 11th Chinese Moon, 30 days.
28	f.	2	New Moon, Oh. 7m. A.M.
29	s.	3	<i>Rebels stormed Chang-sha</i> , 1852.
30	S.	4	<i>Advent Sunday.</i> <i>St. Andrew.</i> Sun's apparent declination S. 21° 44' 43".

* Apparent noon by Nautical Almanac.

† In Shanghai mean time.

NOVEMBER 1856.

XXX DAYS.

*Mean temperature 56.1 in the Shade,—66.7 in the Sun.

Mean height of the Barometer 30.386.

Mean fall of rain 2.00—average number of rainy days 8½.

Day of Month.	Day of Week.	Day of Moon.	MEMORANDA.
1	s.	4	<i>Luif nun Tukak; Melilai laktin.</i> <i>Sunah, Lewis & Charlesid Kammau an.</i> <i>Winnos' Kammal ad.</i>
2	S.	5	
3	m.	6	
4	tu.	7	
5	w.	8	
6	th.	9	
7	f.	10	
8	s.	11	
9	S.	12	
10	m.	13	
11	tu.	14	
12	w.	15	
13	th.	16	
14	f.	17	
15	s.	18	
16	S.	19	
17	m.	20	
18	tu.	21	
19	w.	22	
20	th.	23	
21	f.	24	
22	s.	25	
23	S.	26	
24	m.	27	
25	tu.	28	
26	w.	29	
27	th.	1	
28	f.	2	
29	s.	3	
30	S.	4	

* Mean of seven years.

DECEMBER 1856.

XXXI DAYS.

WEATHER.—This is the driest month of the year, rain falling but rarely, though fogs are not unfrequent. The weather is very similar to that of England during the same month, but probably more clear and bracing; frost and hoar-frost now occur almost every day.

<i>Day of Month.</i>	<i>Day of Week.</i>	<i>Day of Moon.</i>	KALENDAR.
1	m.	5	11th Chinese Moon, 6th year Emp. Hienfung, 30 days.
2	tu.	6	
3	w.	7	
4	th.	8	
5	f.	9	Moon's first quarter, 11h. 32m. A.M.*
6	s.	10	
7	So.	11	2d Sunday in Advent. Sun's apparent declination S. 22° 41' 7".†
8	m.	12	Conception of VIRGIN MARY.
9	tu.	13	Moon in Perigee, 8h. P.M.
10	w.	14	
11	th.	15	
12	f.	16	Full Moon, 4h. 19m. A.M.
13	s.	17	
14	So.	18	3d Sunday in Advent. Sun's apparent declination S. 23° 15' 42".
15	m.	19	Ember Week.
16	tu.	20	
17	w.	21	
18	th.	22	
19	f.	23	Moon's last quarter 2h. 50m. P.M.
20	s.	24	
21	So.	25	[apparent declination S. 23° 27' 37".
22	m.	26	4th Sunday in Advent. St. Thomas' day. Moon in Apogee, 2h. P.M. Sun's
23	tu.	27	Winter Solstice. Sun enters Capricorn.
24	w.	28	Rebels take Han-yang, 1852.
25	th.	29	Christmas' Day.
26	f.	30	St. Stephen Martyr.
27	s.	1	St. John Evangelist. New Moon, 4h. 51m. P.M. 12th Chinese Moon, 30 days.
28	So.	2	1st Sunday after Christmas. Innocents' day. Sun's apparent declination
29	m.	3	[S. 23° 16' 26".
30	tu.	4	
31	w.	5	

N.B.—The next CHINA NEW YEAR falls on the 26th January, 1857.

* In Shanghai mean time.

† Apparent noon by Nautical Almanac.

XXXI DAYS.

Mean height of the Barometer 30.439.

Mean fall of rain 0.47—average number of rainy days 5½

Day of Month.	Day of Week.	Day of Moon.	MEMORANDA.
1	m.	5	
2	tu.	6	
3	w.	7	
4	th.	8	<i>Leipziger Tag des Jahres.</i>
5	f.	9	
6	s.	10	<i>Geburt von M. Schiller</i>
7	So.	11	
8	m.	12	
9	tu.	13	
10	w.	14	
11	th.	15	
12	f.	16	
13	s.	17	
14	So.	18	
15	m.	19	
16	tu.	20	
17	w.	21	
18	th.	22	
19	f.	23	
20	s.	24	<i>St. Luthers Tag des Jahres</i>
21	So.	25	
22	m.	26	
23	tu.	27	<i>Geburt des Hannen</i>
24	w.	28	
25	th.	29	
26	f.	30	
27	s.	1	
28	So.	2	
29	m.	3	
30	tu.	4	
31	w.	5	<i>Leipziger Tag des Jahres.</i>

* Mean of seven years.

*Conditions of the Residence of Chinese within
the Foreign limits.*

Whereas, no Chinese subject can acquire land, or rent, or erect Buildings within the Foreign settlement, without having first obtained an authority under official seal from the Local Authority, sanctioned by the Consuls of the Three Treaty Powers,—it has been decided that the following course shall be observed by any Chinese desiring to rent ground or houses within the said limits. He shall make a written application through his Landlord, if the latter be a Foreigner, to his Consul, and direct to the Local Authority, if a native, stating his name, age, place of Birth, occupation, the description and plan of the house he is about to build, the uses to which he destines it, and the names and number of its inmates. And if there exist no objection on the part of the Local Authority and Consuls, and permission be accordingly given him to reside within the Foreign settlement, he shall then enter into securities, in his own name if he be wealthy and of sufficient standing, or if not, in the persons of two wealthy householders, that he will keep duly registered at the office of the Local Authority, and upon a Board to be hung over the door of his house, the name and age of every inmate,—under a penalty of Fifty dollars for the first offence, and the cancelling of his license on repetition of it; and, further, that he will conform strictly to the Land Regulations, and contribute his share to any general assessments.

Translated by

H. N. LAY.

Offg. Vice-Consul and Interpreter.

CUSTOM-HOUSE REPORT of the TOTAL EXPORT OF TEA from SHANGHAE,
From 1st July to 31st December, 1854,—(Continued.)

—TO THE UNITED STATES.—

<i>Date of Clear- ance</i>	<i>Vessel's Name.</i>	<i>Where bound</i>	<i>Consignees</i>	<i>BLACK TEA Pcls. Ctls.</i>	<i>GREEN TEA Pcls. Ctls.</i>	<i>TOTAL Pcls. Ctls.</i>
1854						
July 2	Horatio, .....(Am)	New York	Bull, Nye and Co.	3,830:25	3,830:25	3,830:25
" 11	Gamecock,	do	Russell and Co.	4,226:25	4,226:25	4,226:25
Aug. 19	Thomas W. Sears,	do	Smith, King and Co.	3,520:82	3,520:82	3,520:82
Sept. 8	Tingqua,	do	do. do.	4,948:63	4,948:63	4,948:63
" 23	Cœur de Lion,	do	Russell and Co.	8,170:24	8,170:24	8,170:24
Oct. 18	Ariel,	do	do.	4,371:80	4,371:80	4,371:80
" 21	Messenger,	do	Smith, King and Co.	7,433:44	7,433:44	7,433:44
" 21	Candace,	do	Bull, Nye and Co.	3,016:25	3,016:25	3,016:25
" 24	Panama,	do	Russell and Co.	6,570:52	6,570:52	6,570:52
" 24	Andes,	Boston	Smith, King and Co.	1,752:19	1,752:19	1,752:19
Nov. 2	Union,	New York	Augustine Heard and Co.	5,952:26	5,952:26	5,952:26
" 3	Sea Serpent,	do	Bull, Nye and Co.	6,613:61	6,613:61	6,613:61
" 16	Surprise,	do	Russell and Co.	7,482:94	7,482:94	7,482:94
" 27	Joshua Bates,	do	Bull, Nye and Co.	4,515:43	4,515:43	4,515:43
" 30	Lantao,	do	Russell and Co.	4,809:67	4,809:67	4,809:67
Dec. 5	Alboni,	do	Hanbury and Co.	193:61	5,793:63	5,987:24
" 7	Robin Hood,	do	do.	8,239:04	8,239:04	8,239:04
" 29	Golden State,	do	Augustine Heard and Co.	431:59	7,909:34	8,340:93
				625:20	99,156:31	99,781:51

—TO COWES FOR ORDERS.—

1854						
Dec. 26	Swiftaure,	Cowes for Orders	Lindsay and Co.	169:37	659:43	828:80

—TO HAMBURGH.—

1854						
Dec. 22	Magdalena, (Ham)	Hamb'gh.	Augustine Heard and Co.	1,809:98	.....	1,809:98

—TO HALIFAX.—

1854						
Dec. 20	Mimosa,	Halifax	James Bowman and Co.	3,072:11	637:73	3,709:84

—TO MONTREAL.—

1854						
Dec. 22	Aristides,	Montreal	G. C. Schwabe and Co.	179:44	2,509:72	2,689:16

Shanghai, 21st March, 1855.

THOS. J. BAKER, *Secretary.*

RATES OF LABOR IN SAN FRANCISCO,

MARCH 1855.

Blacksmiths,	\$ 5.00 a	\$ 6.00 per diem.	Bookbinders,	6.00 per diem.
Do. Helpers,	3.50 a	4.00	Do. Folders,	3.00
Ship Smiths,	5.00 a	6.00	Cartmen,	2.50
Do. Helpers,	3.50 a	4.00	Day Laborers,	3.00
Locksmiths, .....	.....	5.00	Watchmakers,	8.00
Coppersmiths,	5.00 a	6.00	Jewelers,	8.00
Gunsmiths, .....	.....	5.00	Chasers,	10.00
Metal Turners,	5.00 a	6.00	Lapidaries,	9.00
Fire-proof Shutter & Railing makers, }	5.00 .....	.....	Brickmakers,	50.00 a 90.00 { per month & found.
Brass Founders,	4.00 a	5.00	Do. Moulders,	75.00 a 100.00
Gas Fitters,	5.00 a	7.00	Do. Burners,	125.00 a 150.00
Boiler makers and Riveters, }	5.50 a	6.00	Lime Burners,	50.00 a 60.00
Pattern makers and Moulders, }	5.50 a	6.00	Matrass Makers,	30.00 a 40.00
Finishers,	5.50 a	6.00	Hostlers,	40.00 a 60.00
Plumbers,	6.00 a	8.00	Waiters (in hotels) ...	40.00 a 50.00
House Carpenters and Joiners, }	6.00 .....	.....	Cooks,	75.00 a 150.00
Ship Carpenters,	7.00 a	8.00	Deck hands (river navigation,) ... }	60.00 { per month.
Boat Builders,	7.00 a	8.00	Engineers,	250.00
Caulkers,	8.00 .....	.....	Do. Assistants,	150.00
Tin Workers,	5.00 .....	.....	Firemen,	75.00
Tin Roofers,	6.00 .....	.....	Waiters,	40.00
Carriage Makers,	6.00 .....	.....	Mates,	150.00
Wheelwrights,	6.00 .....	.....	Pilots,	200.00
Pile Drivers,	5.00 .....	.....	Cooks,	100.00
Coopers,	5.00 .....	.....	Tailors,	75.00 a 100.00
House & Sign Painters,	6.00 .....	.....	Seamens' wages,	25.00
Sail Makers,	6.00 .....	.....	Mates,	50.00 a 60.00
Riggers,	6.00 .....	.....	Servant girls,	30.00 a 50.00
Stavedores,	6.00 .....	.....	Mill Sawyers,	100.00
Granite Dressers,	5.00 a	7.00	Do. Planers,	100.00
Marble Cutters,	6.00 a	8.00	Lumbermen (in yards),	100.00
Do. Polishers, .....	.....	4.00	Bakers,	75.00 a 100.00
Freestone Cutters, .....	.....	7.00	Barbers,	90.00 a 100.00
Stone Masons, .....	.....	7.00	Butchers and Slaughterers, }	75.00 a 100.00
Ballast cutters,	1.00 a	3.00	Upholsterers, paper hangers, &c., }	75.00 a 100.00
Bricklayers, .....	.....	8.00	Porters in Stores,	75.00 a 125.00
Hodmen, .....	.....	4.00	Draymen,	25.00 per week.
Plasterers, .....	.....	6.00	Printers,	1.25 per 1000 ems or \$50 per week.
Shoemakers,	2.00 a	5.00	— California Paper.	
Hatters, .....	.....	10.00		
Pump & Block makers, .....	.....	5.00		
Harness Makers, .....	.....	5.00		
Millers (two grades), ..	6.00 a	10.00		
Engineers (stationary engines), }	3.50 a	6.00		

LIST OF FOREIGN RESIDENTS AT SHANGHAE,

AUGUST, 1855.

Robertson, D. B., (Denmark Vice-Consul).	British Consul,	Her Britannic Majesty's Consulate.
Murphy, R. C., and family	United States Consul,	United States Consulate.
Edan, B.,	French Consul <i>ad interim</i> , ..	His Imperial Majesty's Consulate.
Abdoolally, Nuzerally,	Mercantile Assistant,	Dhurumsey Poonjabhoy.
Adamson, W. R.,	Merchant,	W. R. Adamson.
Ahmed, S. Husson Shaik,	Do,	Ameeroodeen and Jafferbhoy and Co.
Aitchison, Rev. Wm.,	Missionary,	A. B. C. F. M.
Alfeld, H.,	Assistant,	P. F. Richards and Co.
Angier, F. J.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Angier and Co.
Arnold, R.,	Merchant,	G. C. Schwabe and Co.
Aspinall, W. G.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Aspinall, Mackenzie and Co.
Ayer, W. E.,	Merchant,	W. E. Ayer.
Baker, T. J.,	Pilot,	T. J. Baker.
Baloorjee, Pirally,	Bill-Broker,	Cusumbhoy Nathabbhoy and Co.
Barnet, Geo., absent	Mercantile Assistant,	Geo. Barnet and Co.
Barradas, M. F.,	Merchant,	North-China Herald Office.
Barros, D.,	Assistant,	Wetmore and Co.
Bastos, A. J.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Lindsay and Co.
Batt, J. T.,	Do, Do,	Jardine, Matheson and Co.
Beale, T. C., { Portuguese Consul, and Dutch Vice-Consul. }	Silk Inspector,	Dent, Beale and Co.
Belton, Rev. James S., and family	Merchant,	Am: South: Metho: Episcopal Mission.
Bessières, V.,	Missionary,	Dimier, Brothers and Co.
Bidet, A.,	Merchant,	Rémi, Schmidt and Cie.
Birdseye, T. J.,	Assistant,	Aspinall, Mackenzie and Co.
Bishop, Joseph,	Mercantile Assistant,	Joseph Bishop.
Bland, Joseph,	Tailor,	Shaw, Bland and Co.
Blodget, Rev. Henry,	Merchant,	A. B. C. F. M.
Bohstedt, J.,	Missionary,	Bohstedt and Co.
Bomanjee, C.,	Merchant,	Cowasjee Pallanjee and Co.
Bomanjee, S., absent	Do,	Do, Do,
Booker, F.,	Do,	Dallas and Co.
Boone, Rt. Rev. W. J., D.D., and family	Missionary,	American Episcopal Mission.
Bower, F., and family	Merchant,	G. C. Schwabe and Co.
Bowman, A., and family	Do,	Gilman, Bowman and Co.
Bowman, James,	Do,	James Bowman and Co.
Boyd, E. B. M.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Russell and Co.
Bridgman, Rev. Dr. E. C., and family	Missionary,	A. B. C. F. M.
Brine, Robt. A.,	Auctioneer,	Robt. Brine and Co.
Broughall, Wm., absent	Silk Broker,	Wm: Broughall.
Brown, W. S., and family	Merchant,	Birley, Worthington and Co.
Buissonnet, Eugene,	Do,	Eugene Buissonnet.
Burdon, Rev. J. S., and family	Missionary,	Church Missionary Society.
Burjorjee, D.,	Merchant,	D. Burjorjee.
Burton, Rev. Dr. G. W., M.D., and family	Missionary,	A. B. S. C.
Cabanisa, Rev. A. B., and family	Do,	American Sabbtn: Baptist Convention.
Camajee, H. F.,	Mercantile Assistant,	R. H. Camajee and Co.
Carpenter, Rev. S., and family	Missionary,	American Sabbatarian Board.
Carvalho, A. H. de, and family	Overseer,	North-China Herald Office.
Carvalho, J. H. de,	Printer,	J. H. de Carvalho.
Chandabbay, Ameeroodeen,	Mercantile Assistant,	Ameeroodeen and Jafferbhoy and Co.
Christy, Thomas, jr.,	Merchant,	Hanbury and Co.
Clark, D. O., absent	Mercantile Assistant,	Russell and Co. (Foo-chow.)
Clarke, Edw.,	Silk Inspector,	Blenkin, Rawson and Co.
Cobb, Benj.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Jardine, Matheson and Co.
Comstock, Wm., jr., absent	Do, Do,	Augustine Heard and Co. (Foo-chow.)
Connolly, Andrew,	Merchant,	Andrew Connolly.
Conover, Miss J. R.,	Missionary,	American Episcopal Mission.
Coutts, G. W.,	Merchant,	Watson and Co.
Crampton, J.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Hanbury and Co.
Crampton, Wm.,	Merchant,	Do.
Crawford, Rev. T., and family	Missionary,	American Sabbtn: Baptist Convention.
Crosley, James, absent	Merchant,	G. C. Schwabe and Co.
Culbertson, Rev. M. S., and family	Missionary,	American Presbyterian Board.
Cunningham, Edw., { Consul of Sweden and Norway. }	Merchant,	Russell and Co.
Cunyngham, Rev. W. G. E., and family	Missionary,	Am: South: Metho: Episcopal Mission

Dallas, Barnes,	Mercantile Assistant,	Dallas and Co.
Dato, W. T.,	{ Chronometer, Watch and Clock-makers and General Store-keepers, }	Kupferschmid and Dato.
Dawson, J. F.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Birley, Worthington and Co.
Deacon, E.,	Do. Do.	Augustine Heard and Co.
Dearborn, T. W.,	Commander,	Steam-tug <i>Confucius</i> .
Dewsnap, J.,	Engineer,	J. Dewsnap.
Dhurumsey, K.,	Merchant,	Cusumbhoy Nathabhoy and Co.
Dick, James,	Mercantile Assistant,	Smith, Kennedy and Co.
Donaldson, C. M.,	General Providers,	Donaldson & Meylert, (Comcl. House)
Dow, James,	Mercantile Assistant,	Blenkin, Rawson and Co.
Dunn, T.,	Do. Do.	King and Co.
Edkins, Rev. Joseph,	Missionary,	London Missionary Society.
Fay, Miss L. M.,	Do.	American Episcopal Mission.
Fearon, C. A.,	Merchant,	Augustine Heard and Co.
Fincham, A.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Reiss and Co. (<i>Foo-chow.</i>)
Fitzwilliam, W. S.,	Agent,	Commercial Bank of India.
Fogg, Hiram,	Ship Chandler, &c.,	H. Fogg and Co.
Foster, F.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Augustine Heard and Co.
Framjee, S.,	Do. Do.	Edujee Framjee, Sons and Co.
Francis, Robt.,	Do. Do.	Bull, Nye and Co.
Franks, Joseph F.,	Do. Do.	Reiss and Co.
Freeman, A. L.,	Assistant,	H. Fogg and Co.
Gerrard, Robert,	Mercantile Assistant,	Jardine, Matheson and Co.
Gibb, H. B.,	Merchant,	Gibb, Livingston and Co.
Goddard, R.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Reiss and Co.
Gover, Mahomedbhoy,	Do. Do.	Hublibhoy Ebrahim, Sons and Co.
Gray, G. G.,	Merchant,	Russell and Co.
Gray, H. M. M.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Gibb, Livingston and Co.
Green, G. F.,	Do. Do.	Bull, Nye and Co.
Green, J. J.,	Do. Do.	Gibb, Livingston and Co.
Grove, F. H.,	Merchant,	Moncreiff, Grove and Co.
Guye, Ch.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Dimier, Brothers and Co.
Hall, Edward,	Baker, &c.,	Edward Hall.
Hall, Geo., A. B.; M. D.,	Surgeon,	Dra. Hall and Murray.
Hammond, G. P.,	Assistant,	Donaldson & Meylert, (Comcl. House).
Hanbury, Thomas,	Merchant,	Hanbury and Co.
Hancock, Herbert,	Bill Broker,	Herbert Hancock.
Hansen, H. P.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Dent, Beale and Co.
Hardy, T. W.,	Do. Do.	G. C. Schwabe and Co.
Hargreaves, Wm.,	Merchant,	Hargreaves and Co.
Harvey, F.,	British Vice-Consul,	Her Britannic Majesty's Consulate.
Head, C. H.,	Merchant,	Augustine Heard and Co.
Heard, A. F.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Wetmore and Co.
Hedge, E. G.,	Do. Do.	King and Co.
Helbling, J. C.,	Merchant,	Smith, Kennedy and Co.
Helbling, Lewis,	British Chaplain,	Trinity Church.
Hobson, Rev. John,	Mercantile Assistant,	Blenkin, Rawson and Co.
Hogg, G. W.,	Merchant,	Lindsay and Co.
Hogg, James, (Acting Hamburg Consul)	Do.	Do.
Hogg, Wm., (Hamburg Consul)	Do.	Holliday, Wise and Co.
Holliday, John,	Mercantile Assistant,	Wm. Pustau and Co.
Hollmann, Wm.,	Assistant,	Edward Hall.
Holtz, Andreas,	Merchant,	James Hooper.
Hooper, James,	Do.	Pestonjee Framjee Cama & Co.
Hormusjee, Framjee,	Do.	Geo. Barnett and Co.
Howell, Wm. Gunston,	Do.	Hublibhoy Ebrahim, Sons and Co.
Hublibhoy, Alladinbhoy,	Mercantile Assistant,	Gilman, Bowman and Co. (<i>Foo-chow.</i>)
Hudson, C. W.,	Do. Do.	Aspinall, Mackenzie and Co.
Hudson, Joseph T.,	Merchant,	Turner and Co.
Hutchison, W.,	Merchant,	J. T. Huttleston.
Huttleston, John T.,	Missionary,	Dent, Beale and Co.
Ince, H. A.,	Interpreter,	Am. South: Metho: Episcopal Mission.
Jenkins, Rev. Dr. B.,	Missionary,	United States Consulate.
Jenkins, F.,	Do.	American Episcopal Mission.
Jones, Miss C. E.,	Bill Broker,	Do. Do.
Jones, Miss E. G.,	Merchant,	V. P. Jordan.
Jordan, V. P.,	Missionary,	Blenkin, Rawson and Co.
Kay, Wm.,	Do.	American Episcopal Mission.
Keith, Rev. C.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Am. South: Metho: Episcopal Mission.
Kelley, Rev. D. C., M. D.,	Merchant,	Dhurumsey Poonjabhoy.
Khakey, Lathabhoy,	Do.	Moncreiff, Grove and Co. (<i>Foo-chow.</i>)
King, C. J.,	Accountant,	King and Co.
King, D. O., (Prussian Consul.),	Merchant,	Do.
King, Edward,		Do.
King, F.,		

Kirk, T.	Surgeon,	T. Kirk.
Kupferschmid, P.	{ Chronometer, Watch and Clock-makers and General Store-keepers,	Kupferschmid and Dato.
Kupferschmid, M.	Assistant,	Do. Do.
Lacy, Norman,	Mercantile Assistant,	Dent, Beale and Co.
Lalcaca, C. D.,	Do. Do.	Pestonjee Framjee Cama and Co.
Lalcaca, D. D.,	Merchant,	Do. Do.
Lambert, J. W.,	Assistant,	P. & O. Company's Office.
Lambuth, Rev. J. W., and family	Missionary,	Am: South: Metho: Episcopal Mission.
Lamond, M.,	Ship-smith & Shipwright,	M. Lamond and Co.
Langley, J. C.,	Accountant,	Oriental Bank Corporation.
Lay, H. N.,	Inspector,	Maritime Customs.
Lay, W. H.,	Junior Assistant,	Her Britannic Majesty's Consulate.
Lemaire, C.,	Assistant,	Rémi, Schmidt and Cie.
Lent, Wm.,	Secretary,	Maritime Customs.
Lloyd, Edw.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Moncreiff, Grove and Co.
Lockhart, Wm., M.R.C.S.,	Missionary,	London Missionary Society.
Loureiro, E.,	Mercantile Assistant,	James MacDonald.
Loureiro, F.,	Do. Do.	Russell and Co.
Loureiro, J.,	Do. Do.	Dent, Beale and Co.
Loureiro, P., Jr.,	Do. Do.	Russell and Co.
Lowrie, Rev. R., and family	Missionary,	American Presbyterian Board.
Macandrew, L.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Augustine Heard and Co.
MacDonald, A.,	Pilot,	A. MacDonald.
MacDonald, James, absent	Merchant,	James MacDonald.
Mackenzie, W.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Aspinall, Mackenzie and Co.
McKenzie, D.,	Assistant,	P. F. Richards and Co.
McKenzie, J., absent	Store-keeper, &c.,	Do. Do.
McKenzie, R.,	Boarding House-keeper,	Sailor's Home.
Maclean, J. L.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Hargreaves and Co.
Mahomed, J. M.,	Do. Do.	Mahomed Thaverbhoy and Co.
Mahomed, Rujabally Wullee,	Do. Do.	Ameerooddeen and Jafferbhoy and Co.
Major, John,	Do. Do.	Shaw, Bland and Co.
Major, R. O.,	Do. Do.	Lindsay and Co.
Maltby, C.,	Do. Do.	Birley, Worthington and Co.
Man, James L., and family	Merchant,	Geo: Barnet and Co.
Matheson, C. S.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Jardine, Matheson and Co.
Medhurst, Rev. Dr. W. H., and family	Missionary,	London Missionary Society.
Merlo, E.,	Chancellor,	His Imperial Majesty's Consulate.
Michie, A.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Liadssay and Co.
Miller, John,	Billiard Room,	John Miller.
Molidina, J.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Aladinbhoy Habebhoy.
Moncreiff, Thomas,	Merchant,	Moncreiff, Grove and Co.
Mockroo, Shumsudeen R.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Ameerooddeen and Jafferbhoy and Co.
Monteiro, J. X.,	Assistant,	P. & O. Company's Office.
Morrison, G. S., (Packet Agent)	Senior Assistant,	Her Britannic Majesty's Consulate.
Mugford, John,	Apothecary,	Seaman's Hospital.
Muirhead, Rev. W.,	Missionary,	London Missionary Society.
Murray, John Ivor, M.D.; M.R.C.S.E., absent	Surgeon,	Drs. Hall and Murray.
Natha, H. A.,	Merchant,	Hajee Abdoolia Natha.
Nelson, Rev. R., and family	Missionary,	American Episcopal Mission.
Newby, Richard,	Agent,	{ Mercantile Bank of India, London and China.
Norton, W. M.,	Merchant,	Blenkin, Rawson and Co.
Nye, C. D., and family	Do.	Bull, Nye and Co.
Oppert, E.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Watson and Co.
Orme, C. W.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Russell and Co.
Ouseley, J.,	Sub-Agent,	{ Mercantile Bank of India, London and China.
Overweg, C. W.,	Merchant,	C. W. Overweg.
Pearcy, Rev. G., and family	Missionary,	American Sabbth: Baptist Convention.
Pearson, T.,	Boarding House-keeper,	Seaman's Home.
Perceval, Alex.,	Merchant,	Jardine, Matheson and Co.
Pereira, B.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Russell and Co.
Pert, Robert, and family	Sail-Maker,	Robert Pert.
Pestonjee, D.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Pestonjee Framjee Cama & Co.
Peterson, F.,		F. Peterson.
Pierce, W. G., absent	Mercantile Assistant,	Wetmore and Co.
Placé, Thomé, jr.,	Do. Do.	Bull, Nye and Co.
Points, J. T.,	Missionary,	American Episcopal Mission.
Potter, D.,	Merchant,	Dirom, Gray and Co.
Potter, M. L.,		M. L. Potter.
Pullan, C., absent	Merchant,	Hanbury and Co.
Pyke, Thomas, absent	Mercantile Assistant,	Bull, Nye and Co.
Ranken, A. A.,	Merchant,	Smith, Kennedy and Co.
Reeve, Rev. H., and family	Missionary,	Church Missionary School.

Rehden, W. F.,	Mercantile Assistant,	James Bowman and Co.
Reid, John,	Assistant,	C. M. Donaldson, (Commercial House)
Reid, Robert,	Mercantile Assistant,	Birley, Worthington and Co.
Rémi, D.,	Merchant,	Rémi, Schmidt and Cie.
Reuben, J. J.,	Mercantile Assistant,	David Sassoon, Sons and Co.
Reynolds, E. A.,	General Auctioneer, &c.,	E. A. Reynolds.
Richards, P. F.,	Store-keeper, &c.,	P. F. Richards and Co.
Richardson, C. L.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Aspinall, Mackenzie and Co.
Rickard, R. W.,	Pilot,	R. W. Rickard.
Robinson, P.,	Do.	P. Robinson.
Rogers, James,	Carpenter and Shipwright,	James Rogers and Co.
Ross, J. B.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Jardine, Matheson and Co.
Rothwell, Thos.,	Do.	Wetmore and Co.
Rozario, C. E. do,	Assistant,	North-China Herald Office.
Rozario, F. J. do,	Shanghai Dispensary,	F. J. do Rozario.
Rustomjee, C.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Cówasjee Pallanjee and Co.
Sassoon, David,	Merchant,	David Sassoon, Sons and Co.
Saur, J.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Russell and Co.
Schaeffer, T. B.,	Pilot,	T. B. Schaeffer.
Schmidt, E.,	Merchant,	Rémi, Schmidt and Co.
Scholefield, Chas.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Reiss and Co.
Shearman, Henry,	Editor and Proprietor,	North-China Herald.
Shellim, Ezekiel,	Merchant,	David Sassoon, Sons and Co.
Shoorajutally, Shoorufally,	Mercantile Assistant,	Ameerodeen and Jafferbhoy and Co
Sillar, D.,	Merchant,	Sillar, Brothers.
Sillar, T. F.,	Do.	Do.
Sillar, R. G.,	Do.	Do.
Sillar, J. C.,	Do.	Do.
Skinner, John,	Agent,	Oriental Bank Corporation.
Smith, Arthur,	Inspector,	Maritime Customs.
Smith, Chester F.,	Shipwright and Blacksmith,	Chester F. Smith.
Smith, E. C.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Turner and Co.
Smith, E. M.,	Bill-Broker,	E. M. Smith.
Smith, Geo.,	Merchant,	Smith, Kennedy and Co.
Smith, J. Caldecott,	Mercantile Assistant,	Dent, Beale and Co.
Solomon, David,	Merchant,	David Sassoon, Sons and Co.
Stanton, T.,	Marshal,	United States Consulate.
Sutton, H.,	Sail-Maker,	H. Sutton.
Tate, J. Priestley,	Mercantile Assistant,	James Bowman and Co.
Thorburn, G.,	Do.	Hargreaves and Co.
Thorburn, R. F.,	Merchant,	Turner and Co.
Thorburn, Wm.,	Do.	Hargreaves and Co.
Thorne, A.,	Do.	Watson and Co.
Thorne, C.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Do.
Tilby, A. R.,	Do.	Turner and Co.
Toovey, H. D.,	Do.	Gibb, Livingston and Co.
Townend, E.,	Do.	Holliday, Wise and Co.
Trautmann, J. F. H.,	Merchant,	G. C. Schwabe and Co.
Tyers, R. R.,	Mercantile Assistant,	King and Co.
Underwood, P. H.,	Do.	W. R. Adamson.
Vacher, W. H.,	Merchant,	Gilman, Bowman and Co.
Vidigal, A. L.,	Assistant,	J. H. de Carvalho.
Vollant, F.,	Do.	Rémi, Schmidt and Cie.
Waller, E.,	Mercantile Assistant,	King and Co.
Warden, E.,	Agent,	P. & O. Company.
Warden, T.,	Captain,	Revenue Cutter.
Wardner, Rev. N.,	Missionary,	American Sabbatarian Board.
Waters, Charles,	Mercantile Assistant,	Holliday, Wise and Co.
Webb, Edward,	Mercantile Assistant,	Dent, Beale and Co.
Weismann, N.,	Merchant,	Reiss and Co.
Westall, R. R.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Smith, Kennedy and Co.
Wetmore, W. S.,	Merchant,	Wetmore and Co.
Wheelock, John A.,	Book-keeper,	H. Fogg and Co.
White, Fred. G.,	Silk Inspector,	Russell and Co.
Wiggins, H. H.,	Accountant,	Commercial Bank of India.
Williams, E.,	Assistant,	E. A. Reynolds.
Wills, C.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Jardine, Matheson and Co.
Wilson, Craven,	Do.	Gilman, Bowman and Co.
Wilson, Frank H.,	Do.	Do.
Winch, J. H.,	Merchant,	Shaw, Bland and Co.
Wise, John,	Do.	Holliday, Wise and Co.
Wright, J. W., (Sexton Trin. Ch.)	Cabinet-Maker,	J. W. Wright.
Wyland, F.,	Pilot,	F. Wyland.
Wylie, A.,	Printer,	London Missionary Society.
Yates, Rev. M. T.,	Missionary,	American Sabbtn: Baptist Convention

LIST OF FOREIGN RESIDENTS AT SHANGHAE.

—OMISSIONS:—

Clifton, Saml., .....and family	Superintendent,	Municipal Police.
Gregory, J.,	Mate,	Revenue Cutter.
Mottley, Geo., M.R.C.S., .....and family	Surgeon,	Geo. Mottley, M.R.C.S.
Simpson, G.,	Mercantile Assistant,	Lindsay & Co.

—CORRECTIONS:—

Belton, Rev. James S., and family, ..absent	Missionary,	Am: Metho: Episcopal Church South.
Burton, G. W., M.D., .....and family	do.....	Am: South: Baptist Convention.
Crawford, Rev. T., .....and family	do.....	Do. Do.
Donaldson, C. M.,	Shipping Provisioner,	C. M. Donaldson, (Commercial House.)
Hammond, G. F.,	Assistant,	Do. Do.
Yates, Rev. M. T., .....and family	Missionary,	Am: South: Baptist Convention.

LIST OF FOREIGN RESIDENTS AT NINGPO.

DECEMBER 1855.

Aldersey, Miss M. A.,	Missionary,	Female School Mission.
Artis, —,	do.....	Schooner "Spec."
Brown, —,	do.....	Schooner "Emma."
Cobbold, Rev. R. H., .....and family	Missionary,	Church Mission Society.
Chabert, —,	Store-keeper,	— Chabert.
Davidson, W.,	Merchant,	W. Davidson.
Dyer, Miss —,	Missionary,	Female School Mission.
Dyer, Miss —,	do.....	Do. Do.
Gough, Rev. F. F., .....and family	do.....	Church Mission Society.
Greene, —,	do.....	Brig "Snipe."
Hart, R.,	Interpreter,	H. B. M.'s Consulate.
Hart, —,	Merchant,	— Hart.
Hudson, J. S.,	Merchant,	J. S. Hudson.
Hudson, Rev. T. H.,	Missionary,	English Baptist Mission.
Knowlton, Rev. M. J., .....and family	do.....	American Baptist Mission.
La Place, Rt. Rev. Dr.,	do.....	Roman Catholic Mission.
Lord, Rev. E. C., .....and family	do.....	American Baptist Mission.
McCartee, D. B., M.D., .....and family	do.....	American Presbyterian Mission.
Macgowan, D. J., M.D., .....and family	do.....	American Baptist Mission.
Marques, P. J.,	do.....	H. M. F. M.'s Consul.
Martin, Rev. S. N., .....and family	Missionary,	American Presbyterian Mission.
Martin, Rev. W. A. P., .....and family	do.....	Do. Do.
Meadows, J. A. T.,	Merchant,	J. A. T. Meadows.
Nervius, Rev. J. L., .....and family	Missionary,	American Presbyterian Mission.
Patridge, D.,	do.....	Jardine, Matheson & Co.
Parker, W., M.D., .....and family	Missionary,	Chinese Evangelical Society.
Quarterman, Rev. J. W.,	do.....	American Presbyterian Mission.
Rankin, Rev. H. V.,	do.....	Do. Do.
Russell, Rev. W. A., .....and family	do.....	Church Mission Society.
Wadman, E.,	Merchant,	E. Wadman.
Way, Rev. R. Q., .....and family	Missionary,	American Presbyterian Mission.
Winchester, C. A., M.D., .....and family	do.....	H. B. M.'s Consul.
Yates, —,	Mercantile Assistant, .....	.....

LIST OF FOREIGN HONGS AT SHANGHAE.

DECEMBER, 1855.

Foreign Consulates.

British.

大英公館

Ta Ying Kung-kwan.

Robertson, D. B., *H. B. M.'s Consul.*

Harvey, F., *H. B. M.'s Vice-Consul.*

Meadows, T. T., *Interpreter. (absent)*

Sinclair, C. H., *Acting Interpreter.*

Morrison, Geo. S., *Acting Senior Assistant.*

Lay, W. H., *Acting Junior Assistant.*

Mongan, J., *Student Interpreter.*

Tien-tsing, K., *Linguist.*

Rogers, H. T., *Bailiff.*

American.

大花旗國公館

Ta Hua-k'e kwoh Kung-kwan.

Murphy, R. C., *Consul.*

Stanton, T., *Marshal.*

French.

大法蘭西國領事衙門

Ta Fa-lan-se kwoh. Ling-sze Ya-mun.

Montigny, C. de, *Consul. (absent)*

Edan, B., *Acting Consul.*

Merlo, E., *Acting Chancellor.*

Prussian.

大布路斯公館

Ta Poo-loo-sze Kung-kwan.

King, D. O., *Consul.*

Portuguese.

大西洋國公館

Ta Se-yang kwoh Kung-kwan.

Beale, T. C., *Consul.*

Dutch.

大荷蘭國公館

Ta Ho-lan kwoh Kung-kwan.

Beale, T. C., *Vice-Consul.*

Hamburg.

大黃旗國公館

Ta Hwang-ke kwoh Kung-kwan.

Lubeck & Bremen.

Hogg, Wm., *Consul. (absent)*

Hogg, Jas., *Acting Consul.*

Danish.

大丹國公館

Ta Tan kwoh Kung-kwan.

Perceval, Alex., *Consul.*

Sweden

大瑞威頓國公館

Ta Suy-wei-tun kwoh Kung-kwan.

and Norway.

大瑞威國公館

Ta Naou-wei kwoh Kung-kwan.

Cunningham, Edw., *Consul.*

Municipal Council.

Wetmore, W. Shepard, *Chairman.*

Vacher, W. H., *Treasurer.*

Thorburn, Wm., *(absent)*

Wheelock, John A., *Clerk.*

MUNICIPAL POLICE.

Clifton, S., *Superintendent.*

1 Sergeant.

8 Constables.

Imperial Maritime Customs.

Smith, Arthur,
Carr, Lewis, *absent* } *Inspectors.*
Lay, H. N.,

Lent, Wm., *Secretary.*

Warden, T., *Master of Revenue Cutter.*

Gregory, J., *Mate of Revenue Cutter.*

Kip Bee, *Linguist.*

Awun, *do.*

FOREIGN HONGS,
OR
Mercantile Establishments.

天長 *Tien-chang.*

ADAMSON, W. R.,
Underwood, P. H.,

架記 *Kea-ke.*

ALADINBHOY HUBIBHOY.
Moladina, J.,

祥記 *Tseang-ke.*

AMEEROODEEN & JAFFER-
BHOY & Co.
S. Husson Shaik Ahmed. *ab.*
Shumsudeen R. Moockree. „
Rujabally Wullee Mahomed. „
Shurufalli Shoojatalli.
A. Chandabhoj.

晏治 *Gan-che.*

ANGIER & Co.
Angier, F. J.,
Wright, H. M.,

名利 *Ming-le.*

ASPINALL, MACKENZIE & Co.
Aspinall, W. G.,
Richardson, C. L.,
Birdseye, T. J.,

琮記 *King-ke.*

AUGUSTINE HEARD & Co.
Fearon, C. A., *absent.*
Heard, A. F.,
Deacon, E.,
Macandrew, L.,
Stuart, E.,
Souza, B. D. de,

丕吉 *Pei-keih.*

BAKER, T. J., *Bill-broker.*

祥泰 *Tseang-tae.*

BIRLEY, WORTHINGTON & Co.
Brown, W. S.,
Maltby, C.
Reid, Robt.,
Dawson, J. F.,
BISHOP, J., *Tailor.*

和記 *Ho-ke.*

BLENKIN, RAWSON & Co.
Kay, Wm., *absent.*
Norton, W. M., *do.*
Dow, James,
Clarke, Edw.,
Brown, S.,

惠興 *Wy-hing.*

BOHSTEDT & Co.
Bohstedt, J.,

白蘭 *Pih-lan.*

BRINE, R. A., & Co., *Auctioneers.*
Brine, Robt. A.,

中和 *Chung-ho.*

BROUGHALL, Wm., *Silk-broker.*

泰昌 *Tae-chang.*

BUISSONNET, EUGENE,

同珍 *Tung-chin.*

BULL, NYE & Co.
Nye, C. D.,
Francis, Robt.,
Green, G. F.,
Placé, T., jr.

復源 *Fow-yuen.*

BURJORJEE, D.,

復源 *Fow-yuen.*

CAMAJEE, R. H., & Co.
Camajee, H. P.,

望益紙館

Wang-yih Che-kwan.

CARVALHO, J. H., *Printer.*
Vidigal, A. L., *Assistant.*

架記 *Kea-ke.*

CASSUMBHOY NATHABHOY &
K. Dhurumsey. [Co.
P. Bheloorjee.

滙隆 *Hwuy-lung.*

COMMERCIAL BANK OF INDIA.
Fitzwilliam, W. S., *Agent.*
Wiggins, H. H., *Accountant.*

義利 *E-le.*

COMMERCIAL HOUSE.
Donaldson, C. M.,
Shipping Provisioner.
Reid, J., *Assistant.*

公利 *Kung-lr.*

CONNOLLY, A.,
Johnson, P.,

廣昌 *Kwang-chang.*

COWASJEE PALLANJEE & Co.
C. Bomanjee.
S. Bomanjee. *absent.*
C. Rustomjee.

華盛 *Hwa-shing.*

CRAMPTONS, HANBURY & Co.
Crampton, Wm.,
Crampton, Jas., *absent.*
Hanbury, Thos.,
Christy, Thos., jr.
Pullan, C., *absent.*
Besley, Fredk. J.,

裕泰 *Yuh-tae.*

DALLAS & Co.
Booker, F.,
Dallas, Barnes,

沙遜 *Sha-sun.*

DAVID SASSOON SONS & Co.
Ezekiel Shellim.
Solomon David.
I. I. Reuben.
S. Abraham.
DEARBORN, T. W.,
Commander Str. "Confucius."

寶順 *Paou-shun.*

DENT, BEALE & Co.
Dent, Wilkinson, *absent.*
Beale, T. C.,
Ince, H. A.,
Webb, Edward,
Smith, J. Caldecott,
Lacy, Norman, *absent.*
Hanssen, H. P.,
Loureiro, J.,

泰昌 *Tae-chang.*

DIMIER, BROTHERS & Co.
Bessières, V.,
Guye, C.,

瑞麟祥記

Suy-lin Tseang-ke.

DHURUMSEY POONJABHOY.
Lathabhoy Khakey.
Nuzerally Abdoolally.

廣昌 *Kwang-chang.*

EDULJEE FRAMJEE SONS & Co.
S. Framjee.

豐裕 *Fung-yuh.*

FOGG, H., & Co., *Ship Chandlers
and Store-keepers.*

Fogg, H.,
Wheelock, John A.,
Reynolds, C. P.,
Freeman, A. L.,
Holm, C. M.,
Lacy, P.,

惇信 *Tun-sin.*

GEO. BARNET & Co.
Man, J. L.,
Howell, Wm. G.,

仁記 *Jin-ke.*

GIBB, LIVINGSTON & Co.
Skinner, John, *absent.*
Gibb, H. B.,
Green, J. J.,
Toovey, H. D.,

太平 *Tae-ping.*

GILMAN, BOWMAN & Co.
Bowman, A.,
Vacher, W. H.,
Wilson, C.,
Wilson, F. H.,
Wallis, G.,
HAJEE ABDOLLA NATHA.
H. A. Natha.

HALL, G. R., A.B.; M.D.

福利 *Fuh-le.*

HALL & HOLTZ, *Ship Chandlers,
General Store-keepers & Bakers.*
Hall, Edw., *absent.*
Holtz, A.,
Alfeld, G. H.,

恒吉 *Han-keih.*

HANCOCK, H., *Bill-broker.*

公和 *Kung-ho.*

HARDY, T. W., *Bill-broker.*

裕盛 *Yuh-chin.*

HARGREAVES & Co.
Thorburn, Wm., *absent.*
Hargreaves, Wm., *do.*
Maclean, J. L.,
Thorburn, Geo.,

禮記 *Le-ke.*

HOBSON, Rev. JOHN,
Chaplain Trinity Church.

義記 *E-ke.*

HOLLIDAY, WISE & Co.
Holliday, John, *absent.*
Waters, Chas.,
Townend, E.,

合巴 *Ho-pa.*

HOOPER, J.,

HUBIBHOY EBRAHIM SONS &
M. Gowhur. [Co.
M. Hussam.

萬興 *Wan-hing.*

HUTTLESTON, J. T., *absent.*

寶文 *Paou-wan.*

JAS. BOWMAN & Co.
Bowman, Jas.,
Rehden, W. F.,

怡和 *E-ho.*

JARDINE, MATHESON & Co.
Perceval, Alex.,
Macandrew, Jas., *absent.*
Wills, C.,
Matheson, C. S.,
Ross, J. B., *absent.*
Batt, J. T.,
Cobb, Benj.,
Gerard, R.,

渣敦 *Cha-tun.*

JORDAN, V. P., *Bill-broker.*

廣源 *Kwang-yuen.*

KING & Co.
King, D. O.,
King, Edw.,
Waller, E.,
Tyers, R. R.,
Helbling, J. C.,
Dunn, T.,

長脚醫生

Chang-keo E-sang.

KIRK, THOS.,

泰興 *Tae-hing.*

KUPFERSCHMID & DATO,
*Chronometer, Watch and Clock-
makers, & General Store-keepers.*
Kupferschmid, F.,
Dato, W. T.,
Kupferschmid, M.,

LAMOND, M., & Co.,
Ship-smiths & Shipwrights.
Lamond, M.,

廣隆 *Kwang-lung.*

LINDSAY & Co.
Hogg, Wm., *absent.*
Hogg, Jas.,
Major, R. O., *absent.*
Michie, A.,
Simpson, G.,
Bastos, A. J.,

陸先生

Luh Seen-sang.

LOCKHART, WM., M.R.C.S.,
Surgeon London Mis. Society.

長利 *Chang-le.*

MACDONALD, JAMES,
Loureiro, E.,

MACKENZIE, WM., *Bill-broker.*

架記 *Kea-ke.*

MAHOMED THAVERBHOY & Co.
M. J. Mahomed.

MARINER'S HOME.
Scott, R.,
Boarding-house keeper.

有利 *Yew-le.*

MERCANTILE BANK OF INDIA,
LONDON & CHINA.

Newby, Richard, *Agent.*
Ouseley, J., *Sub-Agent.*

蜜臘打毬房

Meih-la Ta-keu fung.

MILLER, JOHN,
Billiard Room.

指望 *Che-wang.*

MONCREIFF, GROVE & Co.
Moncreiff, T.,
Grove, F. H.,
King, C. J., *at Fuchau.*
Odell, Thos. S., *do.*
Lloyd, Edw.,

MORRISON, G. S.,
H. B. M.'s Packet Agent.

摩醫生藥房

Mo E-sang Yo-fang.

MOTTLEY, GEO., *Surgeon.*

字林洋行

Tsze-lin Yang-hong.

"N.-CHINA HERALD" OFFICE.
Shearman, H., *Ed. & Proprietor.*
Rozario, C. E. do,
Barradas, M. F.,

麗如 *Le-joo.*

ORIENTAL BK. CORPORATION.
Skinner, John, *Agent.*
Langley, J. C., *Accountant.*

柯化威 *Ko-hwa-wei.*

OVERWEG, C. W.,

火輪船公司行

Ho-lun-chuen Kung-sze-hong.

P. & O. S. N. Co.'s OFFICE.
Warden, E., *Agent.*

Monteiro, J. X.,

PERT, ROBT., *Sail-maker.*

順章 *Shun-chang.*

PESTONJEE FRAMJEE CAMA
D. D. Lalcaca. [*& Co.*]
Framjee Hormusjee.
D. Pestonjee.
C. D. Lalcaca.

新裕記 *Sin Yuh-ke.*

POTTER & Co.
Potter, W.,

下海浦 *Hea-hae-poo.*

POTTER, M. L.,

泰和 *Tae-ho.*

REISS & Co.
Weismann, N.,
Fincham, A.,
Andrews, W. H.,
Goddard, R.,

利名 *Le-ming.*

REMI, SCHMIDT & CIE.
Rémi, D.,
Schmidt, E.,
Bidet, A.,
Lemaire, F.,

夜冷 *Yay-lang.*

REYNOLDS, E. A.,
General Auctioneer, &c., &c.

隆泰 *Lung-tae.*

RICHARDS & Co., *Ship Chandlers.*

Richards, P. F.,
McKenzie, J.,
McKenzie, D.,
Bourne, J. S.,
Afah, W. L.,
Richards, J.,
Symond, G. D., *at Fuchau.*
Evans, Henry, *Baker.*

ROGERS, J., & Co.
Carpenters & Shipwrights.
Rogers, J.,

旗昌 *K'e-chang.*

RUSSELL & Co.
Cunningham, Edw.,
Gray, Geo. Griswold,
Loureiro, P.,
Orne, C. W.,
Saur, J.,
Boyd, E. B. H.,
Sturgis, R., jr. *absent.*
Loureiro, F.,
White, F. G.,
Pereira, B. J.,

公平 *Kung-ping.*

SCHWABE, G. C., & Co.
Trautmann, J. F. H.,
Bower, F.,
Arnold, R.,
Baker, T.,

柯化威 *Ko-hwa-wei.*

SCHOLEFIELD, C., *Tea-Taster.*

下海浦 *Hea-hae-poo.*

SEAMAN'S HOME.

Pearson, F.,

Boarding-house keeper.

Hammond, G. F., *Assistant.*

病房 *Ping-fung.*

SEAMAN'S HOSPITAL.

Dr. Hall, G. R.,
" Sibbald, F. C., } *Medical*
Mugford, J. D., } *Attendants.*
Mugford, J. D., *Apothecary.*

SHANGHAE DISPENSARY.

Rozario, F. J. do,

洋文書館

Yang-wan Shoo-kwan.

SHANGHAE LIBRARY.

Achung, *Librarian.*

李百里 *Le-pih-le.*

SHAW, BLAND & Co.

Bland, Joseph,
Winch, J. H.,
Major, J.,

指望醫生

Che-wang E-sang.

SIBBALD, F. C., M.D.; M.R.C.S.E.

浩昌 *Ho-cheong.*

SILLAR, BROTHERS.

Sillar, D., *absent.*
Sillar, T. F., *do.*
Sillar, R. G.,
Sillar, J. C.,

新德記 *Sin Tih-ke.*

SMITH, E. M., *Bill-broker.*

公易 *Kung-yih.*

SMITH, KENNEDY & Co.

Helbling, L., *absent.*
Smith, Geo.,
Ranken, A. A.,
Westall, R. R.,
Dick, James,
Jenkins, F.,

SUTTON, HENRY, *Sail-maker.*

TRANNACK & Co., *Shipwrights.*
Trannack, R.,

華記 *W'ha-ke.*

TURNER & Co.
Hutchison, W., *absent.*
Thorburn, R.,
Smith, E. C.,
Tilby, A. R.,

昇泰 *Shing-tae.*

ULLETT, R. B.,

豐茂 *Fung-mow.*

WATSON & Co.
Thorne, A., *absent.*
Coutts, G. W.,
Oppert, E.,
Thorne, C.,
Cock, James,

嘩地瑪 *Hwa-te-ma.*

WETMORE & Co.
Wetmore, W. Shepard,
Cryder, W. Wetmore,
Rothwell, T.,
Wardell, B. A.,
Barros, D. de,

利榮 *Lee-yung.*

WM. PUSTAU & Co.
Hollmann, Wm.,
—
WRIGHT, J. W.,
Cabinet-maker, and Sexton
Trinity Church.

墨海書館

Mih-hae Shoo-kwan.

WYLIE, A., *Printer,*
London Missionary Society.

YOUNG, A. J., *absent.*

Pilots.

Dibble, T.,
Ebsworthy, N. L.,
MacDonald, A.,
MacDonald, J.,
Potter, J.,
Rickard, J. B.,
Sneyden, J.,
Wayland, F.,

Foreign Missionaries.**English.**

London Missionary Society.

Medhurst, Rev. W. H., *D.D.*, and family.
Muirhead, Rev. W., and family.
Edkins, Rev. J.,
John, Rev. Griffith, and family.
Williamson, Rev. Alex., and family.
Lockhart, W., *M.R.C.S.*
Wylie, A., *Printer.*

Church Missionary Society.

Burdon, Rev. J. S.,
Reeve, Rev. H., and family.

American.

Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

Bridgman, Rev. E. C., *D.D.*, and family:
Blodget, Rev. Henry,
Aitchison, Rev. William,

Board of Foreign Missions of the Protestant
Episcopal Church, U. S. A.

Boone, Right Rev. W. J., *D.D.*, and family.
Nelson, Rev. R., and family.
Keith, Rev. C., and family.
Fish, —, *M.D.*, and family.
Points, J. T.,
Jones, Miss Emma G.,
Fay, Miss Lydia M.,
Jones, Miss C. E.,
Conover, Miss J. R.,

American.

Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian
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Culbertson, Rev. M. S., and family. (*absent*)
Lowrie, Rev. R., and family.

Board of Foreign Missions of Southern
Baptist Convention, U. S. A.

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Pearcy, Rev. G., and family. (*absent*)
Cabaniss, Rev. A. B., and family.
Crawford, Rev. T. P., and family.
Burton, G. W., *M.D.*, and family.

Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal
Church of the Southern States.

Jenkins, Rev. B., *D.D.*, and family.
Cunningham, Rev. W. G. E., and family.
Kelley, Rev. D. C., *M.D.*, and family.
Belton, Rev. J. S., and family. (*absent*)
Lambuth, Rev. J. W., and family.

Seventh-day Baptist Missionary Society, U. S. A.

Carpenter, Rev. S., and family.
Wardner, Rev. N., and family.

English.

CHINESE EVANGELIZATION SOCIETY.

Taylor, J. H.,

Receiving Ships.

At Woosung.

廣南 *Kwang-nan.*

"ANN WELSH," British Barque.

De Bussche, E. M., *Commander.*

Balston, C. W., *1st Officer.*

Rodrigues, P., *Gunner.*

復興 *Fuh-hing.*

"EMILY JANE," British Ship.

King, R. A., *Commander.*

Morgan, E. L., *1st Officer.*

Rosallis, A., *2d do.*

Baptista, M., *Clerk.*

源發 *Yuen-fa.*

"FOLKSTONE," British Ship.

Baylis, H. P., *Commander, and family.*

Hallpike, J., *1st Officer.*

Cumming, Jno., *2d do.*

Tizard, R., *Gunner.*

開源 *Kae-yuen.*

"NIMROD," British Brig.

Anderson, J., *Commander.*

Carr, R. P., *1st Officer.*

Souza, D. A. de, *Clerk.*

大利 *Ta-le.*

"SWALLOW," British Barque.

Henderson, J., *Commander.*

Slocumb, I., *1st Officer.*

Howlett, M., *2d do.*

Craighead, R., *Gunner.*

順記 *Shun-ke.*

"SEA HORSE," British Brig.

Keppell, Geo. S., *Commander.*

Evans, D., *1st Officer.*

Brown, H., *2d do.*

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<i>Bombay East India Marine Insurance Company,</i> ..		
<i>Bombay Insurance Company,</i>	\$ 40,000	} DENT, BEALE & Co.
<i>Royal Exchange, London,</i> .....	.. .. .	
<i>Union Insurance Society, Canton,</i>	\$ 75,000	
<i>London Assurance,</i> .....	.. .. .	} JARDINE, MATHESON & Co.
<i>Canton Insurance Office,</i>	\$ 100,000	
<i>Triton Insurance Company,</i>	\$ 70,000	
<i>Bombay Insurance Society,</i>	\$ 40,000	
<i>Bengal Insurance Society,</i>	\$ 40,000	
<i>Equitable Insurance, London,</i>	\$ 50,000	} LINDSAY & Co.
<i>Hongkong Insurance Company, Hongkong,</i>	\$ 50,000	
<i>Colonial Life Assurance Company,</i> .....	.. .. .	MONCREIFF, GROVE & Co.
<i>China Mutual Insurance Company of Boston,</i>	\$1,000,000	RUSSELL & Co.
<i>Asiatic Marine Insurance Office,</i>	\$ 15,000	SMITH, KENNEDY & Co.
<i>Eastern Marine Insurance Company, London,</i> .....	.. .. .	TURNER & Co.
—FIRE INSURANCE.—		
<i>Imperial Fire Insurance Company of London,</i>	£ 10,000	BLENKIN, RAWSON & Co.
<i>Alliance Life and Fire Assurance Company,</i> For Fire Assurance,	£ 6,000	} JARDINE, MATHESON & Co.
<i>Sun Fire Insurance Office, London,</i> .....	.. .. .	
<i>Royal Insurance Company of Liverpool,</i>	£ 10,000	SCHWABE, G. C., & Co.
—P. & O. CO. STEAMER'S INSURANCE.—		
<i>James Hartley & Co.'s London Insurance Agency,</i> ..	.. .. .	WARDEN, E.,

* Canton to Shanghai and <i>vice versa</i> , per Steamer				from 1st Nov. to 1st June,	limit, \$30,000
				from 1st June to 1st Nov.	" 25,000
Do.	Do.	Do.	per Sailing-vessel	from 1st Nov. to 1st June,	" 15,000
				from 1st June to 1st Nov.	" 10,000
Steamers to India all Seasons,				..	30,000
Sailing-vessels to India, from 1st Octr. to 28th Feby.,				..	30,000
				from 28th Feby. to 1st Octr.,	" 15,000
Receiving-vessels,				..	40,000

N.B.—This Office does not insure to England.

REMARKS ON THE OPIUM TRADE BASED ON THE PRECEDING VIEW.

The sources from which information has been derived in constructing the preceding Table are the following: the returns for the first 30 years have been drawn from Phipps' Work on the Commerce of China and the Eastern Islands. That author has merely given the number of chests of Patna and Benares Opium sold at Calcutta, from 1799 to 1829, with the prices realized. He has not, however, stated the cost of production, nor shown the clear gain to the Company arising from the transaction during that period. It has been said that the opium costs the Company from 250 to 300 rupees per chest. By a comparison, however, of their receipts and disbursements for the succeeding 20 years, it will appear that the disbursements sometimes amounted to one half of the receipts; and taking the average of the 20 years, 350 rupees per chest seems to have been expended in the production of the article. This proportion has therefore been allowed for the 30 years included in Phipps' Returns. Phipps has given a very meagre account of the Malwa which was exported from Bombay during the period over which his account reaches. Previous to the year 1821 no reference is made to the Malwa opium. From that time to 1830, it was entirely in the hands of the East India Company who purchased what was brought down from the interior, and exported it at their own cost. Phipps has given the quantity exported during the nine years referred to, with the prices per chest in Bombay rupees; from this have been gathered the quantity of Malwa Opium sold by the Company, and the sums realized by the sale. But no clue is given whereby it could be possible to arrive at the prime risk. It is only known that in 1830 the Company forbore to buy and sell the drug in Bombay, but contented themselves with levying a duty of 175 rupees per chest on the transport. As the Company were not likely to relinquish a profitable source of revenue for one less lucrative, it is to be inferred that they made as much, or perhaps more by taxing the transfer, than they did by dealing in the article. If this inference be just, and if Phipps' tables are to be relied on, then the Company could not have made more than ten per cent by their mercantile speculation in Malwa. In this way the probable revenue realized by them on that drug previous to 1829 has been arrived at.

With regard to the returns since 1829 more satisfaction has been experienced. Those from 1829 to 1849 have been taken principally from Kaye's History of the Administration of the East India Company, combined with the *Friend of India*. Kaye derived his information from Statistics relative to India, prepared at the India House; the Editor of the *Friend* obtained his at the Government Secretariat in Calcutta. These respectable sources of information, agreeing as they do substantially, afford the greatest confidence to

those who are seeking for reliable information. The authorities in question, however, only give the revenue collected for the Malwa Opium, but not the number of chests: this want has been supplied by dividing the sums collected at the custom-house by the amount of duties levied per chest from time to time. From 1830 to 1835 said duties were 175 rupees per chest; from 1835 to 1843 the duty fell to 125 rupees, which seems to have given a sort of impetus to the trade; from 1843 to 1845, the duty was raised to 200 rupees; from 1845 to 1846 it was again raised to 300; after that it was raised to 400 rupees, at which it has stood ever since. The cost of collection has varied from 40,000 to 670,000; sometimes it is not given at all. So that it is impossible here to furnish a complete report; sufficient, however, is given to show how much the gains of the Company on the Malwa Opium have been. From 1850 to the present time, our chief authority has been the *China Mail*; this paper, however, is very bare of information on the subject of the Malwa Opium, the supplies of which for three or four years are merely given by comparison with the years before and after. The compiler has taken great pains to secure accuracy in the tabular view above given, and would be exceedingly obliged to any one who would point out any error in the returns stated.

It must be borne in mind that the returns above given are for opium exported from Calcutta and Bombay. This affords no exact clue to the amount imported into China. Five or six thousand chests go to Netherlands India: two or three thousand are consumed in and about the Straits. Siam, Camboja, and Cochin-China take a few thousand more. But it is impossible for us to say exactly. In the *China Mail* for January of the present year the total deliveries in China are stated to be 40,000 chests from Bengal, and 27,000 from Bombay. In a subsequent number of the same journal, we find, as given in the preceding table, 53,000 chests exported from Bengal: leaving 13,000 chests from that port to be accounted for as consumed somewhere out of China. Perhaps we should not be far wrong in coming to the conclusion that 12 or 13,000 chests have been for several years past taken up by the Ultra-gangetic nations exclusive of China: and from 5 to 8,000 annually for the 20 years preceding 1850. It is always best to take a fair view of every case—there is nothing got by exaggeration.

As to the probable number of smokers we have only approximate calculations. Innes, writing on the subject in December 1836, supposed that a tael, or an ounce a-day is the proper allowance for a confirmed opium-smoker. A writer in the *Repository*, for October 1837, gives only 3 candareens, or $17\frac{1}{2}$ grains a-day for a moderate smoker. Both estimates seem to be in error,

the one being excessive and the other defective. On enquiry of the Chinese in Shanghai, in the present day, the invariable answer is a mace or a dram a-day, for moderate smokers, adding that there are few who confine themselves to this amount; the most of them consuming two, three and five mace a-day in order to keep up the stimulus once excited by a single mace. Let not any suppose that the common people, and the labouring classes could not afford to use so much of so valuable a drug. It is horribly cheap. The last quotation in the Shanghai Price Current, was for Patna and Benares \$360, and for Malwa \$420. Taking the average at \$400, the chest, as each chest contains 70 catties of smokable extract, the price for a mace or dram would only be 64 cash. It is actually sold in the retail opium shops at 90 cash per mace. This is only half the wages of a labouring man, which he might easily expend in the way above described, and leave enough for food and clothing. Thus it is not beyond the means of the daily labourer to procure and consume a mace a-day. The mercantile, and literary classes can afford and do consume much more, and some even gratify themselves with a tael. These do not generally go to the retail shops, but buy the opium by the ball, and prepare it themselves, in which case it does not cost them more than 70 cash per mace.

An objection may be brought by some that such a quantity of the narcotic would kill them at once, and therefore they could not take it; to which it will be sufficient to reply, that it does not. A medical man, who has had much to do with opium-smokers and is well acquainted with the quantity each consumes, and the effect produced upon his system, says that if a man uses only a dram a-day, it does his general health little injury. Confirmed, inveterate pale-skinned smokers use 2, 3, 4, and even 6 or 8 mace a day.

Persons only acquainted with the effects of opium in Europe, would still stand aghast at the statement that a Chinaman will consume half an ounce a-day without killing him. But it must be remembered that the Chinese only smoke it, they do not swallow it. One mace mixed up with ardent spirits and taken into the stomach would be sufficient to poison a man at once, and many do poison themselves in this way. But passing as it does, by means of the pipe, through the lungs its poisonous qualities are greatly diminished.

The smoking extract, above spoken of, does not amount to one half of the bulk of the opium. From a careful experiment made it appears that 1 catty, or 16 taels, yields of extract 7 taels, 8 mace, 8 candareens, being a reduction of 51 per cent. A chest of Patna, therefore, weighing 140 lbs. gives only 70 lbs. of extract. This is a very extravagant mode of using the opium, but it is the method the Chinese have adopted, and its awful cheapness enables them to throw away more than half the narcotic power of the drug, and to use the other in such a way that the results upon the system are only one tenth of what it would be if taken inwardly, as the people in Turkey, and unhappily some in Europe do.

Assuming the proportion of a mace a-day as the average amount of daily consumption of each person to be correct, we can easily arrive at the number of smokers throughout the Empire.

Proceeding upon the statement of the *China Mail* that 67,000 chests were delivered in China last year, and that each chest contains 70 catties of smokable extract, allowing to each smoker one mace per day, we have little more than two million smokers for the whole empire. Some contend that a large quantity of opium is grown in China: Mr. Fortune saw the poppy growing for the purpose of obtaining the inspissated juice. Neither he, however, nor any other man can tell how much is actually grown. Supposing it even to be one half of the amount imported, it would then raise the amount of smokers to somewhere about three millions, about one per cent of the population. For this addition, however, the Chinese themselves are responsible. Foreigners have nothing to do with it, except in as far as they gave them the appetite for the drug, and led them to supply their own wants at a cheaper or more convenient rate than they could do by procuring it from abroad.

It may be worth while, before leaving the Statistical Table above given, to say a few words regarding the East India Company with reference to the production of this article.

Previous to the year 1767 the amount of opium sent to China, principally by the Portuguese, did not exceed 200 chests. In that year it reached 1,000. In 1773, a small adventure in opium was undertaken by the East India Company. In 1780, a depot for it was formed in Lark's Bay. In 1781, 2,800 chests were sent by the Company to Canton, and bought by one of the hong merchants there. He was obliged, however, to export the principal part, not being able to find a market for it in China. From 1798 to the present time, the share taken by the Company in opium, has been large, and the profits considerable. The rise and fall of prices depending on demand and supply is very remarkable. At the first commencement of the trade in 1799, the opium seems to have realized no more than 415 rupees per chest. The Company reduced the supply a little in 1800, and the price rose to nearly double that sum. They reduced the supply still more in 1802, and the price ran up to nearly 1,000 rupees. They went on reducing the quantity, and the price rose again in 1803 to 1,300, and in 1805 reached to nearly 2,000 rupees. They increased the supply, and the price fell in 1806 to 1,500 rupees. They kept it then nearly steady, and the prices remained at 2,000 for several years. In 1822 they decreased the supply, and the price rose to 4,000 rupees. From this time till 1830 it kept steady at from 1,500 to 2,000 rupees. Since 1830 the supply of opium from Bengal rapidly increased, but the prices it realized very little exceeded 1,000 rupees. During the last five years they have brought the supply of Patna and Benares up to 50,000 chests annually, but the price obtained for it is not more than 750 rupees. In this may be seen how cupidity sometimes defeats its own ends.

The object seems to have been to raise a larger revenue from the opium; in order to this the Company laid out ten times the quantity of valuable land in the cultivation of the drug, and expended a capital twelve times the former amount, but realized a profit only four times as much as they formerly obtained. Thus the more they expended on the cultivation the less comparatively

they got for it. It is true the gross amount of their gains in the last 20 years is four times that of the preceding thirty: but the capital and territory employed in obtaining it vastly preponderates in the latter period as compared with the former. Perhaps some men may consider this a good speculation: others may however question it. If a man has to exert ten or twelve times the amount of strength, and succeeds in raising a weight only four times as great as before, he will conclude that the beneficial result of such expenditure is in inverse proportion to the given exertion, and that he had better husband his strength or apply it in some other way, than lavish it so profusely to so little increased advantage. If a loss of power is discovered in the working of the machine, the machinist will examine as to whether it arise from friction or from the escape of steam, and try to remedy the defect, but certainly will not continue to work on in the same direction without enquiry. The chances are that if the same scheme is carried on by the Company to a much larger extent it will defeat itself. When the opium was at 2 and 3,000 rupees a chest, the cost of production was 3 or 400 rupees; now the price is reduced to 750, the same sum must be laid out in raising it. Let the Company in future double or treble its supply and they will bring down the price so low that it will be no longer profitable to produce it at all; and then their expensive factories, warehouses, apparatus, and machinery for increasing the supply of opium will be rendered useless, and the large population previously engaged in it be thrown out of employ. Viewed merely as a means for raising a large revenue, the plan the Company are now pursuing is self-destructive. But there is another light in which the scheme ought to be viewed, and that is the effect it has had, and is likely to have upon others. To benefit one's own finances at the pecuniary expense of our neighbours, may be all very well according to the code of this world's morality, but when the profit accruing to self is small in proportion to the loss that falls upon another, and when that loss is not merely of a pecuniary kind, but affects moral considerations, it becomes then the bounden duty of the speculator to reflect upon his conduct and pause in his proceedings. Mr. St. George Tucker is no mean authority in matters of finance. He managed the important firm of Palmer & Co., in Calcutta, at a time when they were doing their largest business; and after having, at the earnest solicitation of the government, taken upon himself the management of the Indian finances, he rescued them from a condition of extreme jeopardy, and left them upon a respectable basis; subsequently he became a Director of the East India Company, and twice filled the important office of Chairman of the Direction: the opinion of such a man is worth listening to: and earnest attention is called to a note handed in by him to the Court of Directors.

"Ever since I had the honour of being a Member of this Court, I have uniformly and steadily opposed the encouragement given to the extension of the manufacture of opium; but of late years we have pushed it to the utmost height, and disproportionate prices were given for the article in Malwa. We contracted burdensome treaties with the Rajpoot States, to introduce and extend the cultivation of the poppy. We introduced the

article into our own districts, where it had not been cultivated before, or where the cultivation had been abandoned; and we gave our revenue officers an interest in extending the cultivation in preference to other produce, much more valuable and deserving of encouragement. Finally we established retail shops, which brought it to every man's door. How different was the policy of Lord Cornwallis, Lord Teignmouth, Lord Wellesley, and Lord Minto, who circumscribed the produce within the narrowest limits, confining the cultivation of the poppy to two of our provinces, and actually eradicating it from districts where it had been previously cultivated! How fatal have been the consequences of a departure from this wise and humane policy! Is there any man still so blind as not to perceive, that it has had a most injurious effect upon our national reputation? If a revenue cannot be drawn from such an article, otherwise than by quadrupling the supply, by promoting the general use of the drug, and by placing it within the reach of the lower classes of the people, no fiscal consideration can justify our inflicting upon the Malays and Chinese so grievous an evil."

It is doubtless an evil, and an evil that has grown in magnitude since the days of Tucker. The head and front of this offending rests with the East India Company. They, as Tucker says, "introduced the article into their own districts, where it had not been cultivated before, or where the cultivation had been abandoned; and they gave their revenue officers an interest in extending the cultivation, in preference to other produce much more valuable and deserving of encouragement." There can be no doubt that the East India Company have supreme authority over their own provinces, and are directly responsible for measures originating with themselves in those provinces. All the Patna and Benares Opium is grown, prepared, packed, and sold by them at the Government sales in Calcutta. This is at least one half, and has latterly amounted to two thirds of the whole export from India. It has been suggested, however, that they have nothing to do with the Malwa Opium, and that if they were to stop the growth of the drug in Bengal, it would be carried on in the Rajpoot states. That statement is more than questionable. Mr. Tucker, as already quoted, has told us, that the Company "contracted burdensome treaties with the Rajpoot states to introduce and extend the cultivation of the poppy." Mr. Tucker was not the man to indulge in rapid declamation. What he said he meant. He spoke not without book. The greatly extended cultivation of the opium in Malwa, is the result of the direct interference of the Company. But some may say, the Company derived little benefit from such extension; the Rajpoot states reaped the harvest. The figures we have given in our Tabular View prove the contrary. Previous to the year 1830, the Company dealt directly in that article; but in that year they changed their policy, and allowed the natives to trade in it, while they contented themselves with levying a duty on its transport. For the first five years this duty was fixed at 175 rupees per chest; it was then reduced to 125 rupees, probably with the view of attracting the trade to their own territories; for the Company's ports were not the

only outlets by means of which the Malwa Opium could reach the sea: the Portuguese have two seaports on the west coast of India north of Bombay, called Damaun and Diu. Had the duties been too heavy, the natives would have availed themselves of these last-named ports, and the route through the Company's territories could not have been established. But it was no sooner established than, in 1843, they raised the rate to 200 rupees; two years after it came up to 300 rupees, and in 1846 it rose to 400 rupees, per chest; at which it has since remained. Some persons may be curious to know the reason of such apparently unwise policy, unwise as tending to check the transport, and drive away the traders from the Company's ports to those of their neighbours. The reason suggested has been the annexation of Scinde by Sir Charles Napier, which took place in 1845; a use to which the acquisition of Scinde has been applied, not often adverted to even by those who condemn that measure. Previous to that event the carriers of the drug could export it by a circuitous route to Damaun. When Scinde with its dependencies became annexed to the Company's territories this route was stopped; the upper part of the province of Guzerat and Candeish being likewise under the same dominion, the carriers of the drug from Malwa had no resource, but to bring it direct to Bombay, and pay the duties; otherwise they would have had to take it northward through Rajpootana, across the Indus, and completely round Scinde in order to reach the sea; by which means, in addition to the length of the journey, they would have exposed themselves to the chance of robbery and murder by the way. They therefore preferred to export it via Bombay. The Company seeing this, found that they could safely increase the duty, and they raised it to 400 rupees the chest. By this means they make as much by every chest of Malwa, as they do by Bengal Opium. The latter realizes only 750 rupees, from which 3 or 400 rupees have to be deducted for the cost of the production; while the former pays them 400 rupees, without any outlay of capital or employment of otherwise productive land. After all this, to be told that the Company have nothing to do with the Malwa is preposterous. The same power which enabled them to levy 400 rupees per chest would avail to levy 4,000, or prohibit it altogether. If therefore they do not prohibit the transport, but raise as much revenue as they can out of it, for their own benefit, they are equally responsible for the introduction of Malwa into the market as they are for the Bengal drug.

To understand the extent of this responsibility it is necessary to ascertain, if possible, the nature and amount of the evil inflicted. This, of course, cannot be done completely, but some attempt may be made to point it out to a certain extent. In so doing it is above all things necessary to avoid exaggeration. Exaggeration, in addition to its being contrary to truth, is calculated rather to increase and perpetuate the evil, than remedy it. We hope to be able to avoid it, and should be much obliged to any one who would point out to us, in a friendly manner, wherein we appear to verge towards too high a colouring of the evils complained of.

The evils arising from the opium traffic are of three kinds, financial, physical, and moral; on the first of these we are disposed to lay little stress. That the financial evils fall in some measure on the producer, the preceding figures and reasoning will show. In addition to what has been already stated, it may be observed, that the monopoly of Bengal Opium is far from being such a productive source of revenue, as has been supposed, from the simple fact of its being a government monopoly, and therefore greatly deficient in the economy of production. Besides which it is insecure, the Indian government having no control whatever over the consumption, and by a sudden accident, as in 1839, its finances may become deranged by the trade being stopped, and the whole supply of opium thrown upon their hands. But still it is said the Indian government do derive a considerable revenue from the drug equal to about three millions sterling. When appealed to on the subject, their answer has been: "we would gladly, in compassion to mankind, put a total end to the consumption of opium if we could, but in the present state of the revenue of India, it does not appear advisable to abandon so important a source of revenue; particularly as the duty upon opium falls principally upon the foreign consumer." Our people have not got to pay for it, other countries pay the price, and ours enjoys the benefit. Said price, as paid by the others, amounting to five millions sterling. The Chinese government have complained of this most lustily; and are continually talking about "the silver leaking out of the country." Formerly no doubt a large quantity of bullion was exported from China to Bengal to pay for the opium. Of late, however, owing to the disturbed state of the country, the native merchants have been unable to take the usual amount of foreign produce, and thus the money paid by them for opium has been used by the foreign merchant for the purchase of tea and silk. For this end it has proved insufficient, and large quantities of silver have been for several years past imported into China. But what of that? bullion is an article of commerce, it goes and comes, without of itself benefiting or injuring the traffickers. It is trade that benefits, and silver kept still does no good.

The Chinese have a fancy for various other things, such as bird's nests, shark's fins, tripong, &c.; these are little esteemed by foreigners, but the natives of this country like them, and are willing to pay for them, some at a very high price. No one ever talks about the "silver leaking out of the country" for these things, no more than the English would complain of their country being impoverished by so much money being sent over to the Continent to purchase such articles of diet and dessert as they prefer. It is against the article itself, and not against the money paid for it, that the outcry should be made. If the article be harmless, and the Chinese like it, let them enjoy their hobby. But if it can be proved to be injurious, then the larger the supply the greater the evil, and the heavier the responsibility resting on those who produce and import it.

Regarding the physical evils of opium much has been said, to the purpose, in some instances, and beyond the mark in others. The writer is

obliged to a medical friend for the few remarks which follow.

"The preparation of the drug may be briefly noticed, as consisting in several decoctions of the raw material, which are strained, and the clear liquor evaporated, until the resulting extract is of a proper spissitude, about that of thick treacle.

"The person who is about to smoke reclines on a couch, resting his head on a pillow; with one hand he holds the pipe, taking the mouth-piece between his lips; with the other hand he takes up a small portion of the extract, and applies it to the little nozzle on the pipe's head, with a pointed steel wire or long needle, at the same time holding the nozzle directly over the flame of a lamp, making a deep inspiration, so that the fumes of the drug pass into the lungs. This is said to be unpleasant to those who first use the pipe, but they soon get over it. The fumes after being retained for a short time, are allowed to pass away by the mouth and nostrils. Another application of the extract is then made as before, which is continued for a longer or shorter time, according to the effect wished to be produced.

"When a smoker first commences the use of opium, as has been noticed above, it is a pleasant and refreshing stimulant; an artificial vigour and tone are given to the system, followed by a corresponding relaxation and listlessness; after which an effort is made to remove the latter by a return to the pipe. This stage in the smoker's progress may be prolonged for some years, without the health being interfered with; but he soon becomes a victim to the habit thus formed, which cannot easily be shaken off; the strength, however, is not impaired, and attention can be paid to business as usual, indeed the stimulus of the drug enables him to enter with vivacity upon any pursuit in which he may be engaged. At this time a little decision would enable him to throw off the habit, but this is seldom called for, and the smoker continues to use his pipe, thus accustoming himself more and more to dependence on his much-loved indulgence. By-and-bye retribution comes, he cannot live comfortably without the stimulant; all the pleasure has gone, but he must obtain relief from the pain of body and dissipation of mind, which follow the absence of the drug, at any cost; the quantity of drug called for being from time to time greater and its use more frequent.

"Among the symptoms that present themselves are gripping pains in the bowels, pain in the limbs, loss of appetite, so that the smoker can only eat dainty food; disturbed sleep, and general emaciation. The outward appearances are sallowness of the complexion, bloodless cheeks and lips, sunken eye, with a dark circle round the eyelids, and altogether a haggard countenance. There is a peculiar appearance of the face of a smoker, not noticed in any other condition; the skin assumes a pale waxy appearance, and as if all the fat were removed from beneath the skin. The hollows of the countenance, the eyelids, root of the ala nasi, fissure and corners of lips, depression at the angle of the jaw, temples, &c., take on a peculiar dark appearance, not like that resulting from various chronic diseases, but as if some dark matter were deposited beneath the skin. There is also a fullness and protrusion of the lips, arising perhaps

from the continued use of the large mouth-piece peculiar to the opium-pipe. In fine a confirmed opium-smoker presents a most melancholy appearance, haggard, dejected, with a lack-lustre eye, and a slovenly, weakly and feeble gait.

"Day by day, and year by year, the practice of opium smoking prevails more and more among this people, and by-and-bye it will doubtless have a powerful effect on the destinies of the country. It is said that the late emperor used the drug; it is certain that most of the government officers do, and their innumerable attendants are in the same category. Opium is used as a luxury by all classes, and to a great extent; indeed so great that it cannot fail to exhibit its effects speedily upon the mass of the inhabitants.

"In rich families, even if the head of the house does not use the drug, the sons soon learn to use it, and almost all are exposed to the temptation of employing it, as many of their friends and acquaintances are in the habit of smoking, and it is considered a mark of politeness to offer the pipe to a friend or visitor. Many persons fly to the use of the pipe when they get into trouble, and when they are afflicted with chronic or painful diseases, sleeplessness, &c. Several persons who have been attended for malignant tumours were made victims of the drug, by the use of it to appease the pain and distress they had to endure. The beggars are to a great extent under its influence, but they use the dregs and scrapings only of the half-consumed drug, which is removed from the pipe-head when it is cleaned.

"But the most common cause of the Chinese resorting to the use of the opium-pipe is their not knowing how to employ their leisure hours. When the business of the day is over, there is no periodical literature to engage their attention, their families do not present sufficient attractions to keep them at home, and sauntering about of an evening, with nothing to employ the mind, they are easily tempted into the opium shops, where one acquaintance or another is sure to be found who invites to the use of the drug.

"As the use of the pipe grows upon a person, a great change is effected in its relation to the smoker; he originally took it to produce pleasure, he has now to take it to give freedom from pain; and soothe the series of evils consequent on the habit he has acquired. Till he has had his pipe in the morning he is listless and uncomfortable, cares not for eating, nor indeed for his ordinary business or occupation; and feels unlike himself till he has had his smoke.

"There is perhaps no form of intemperance more seducing than the use of opium, nor is there any more difficult to be delivered from. To acquire a full acquaintance with the effects of the agent, the consequences of which are now being discussed, it is necessary to view it under two forms: 1st, As to its incipient effects, in the stage of exhilaration, while the individual is in good health, and the powers of life are in full vigour; at this time the drug is a means of enjoyment. 2dly, As to the effects produced by the drug when it is employed as a means of relief from the distress and pain resulting from the long-continued use of such a stimulant. This may be called the stage of depression; in this condition the individual soon becomes a martyr to his former vices, and

bitterly repents of his having submitted to the temptation.

"When the pipe is first taken, during the incipient stage, a few grains are sufficient to produce the full effect. This small quantity requires to be gradually increased to produce a given result; the times of using it must become more frequent, until the victim is soon compelled to use one dram, or 60 grains, in the course of 24 hours. This quantity per day will supply the smoker for some years, but it has at last to be augmented, till 2, 3, 4, and even 5 drams are daily consumed. This may be denominated the second stage."

Some are said to use 10 drams daily, but these are only the superior classes, who have no need to attend to any business or occupation, and can spend almost their whole time in intoxicating themselves with the use of the drug, or in recovering from its effects. The life of such persons is not prolonged, and the many complaints arising from the excessive indulgence soon put an end to their useless existence.

Besides the cases of death arising from the excessive use of opium among the higher classes, who can afford to gorge themselves with their stimulant till they die, there are many more unhappy dissolutions arising from the inability to procure the accustomed, and to them necessary, quantity. In the case of those who are in middling circumstances, and get inured to the habit, the enervating effects are such that they become after a time unable to attend to their ordinary avocations. They then lose their situations or their business fails, and they are reduced to necessity. Gradually they part with their little property, furniture, clothes, &c., until they come to the level of the labouring poor, without those energetic habits which might otherwise form the ground of support. Among the lower classes, those who indulge in the use of opium are reduced to abject poverty sooner than the preceding. Having no property, furniture or clothes to dispose of, their wives and children are sold to supply their ever-increasing appetite for the drug, and when these are gone, with greatly diminished strength for labour, they can no longer earn sufficient for their own wants, and are obliged to beg for their daily bread, as to the supply of opium, they must depend. As above stated, on the scrapings of other men's pipes, and as soon as they are unable by begging to obtain the necessities of life, together with the half-burnt opium on which their very life depends, they droop and die by the roadside, and are buried at the expense of the charitable.

The writer once knew two respectable young men, the sons of an officer of high rank, who died in this part of the country. They were both well-informed men, had received a finished education, were evidently accustomed to good society, and excited considerable interest in the minds of those with whom they came in contact. But they were opium-smokers; so inveterate was the habit, and so large the quantity necessary to keep up the stimulant, that their available funds were exhausted during their stay in this city. Friends assisted them to some extent, and relieved their necessities again and again, but it was impossible to give them bread and opium too, and they sub-

sequently died one after the other, in the most abject and destitute condition.

Whilst these notes were preparing, the writer had occasion to go into the city, and just inside the north gate, in front of a temple, he saw one of such destitute persons, unable to procure either food or the drug, lying at the last gasp: there were two or three others with drooping heads sitting near, who looked as if they would soon be prostrated too. The next day the writer passed, and found the first of the group, dead and stiff, with a coarse mat wound round his body for a shroud. The rest were now lying down unable to rise. The third day another was dead, and the remainder almost near it. Help was vain, and pity for their wretched condition the only feeling that could be indulged.

It is impossible to say what is the number of such victims, either among the higher or lower classes. An American Missionary who lately visited England is reported to have stated, that "the smokers of the contraband article have increased from eight to fifteen millions, yielding an annual death harvest of more than a million."

Such statements do great harm; they produce a fictitious, and groundless excitement in the mind of the religious and philanthropic public at home, while they steel, against all reasonable and moderate representations, the minds of the political and mercantile body abroad. The estimate given has not even the semblance of truth, it is an outrageous exaggeration. The writer has ventured an opinion on the number of smokers, but he would not even hazard a conjecture as to the "annual death harvest." Every man must judge for himself in this matter.

As to the moral evils arising from indulgence in opium, they are very patent. It blunts the moral sense, causes good men to waver in virtue, and makes bad men worse. Even Coleridge, with all his fine sensibilities and acquaintance with religious truth, was tempted to prevaricate and deceive, in order to conceal his indulgence in the habit, and to elude the vigilance of those who were engaged in watching him. How much more then may we expect a lying nation like the Chinese to lie so much the more, in their attempts to conceal their vices from the eyes of observers. So invariable is it the practice of Chinese opium-smokers to deny their having any connection with the drug, that it is never advisable to ask them any questions about it, lest one should induce them to tell unnecessary untruths. No confidence can be placed in the religious profession of an opium-smoker, unless he abandon the vice, and even then the Missionary should have very good evidence of his having done so, before admitting him into connection with the church. Not only is the moral sense weakened in opium-smokers, but the habits they have acquired naturally and necessarily lead them into associations where they are directly tempted to the most profligate vices. A man accustomed to the use of the drug, therefore, soon becomes worse in other respects, and having commenced the downward career every step in the rake's progress is more and more deteriorating. Opium-smoking is thus the parent of numerous evils, which are not originally chargeable upon it. When unable to procure the drug by honest means, such is the craving for it among its slaves,

that fraud, peculation and theft are resorted to in order to obtain it. Inasmuch that the Chinese themselves are in the habit of withdrawing their confidence from those addicted to the vile habit, unless they have other methods of tying them down to honesty.

But it is unnecessary to pursue the theme further. All the evils usually springing from drunkenness by means of alcohol, are to be met with among opium-smokers, except the uproariousness common to those in a state of liquor.

Such then is the evil: now with regard to the responsibility. We have already shewn that the East India Company stands at the head and front of this offending. The government of India contains in it many intelligent and honourable men: men in whom the best feelings of human nature predominate, sanctified in some instances by Divine grace. It is difficult, therefore, to account for their silence while such evils prevail through their instrumentality. It must be because "the duty falls principally on the foreign consumer," and because the evils arising from the system are far removed from their observation, that they permit them to continue without any attempts at remedy or remonstrance. Should what is here penned ever meet the eye of the great men in Calcutta and Leadenhall-street, it is hoped they will seriously lay it to heart, and search more deeply into the subject, so as to ascertain the real extent of the evil, and suggest some method of cure.

But the "honourable and approved good masters" of the East India Company have masters over them. The Board of Control constantly, and the British Parliament occasionally, interfere with, and have a right to interfere with, the management of the Court of Directors. The British Parliament is the representative of the British people, and with them ultimately rests the responsibility of wrong doings throughout all the ramifications of the state, both at home and abroad. They could and they should raise their voice against every national evil, and if, when a case of improper dealing is laid before them, they remain silent, they are to blame. But let the British people have a care, when they set about the removal of abuses abroad, that they with equal ardour seek to correct abuses at home. It would be the height of inconsistency to cry out against the East India Company for deriving a revenue from the tax on opium when the home government derives a revenue from the tax on ardent spirits. The two articles are mischievous, not perhaps in a similar way, nor to an equal degree, but they are both mischievous, and the same arguments which would lead to the abolition of the one, would bear equally on the abrogation of the other. It is true there is one slight difference. The people of England may say, when we levy a tax on ardent spirits, we tax ourselves, and proceed upon the principle of making the luxurious and self-indulgent bear more of the state burthens than the abstemious and self-denying; while according to their own shewing the Company tax foreigners, and make the Chinese contribute to the support of India. There may be some difference between the *Ego* and the *Alter* in the case: but still the revenue derived from a tax on stimulants is the same in principle, and a blow

cannot be inflicted on the one, without its recoiling with little diminished force against the other.

The connection of the East India Company with the opium ceases in Calcutta and Bombay. When the drug is sold in the one case, and pays the transit duty in the other, they have nothing more to do with it. It is bought and exported by others. The Chinese do not attend the opium sales, nor convey the drug to their shores. Those intermediately engaged in this business, therefore, must be content to bear some share in the responsibility. Here, however, we meet an objection: "You should not mix up the horrors of the opium dens with the simple selling of cargoes of opium, which is a mere mercantile transaction, requiring neither inhumanity nor immorality on the part of those engaged in it. On the contrary, they may be humane men, anxious to alleviate the evil, and disclaiming for themselves all blame in the matter." Whilst fully admitting all that is said with regard to the humanity and good feeling of the parties alluded to, we cannot see how they can exonerate themselves from all responsibility in the matter. If the opium traffic be an evil, and if its results are at all injurious to any of the human race, then those engaged in it, in whatever way, cannot divest themselves from blame in the view of the common sense of mankind. There is a chain, reaching from the Government house in Calcutta, to the opium dens in China, and every link in that chain contributes to keep up the connection; the electric fluid if applied to the one terminus would inevitably reach the other, and every individual link would feel the shock. Admitting to its fullest extent that the parties are humane and honourable men, there must be a certain dullness of perception attaching to them in this one particular, if they are prevented from seeing that the connection must to a certain extent affect themselves. Of the extent to which it affects each one, every individual must and will judge for himself, according to the principles by which he is animated. The man who is merely actuated by worldly motives will of course rate it at a very low figure; the Christian whose heart has been renewed by the Spirit of God will take a much higher view of it. It will be well, however, for both to remember, that, besides the bar of their own consciences, there is a public sentiment which now forms an estimate of their conduct, and a day coming, in which every matter will be viewed in its proper light, and receive its just award.

A few words relative to the remedy which may be applied in order to check or repress the evil complained of, and we have done.

In the first place, all exaggerated and one-sided statements should be avoided. The American Missionary, whose late speech we have already alluded to, is reported to have said, "This traffic is staining the British name in China with the deepest disgrace, as some of the subjects of Great Britain continue to carry on an armed contraband trade in a destructive poison, enriching themselves by merchandizing that which impoverishes and murders the poor infatuated and besotted Chinese." Now that Missionary knew, or ought to have known, that American citizens are fully as much implicated in this affair, in China, as the subjects of Great Britain. There are individual

exceptions among the merchants of both nations, but on the whole, both English and American houses in China trade in the drug each to the full extent of their means. The speaker ought also to have known, that the arming of the vessels engaged in the opium traffic is simply for their own protection, and all little enough to defend themselves against the rapacious west-country pirates, who have of late years infested this coast. As it is told in England, it leads to the conclusion, that the opium vessels are armed for the purpose of resisting the revenue-officers of China, than which no idea could be more erroneous.

But the Missionary may ask, are we to do nothing to stop this growing evil? Yes, there are a variety of things which Missionaries may do. They may pray to God to avert this, as well as every other calamity which afflicts the human race. Nobody will find fault with a Missionary for praying, and "the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much." They may likewise exhort the Chinese not to smoke it, and they will find sympathizing hearts among the crowds who listen to them, whenever they inveigh against opium. They may further insist on the utter abandonment of the practice in the case of all those Chinese who wish to be admitted to religious fellowship; and no one will complain of a Missionary's keeping his communion as pure as possible. We live in hopes of seeing the Gospel universally prevalent in China, and if every Missionary were to make it a *sine qua non*, in admitting members, to reject all those who clung to the drug, then in proportion as Christianity spreads would the evils of opium diminish, until the time came for China to be thoroughly evangelized, and then they would cease altogether. In addition to all this, Missionaries could collect and diffuse information on the subject. No persons are in a better position to obtain information relative to the effects of opium, in its social and religious aspects. Let this be carefully collected, and temperately set forth, and good must be the result.

Religious and benevolent persons at home may do much towards diffusing this information, and keeping the public mind alive to the subject. Care should be taken, however, lest the parties be misinformed, and deal out their blows in a wrong direction. Abuse also must be rigidly avoided, and the imputation of wrong motives to merchants or the Government be repressed. Thus with discretion and perseverance something might be done, but patience is above all things requisite, lest discouragement prevail when the efforts employed do not result in attaining all the success desired. The opium traffic has now grown from a little rill to a mighty river, and the attempt to check it is like rolling back the flowing tide. But the effect of increased light on the human intelligence, and influential motives brought to bear upon the human conscience, may in time be successful in removing prejudice, and overcoming self-interest, so as to lead men to "do to others as they would be done by."

The writer cannot close without a few words of exhortation to those who deal in the drug in China. The principal are professing Christians, and justly pride themselves on being humane men. But Christianity and humanity both inculcate principles which, if carried out, would lead

them to refrain from the traffic. Both of these would teach you that you are not to benefit yourselves to the injury of others. Granting that a large quantity of the opium you sell is used only as a "harmless luxury," and that in those cases where harm ensues, it is the abuse and not the use of the article which causes it; granting all this, you must admit, that the use leads to the abuse, by a natural and necessary process, and that if you or others did not import the drug, neither the use nor abuse of it could possibly take place. We do not say that *all* the opium you import does harm, but much of it you must admit does, and if every chest, but killed its man, or shortened the life and happiness of a single individual, you cannot deny that it does harm. And can you sit down contented with the thought that the gains you are acquiring, are obtained at the expense of the diminished comfort or shortened existence of others; while the wives and children of the deluded victims are bitterly bewailing the hour when the head of the family ever came in contact with opium. Surely if you knew all the results of the traffic, your humanity would lead you to recoil from any participation in it. Mind we do not stigmatise you with hard names, as some have done, but we do think you are not sufficiently considerate of the well-being of your fellow-men. You are as it were mixed up with a thousand others, who are driving along the battering-ram, which is beating down the best interests of China, and because you do not just see where the ram's head strikes, or the effect it produces, you thoughtlessly conclude that you are doing no harm. By-standers, however, see it, and you might see it, if you would but open your eyes; could you but see it, we are sure you would not inflict it—you would not "needlessly set foot upon a worm"—and how can you blindly persevere in doing that which will interfere with the best interests of your fellow-men.

Missionaries, in endeavouring to reform the vices of the Chinese, have frequently to point out their evil deeds; when they do so, they are met with the objection, that their own countrymen bring opium to the country, which makes them worse than ever they were before. The foreign teacher endeavours to obviate the objection, by telling his hearers to abstain from the use of the drug; adding that it is their employment of it which creates the demand, and that the demand leads to the supply. "That is true, they say, we are so far deluded as to use the indulgence when it is put in our way; but which of the two appears in the most unfavorable light, the man who presents the temptation, or the man who falls under it. The one is *weak*, the other *wicked*." Missionaries would like to be supplied with an answer to this objection, and the best reply would be, if they were able to say it, "our countrymen have some of them seen the evil of the system and abandoned it. The number of these is increasing daily, and we hope there will soon be few remaining upon whom you can cast the imputation."

To the Indian community who traffic largely in opium we would address a few words, which we hope will be read and understood by them. The Parsees have always been noted for their charity, no case of distress is ever presented before them but they contribute liberally to its

relief. Princely donations have been presented by them on the altar of benevolence, which are enough to make Christians blush. The feelings which prompted such deeds are deserving of all admiration. But will not the same feelings induce them to lend a listening ear to the tale of misery which is told about the wretched victims of opium, and the distressed condition of the families of the smokers, which have been thereby reduced to want and beggary—and if they find such tales to be true, or that even the half has not been told them, will not their charity lead them to pause in a course which is productive of so much evil, and

not go on enriching themselves at the expense of the tears of others.

The Israelites are blessed with a revelation from which we also derive Divine lessons of instruction. They profess to look up to the Almighty for his blessing on all they do. Can they consistently expect his blessing here? and when the children of Zion pass by, and see them thus engaged, can they say, "Bircath adonai aleichem; bayrachnoo ethchem be-shaim adonai."

W. H. MEDHURST.

Shanghae, October 27th, 1855.

ERRATUM.—First page, second paragarph, fifth line, read—the *Friend of India*
and the *Colonial Almanac for 1855*.

MISCELLANY.

PEKING GAZETTE.

The *Gazette* of the 5th December contains a despatch from Toh-ming-a, commanding the forces at Yang-chow, in which he details various successes over the enemy's rafts and boats on the Yang-tze-keang, in the neighbourhood of Kwa-chow. He says that on the 24th of November a large number of rafts came from the southern bank of the river near Nan-king, to make an attack, but were met by the imperialists, who opened upon them a heavy fire. Though the rebel boats came flying down the stream, the imperialists withstood their onslaught, and beat them back as far as E-ching, opposite which were some rebel batteries on an island, which the imperialists took and destroyed. The next day they took about 40 rebels, whose heads and ears they chopped off. The imperialists also took a mud-fort near Kwa-chow. At the same time about forty rebel boats approached Keang-poo, and landing their men attacked that city; but the imperialists burnt two of their vessels, and took some of the rebels prisoners, whose heads they chopped off. Kwa-chow and Poo-k'how still remained in the hands of the rebels.

The *Gazette* of the 6th of December contains a report from the lieutenant-governor of Hoo-pih, stating that he had followed up the successes formerly achieved. On the 20th of November he advanced his forces near to Pwan-peih-san, close to the rebel encampment, when the insurgents came out to the number of 10,000 men. The imperialists, however, attacked them on both flanks, and though they seemed to increase in numbers the more they were killed, the imperialists kept up the engagement for six hours, and finally made a dash at their camp, where in spite of the pointed bamboos that were strewed about the path, they leaped across the ditch and set fire to the whole. The rebels then retreated to their boats, followed by the imperialists, who killed a thousand of them, and by the sinking of their vessels drowned a great many more. The battle was followed up, until they approached the walls of Ke-chow;* when the rebels issued forth from that city, with a hundred vessels, and taking advantage of an easterly wind came fiercely along. The fast crab and scrambling dragon boats of the imperialists, however, made head against them, and drove the rebel fleet into a corner. The rebels finding no way of escape, forsok their boats and jumped on shore: where the imperialists followed them, having first burnt about 40 of the insurgent vessels, and captured 46 others with 63 pieces of cannon. The rebels, however, still retained possession of Ke-chow.

The *Gazette* of the 9th December contains another report from Toh-ming-a, detailing the destruction of a rebel battery on an island in the Yang-tze-keang, nearly opposite Kwa-chow. He says that the rebels having kept possession of Poo-k'how, opposite Keang-poo, he on the 27th

of November proceeded to attack them. He then sent his troops to attack a new bridge which had been constructed, when he killed about 1,000 of them, and proceeded to attack their battery. The rebels in Nan-king then sent several vessels to their assistance, but the covered boats from Canton came up vigorously to resist them, when many of the rebel boats were sunk. On the 29th of November, a fresh attack was made on the battery, which they succeeded in capturing, and completely levelling with the ground.

The *Gazette* of the 11th of December details a victory over the pirates at the mouth of the Yellow River, whose nest on shore was burnt, and belonging to whom several vessels were destroyed.

The *Gazette* of the 12th of December contains a report from the lieutenant-governor of Hoo-pih, detailing various victories, the slaughter of 10,000 men, and the bursting asunder of the obstructions which the rebels had thrown across the Yang-tze-keang. He says that after several forts had been destroyed at the encampment of Pwan-peih-san, in Ke-chow, the rebels again mustered in that neighbourhood; when on the 21st of November, several thousands of them came out to battle. The Imperialist general met and repulsed them whilst he burned one of the camps. On the 23d he sent some people to construct a floating bridge, when several thousand rebels came out to prevent them. The Insurgents who were afloat also landed to the number of 20,000, and sought to repossess themselves of the old camp at Pwan-peih-san. The Imperialists, however, held their ground, and, when the rebels came out, met them with a shout; the consequence was that the rebel lines were broken, and some standard-bearers having been cut down, the rest fled; the imperialists followed in pursuit, and killed about a thousand, while some thousand more were trodden down. The rebels then fled towards the river, and sought to get on board their boats. The pursuit was so close, however, that some ten of their boats were sunk, and others were burnt. The slaughter on this occasion was so great that the blood flowed in streams along the ground, and the river was reddened with gore. The remainder of the rebel fleet reached the northern shore. The insurgent camps on both sides of the river were then burnt, and an iron chain which had been thrown across the river, together with a bamboo rope, were both burst asunder. After this another body of rebels came up the stream to the number of 1,000; but the imperialist general turned upon them and put them to flight, with the loss of several hundred men: these with the bodies of the slaughtered rebels higher up the stream covered the whole surface of the river. The floating bridge that had been undertaken by the imperialists was completed on the same day. On the 24th of November, about 3,000 of the rebels crossed the river with the view of attacking this bridge, but the imperialist general attacked and routed them, with the loss of 400 men, besides 200 that were

* Ke-chow, Lat. 30° 5' N., Long. 115° 0' E.

drowned, including some chiefs. The imperialists then pursued their course down the river, which the rebels perceiving, sent about 100 vessels, against them while another body on shore sought to attack the imperial forces. The rebels advanced up the stream as far as Neu-kwan-ke, where they landed; the militia met them there, killed some scores of them, and burnt three vessels. The rebel fleet which was anchored near Ke-chow could not, however, be induced to quit their position. On the 27th of November an attack was made on the rebel fleet, when their batteries opened a fire upon the imperial troops, by which means an officer was killed. Just at this time some scores of rebel junks came down the river with the view of escaping, but the imperialists attacked and burnt twenty of them, and captured two. The next day they decoyed the rebel fleet and burnt 20 more of their vessels: the rest of the fleet were hemmed in, but on the 29th a breeze sprung up, and they got away. The emperor is delighted with this news and has conferred the honor of knighthood on the successful officers.

The *Gazette* of the 13th of December contains a report from Tsang-kih-lin-sin, in which he states that he had decoyed the rebels out of their hold, and inflicted on them a defeat. He says that on the 9th of December, he ordered one of his adjutant-generals to make a diversion by which means the rebels were induced to quit their hold, both at Muh-ching, (or the wooden-ford) on the south, and Leén-chin. The imperialists then opened a fire on them, when the rebels fell into disorder, and the imperialists taking advantage of their discomfiture killed a great number of them. The emperor orders Tsang-kih-lin-sin to follow up this advantage, and drive them out of their hiding place without delay.

The *Gazette* of the 19th of December contains a despatch from Ho-chun, stating that on the 15th of November the city of Loo-keang* was retaken by the rebels: on that occasion the intendant of circuit named Ho-kwei-chin, is blamed for not having brought up his troops in time for the rescue. It seems that this is not the first time the said officer has displayed dilatoriness in action, he is therefore now deprived of office, and ordered to exert himself in an inferior capacity, in order to make amends for his faults. The district magistrate it appears led on some troops to the relief of the distressed city, but not having been able to contend against the number of his opponents, he gave way, having been himself wounded in the conflict. The emperor therefore forgives him.

The *Gazette* of the 20th December contains a report from the board of revenue complaining that the governors of Shan-tung and Ho-nan have been remiss in

the sending up of the accustomed revenue to the capital. The emperor is very indignant that, at a time like this, when revenue is so greatly needed, such remissness should be displayed, amounting to a deficiency of 50,000 taels monthly from Shan-tung alone, which has accumulated till the loss mounted up altogether to upwards of a million; he therefore orders Tsing-gnan, the governor of Shan-tung, to send up his quota before the end of 1854, otherwise he will be punished as a defaulter.

The *Gazette* of the 21st contains a report from Kwei-leang, the viceroy of Pih-chih-le, stating that a powder magazine, established by Shing-paou, at the city of Ho-kéen,† blew up on the 28th of November, by which means five officers, six soldiers, and twenty-five people were killed; besides fourteen persons wounded, and a number of houses destroyed. The magistrate of Ho-kéen is ordered to repair the damage, and console the relatives of the deceased by grants of money. A subsequent *Gazette* informs us that a lieutenant-colonel has been banished to Tartary, for his neglect on this occasion: the case of Shing-paou has also been handed over to the board for examination.

The *Gazette* of the 22d contains a despatch from Ho-chun, general-in-command of Gnan-hwuy, stating that while the rebels disturbed the cities of Ho-chow,‡ and Han-shan,§ he on the 6th of December had defeated them at a place called Woo-keang, near the above cities, and killed several hundred, besides burning some of their boats.

The same *Gazette* contains a report from the lieutenant-governor of Gnan-hwuy, stating that he had gained a victory over the rebels at Poh,|| in the northern part of that province, and Yung-chin,¶ in the southern part of Ho-nan: in which he had killed 500 men, and captured six large guns.

The same *Gazette* contains a report from the lieutenant-governor of Hoo-pih, complaining of the dilatoriness of a Manchow lieutenant-general and of a Chinese military officer of high rank, who when the

* Loo-keang. Lat. 31° 17' N., Long. 117° 17' E.

† Ho-kéen, Lat. 38° 30' N., Long. 116° 11' E.

‡ Han-shan, Lat. 31° 47' N., Long. 115° 3' E.

§ Ho-chow, Lat. 31° 44' N., Long. 118° 20' E.

|| Poh, Lat. 33° 58' N., Long. 115° 54' E.

¶ Yung-ching, Lat. 34° 3' N., Long. 116° 27' E.

enemy had been defeated, and were flying before the imperial troops at Ke-chow,** allowed the imperial soldiers to get into a fright and disperse. Although the officers above-named afterwards re-collected their scattered forces, and joined in the pursuit, they cannot be exonerated from blame; they are therefore deprived of their official buttons as a mark of the emperor's displeasure.

The *Gazette* of the 23d of December contains a memorial from a censor named Han-ching-téen, recommending economy at the different districts throughout the empire, in order to supply the deficiencies in the public treasury. He says that the great saving now to be effected will not arise so much from economy in the general government, its officers, or its people, as from the dismissing of a number of well-fed fellows whom he is about to describe. In ordinary times, he observes, it may be all very well to allow of encroachments, but now when the country is poor, and money deficient, we must devise some method of remedying the grievance. The great requisite at the present time is economy in expenditure; in order to economize, wasteful outlays must first be curtailed, and of wasteful outlays those which involve injury as well as extravagance must first be attacked. In the capital, he continues, there are no wasteful outlays: but in the outside provinces, in every prefecture and district, these are enormous. They arise principally from the large expenditure on inferior officers and messengers, but especially on *official advisers*. The inferior officers in each district were originally engaged for carrying out orders, but these have availed themselves of every occasion of collecting revenue and customs, to fill their own pockets. If all that these fellows secreted and embezzled were summed up, it would amount in a year to five or six millions of taels. As to the official advisers in every district, they were originally intended to aid the magistrates with their advice. During the reign of Kea-king (at the beginning of the present century) they received salaries amounting to one or two hundred taels annually, but latterly these have gra-

dually increased, until they amount to two or three thousand taels, in large, and five or six hundred taels, in small districts. If these amounts were to be put together, throughout the 1,400 districts of the empire, there would be required for this purpose two or three million taels. The prefectural and district magistrates cannot pay this out of their own pockets, and therefore they manage to screw it out of the people, or to plunder it from the treasury. Thus useful money is lavished upon these rascally vagabonds and unprincipled offenders, which is lamentable in the extreme. The above two classes of people having been long employed, it would be difficult to get rid of them all at once, the utmost we can do is to curtail their extravagance, and retrench their power: by which means it is calculated that several millions of taels would be saved, which would tend to enrich the public treasury, to provide for future exigencies, to supply deficiencies, or to repair dilapidated cities. Thus the government would be enriched, the people defended, and wealth would abound in every department. The censor goes on to recommend four methods by which this desirable end may be accomplished, into the details of which we have not time to enter.††

The *Gazette* of the 24th of December contains a report from Wan-pin, stating that the treasury at T'hung-chow, near the capital is empty, and there is immediate necessity for 10,000 taels, wherewith to purchase bags and boats, to transport the grain, during the ensuing season: and as there is no source from which supplies can come in the vicinity, he begs that an order may be issued, requiring the neighbouring province to furnish the desired amount.

The *Gazette* of the 25th of December is occupied with the details of a robbery of the treasury, of little importance.

Other *Gazettes* have been received up to the 29th December but they contain nothing worth noticing.

†† The evil of which the censor complains above arises from the mandarins being paid very small salaries, out of which it is impossible for them to maintain a staff of inferior officers: also from their being elevated to the magistracy without an education adapted to their posts — which makes it necessary for them to have financial, legal, and administrative advisers.

** Ke-chow, Lat. 30° 5' N., Long. 115° 0' E.

The *Gazette* of the 15th of February contains a despatch from the lieutenant-governor of Hoo-pih, stating that on the 26th of January, an attack was made on the rebels at Han-shan*, which resulted in the slaughter of some rebels with their chiefs. On the 29th, the imperialists attacked a fortification which had been constructed outside the east gate, and at the same time burnt two stockades, and about a dozen encampments, pushing up their advantage until they arrived close to the city. In the two days above-named 6 or 700 rebels were slain. On the 31st, a force was placed in ambush close to the walls, and the district magistrate having previously made an arrangement with the distressed people who had been compelled to enter the service of the rebels, that they should on the night of the 1st of February co-operate with the forces outside, an attack was made. The people inside exploded some gunpowder and fired a few houses as a signal of their co-operation, when the rebels became alarmed. The imperial troops then scaled the walls and rushed into the city, the rebels having previously made their escape at the south gate with a loss of 200 men: after which the city of Han-shan was recovered.

The same *Gazette* contains a despatch from the lieutenant-governor of Kwei-chow, stating that on the 13th of January, the colonel Tseang-yuh-lun attacked the rebels' position at Yang-kung-tae, which he burned, after having slaughtered a number of rebels. On the 14th he attacked another rebel camp at Leang-me-kow, where he defeated the enemy. The latter took refuge in some caves, when the imperialists smothered 2 or 300 of them, by means of gunpowder and straw.

In the same *Gazette* we have a despatch from Tsang-kih-lin-sin, detailing some operations in the neighbourhood of Lëen-ching. It seems that the rebels, having been reduced to extremity in that place, endeavoured to make their escape therefrom: when on the 27th of January they made an attack on the imperialist lines, but were repulsed with loss. On the 8th of February a force was sent against their encampment at Han-kea-wan, which was taken, and burnt, while the former possessors of it were slain. After this a look-out place and a stockade on the west of Lëen-ching were destroyed. On the 12th of February a force was sent to attack the encampment west of Lëen-ching, which was entered and burnt.

The *Gazette* of the 21st of February contains another despatch from the lieutenant-governor of Kwei-chow, detailing the recovery of Tung-tsze† on the 31st of January.

The *Gazette* of the 3rd March contains a despatch from Keih-urh-hang-a, the lieutenant-governor of Keang-soo, detailing the capture of Shang-hae. The account now given in the *Gazette* is substantially the same with that which appeared in the *North-China Herald* a fortnight ago, with the exception of all reference to the French, English, and Americans, which is carefully omitted in the imperially-authorized journal. There is an addition to the account formerly published, in the shape of honours and rewards bestowed on Keih-urh-hang-a and his associates; the former of whom is allowed to wear the highest kind of button, and is created a knight of some order unintelligible to foreigners: the latter are to have

ten peacock's feathers and forty purses divided amongst them; while the lieutenant-governor with his forces are ordered to place themselves under the orders of Heang-yung in the operations carried on against the Tae-ping-ites.

The *Gazette* of the 7th of March contains a despatch from Heang-yung, stating that the rebels who had been driven out of Hoo-pih, came by way of Woo-hoo‡ to attack the prefecture of Ning-kwoh.§ when Heang-yung sent a force under Tang-shaou-leang to advance from Ning-kwoh against them. On the 8th of February upwards of 10,000 rebels made an attack upon the imperialists, but were repulsed. On the 18th, 6 or 7,000 of the rebels from Woo-hoo attacked the imperial camp, but were thrown into confusion, and repeatedly driven back depending on their numbers they advanced again, but were finally repulsed with great loss.

The same *Gazette* contains a despatch from Yang-mei, the lieutenant-governor of Hoo-pih, stating that the rebels had returned from Hwang-mei|| to Han-k'how¶ which they had retaken. It seems that on the 15th of February the rebels made an attack on King-chuh-poo, when the lieutenant-governor sent a force against them, and drove them back to San-leang. On this occasion, however, a chief of the militia, having been overpowered by numbers fell in battle, and the troops under him were routed. After which the lieutenant-governor collected his scattered forces and retired upon Han-k'how. On the 22d of February the rebels advanced to the neighbourhood of Yang and Loo; the lieutenant-governor with the force under him checked their progress and burnt two of their camps; "but who would have thought, says he, that another body of rebels should have come up from Hwang-mei, and taking us in the rear, should have worked their way into Han-k'how." As this was the case, however, the lieutenant-governor could do no more than draw off his forces to Kwang-tse** and yield the advantage to the enemy. The emperor remarks, on reading this despatch, "This retiring before the foe shews that the lieutenant-governor is devoid of capacity, let him therefore be deprived of rank and of his peacock's feather. The colonel Chang-tih, who allowed his troops to run away, should also be deprived of rank, but retained in office.

The *Gazette* of the 8th of March contains a despatch from Toh-ming-a, stating that on the 13th of February the rebels attacked E-ching,†† but were repulsed with the loss of several hundreds.

The *Gazette* of the 10th of March contains a report from Tsang-kih-lin-sin, stating that he had gained possession of Lëen-chin, and seized the rebel chief in command there. This happened on the 7th of March, when the imperialists surrounded the place, burnt the robbers' den, captured the chief Lin-fung-seang, and destroyed the whole of his forces. The emperor is delighted with this intelligence, and rewards his successful generals with orders of knighthood, peacock's feathers and purses in abundance.

‡ Woo-hoo,	Lat. 31° 27' N., Long. 118° 21' E.
§ Ning-kwoh,	Lat. 31° 3' N., Long. 118° 41' E.
|| Hwang-mei,	Lat. 30° 12' N., Long. 116° 2' E.
¶ Han-K'how,	Lat. 30° 35' N., Long. 114° 1' E.
** Kwang-tse,	Lat. 30° 10' N., Long. 115° 38' E.
†† E-ching,	Lat. 32° 18' N., Long. 119° 9' E.

* Han-shan, Lat. 31° 47' N., Long. 118° 3' E.
 † Tung-tsze, Lat. 28° 00' N., Long. 106° 45' E.

4

March 14th.—The rebels in the province of Kwei-chow after losing the district cities Jin-hwei and Tung-sin still continued to create trouble elsewhere. A few weeks since an attack on them resulted in the slaughter of more than 100. On February 13th they also experienced a severe defeat. More than 200 were afterwards found hidden among the hills. On February 17th, an assault was made on a body of more than 10,000 rebels near the west gate of K'eu-sa-chow. Several chiefs were taken and more than 200 other prisoners. They were soon entirely driven away from the neighbourhood of this city.

March 15th.—Shing-paou, the general appointed to destroy the rebels at Kaou-t'ang, is given over to the Board of Punishments for trial, on account of the long period that had elapsed without his obtaining any successes.

March 16th.—Keang-tan-t'ing a city in Hoo-kwang, which had been taken possession by rebels from Kwang-se has been recaptured. Early in December some Kwang-se men, of Tsing-ho-heen, had combined with others from Leen-chow in Canton province, and penetrated into Hoo-nan. They were attacked by Yen-pai-ting and driven from the above mentioned city. On January 23rd a party of Canton rebels found their way to Hwang-keang and E-t'sun, but on being attacked by the imperial forces, at once took to flight.

March 19th.—In the prefecture of Hing-e in the province of Kwei-chow, the highest rebel chiefs have been taken and killed, but some have escaped to the two *heen* cities An-nan and P'oo-an in the same prefecture. The city Hing-e, and another subordinate to it, have been freed from the presence of the plunderers.

March 23rd.—Seng-ko-liu-sin informs his imperial master that he used an artifice to induce the rebel force to leave the city Kaou-t'ang-chow in Shan-tung, and at once took possession of that city. The rebels retreated southward. On March 17th he directed the watchmen to cease beating the watch. This had the desired effect. The re-

bels escaped in the direction that seemed to be unguarded, and were pursued to the south by the imperial soldiers. They took up their position in two villages belonging to Jin-p'ing-heen. On March 19th, our forces attacked and took the two villages, killing two hundred and leaving 500 more untaken.

March 25th.—A rebel chief named Lin-tseun has been burnt to death.

April 7th.—Disturbances at Sin-shwuy in Shan-se.

April 9th.—Disturbances quelled at Ngan-shun, a prefecture of Kwei-chow. Chow-seau-hai, a rebel chief captured.

April 11th.—A force of rebels has appeared at E-heen, near Hwei-chow. On the 15th of March they reached that place. Seu-yung attacked them on the 20th, and put them to the rout, but received himself a mortal wound.

The *Gazette* of the 17th April contains a report from Heang-yung, stating that he had obtained a victory over the rebels at Kaou-tsze where he had destroyed one of their camps. It appears that the rebels at Kwa-chow had, on the 23th of March, made their way to Kaou-tsze, when they were attacked by the imperial troops, and one of their chiefs, with 100 of their men slain. Notwithstanding which the rebels built some fortifications along the banks of the Yang-tsze-keang; whereupon the imperial troops attacked them vigorously, and beheaded a great number, while they destroyed their camp. The rebels again came across the river on floats, and attacked our troops, but were unable to resist the force with which they were met, and were constrained to re-enter their stockades. The defeated rebels retired upon Kow-yung, but were there assailed by a body of imperialists, by which means ten of them were killed and two taken prisoners. On the 13th of April the imperialists attacked the rebels from the west when they cut down a rebel chief who was coming out of the stockade on horseback, and slaughtered about 500 smaller rebels.

The *Gazette* of April 21st contains the imperial comment on a memorial from Yang-p'ei, the viceroy of Hoo-kwang. The report of the loss of Woo-ch'ang the provincial capital (now captured for the third time), and the death of the lieutenant-governor of Hoo-pih on the occasion, excite the emperor's indignation and grief. When the rebels arrived at that city, the garrison proved insufficient to protect it. Hoo-lin-yih and Lemeng-k'eun conducting their troops by land and water, gained various successes and had in view to save the city from the danger that impended over it. They met rebels coming from all sides by way of Hing-kweh (a district city to the eastward of Woo-ch'ang in the next prefecture), T'ung-shaw (a city a few miles south of Woo-ch'ang), and some places of less note. The troops after fighting all day were overwhelmed by superior numbers. The city was then lost and the Foo-t'ae fell a sacrifice for his country. Yang-p'ei, the viceroy led on his troops and attacked the rebel force several times, but without devising any successful plan. Having lost the city, and when lost not at once retaking it, he ought according to law, to be severely punished. But protectors being now needed for the country north of the Keang, he is continued in his command, while deprived of his titles, that he may have an opportunity of recovering his former status.

If he does not quickly sweep clean of rebels the region under his command, recover his capital and prevent their farther advance, he will be visited with condign punishment.

T'au-ngan-p'ei, the Foo-t'ae, having fallen at his post, is much regretted by the emperor, who will arrange for the comfort of the ghost of his faithful servant. The cases of the magistrate *pro tempore* of the prefectural cities Woo-ch'ang and Seang-yang, and others who died with him, will also be suitably considered.

On 27th April, Ho ts'ing-kwei, the lieutenant-governor of Ngan-hwei, informs the emperor, that Hwei-chow and Seih-heen have been recovered from the rebels, into whose hands they had fallen. That officer had commissioned Shih-king-fen the prefect of Kin-hwa with other officers to advance with troops to recapture those places. They attacked the city by three gates with musquetry. The rebels hearing the sound, lost their courage and fled by the remaining gate. They were pursued for three or four miles and several prisoners taken, who were at once put to death. Two

smaller cities Hew-ning and Ho-heen were also taken. The Kin-hwa prefect, for his prudence and celerity in these operations, is to receive the office of Taou-t'ae.

The *Gazette* of May 5th refers to the report of T'oh-mining-ah on the capture of Tseou-shan, an island near Chin-keang, and of certain rafts on which rebels forces had been posted in the river. Heang-yung joins him in making this report. The naval forces descending the river, on April 22d came to the attack, intending to break the chain which had been drawn across the stream. Proceeding by the north and south banks they advanced to Seren-le island, and assaulted breastworks planted with cannon. Favored by the wind, they attacked and destroyed several 2-storied buildings, where yellow flags were hoisted. Fifty to sixty boats with guns came to meet them. More than twenty of them were fired into and sunk on the south bank. On the north bank, 70 or 80 boats manned with rebels came out. Large numbers of them were killed. Many of their boats got aground, and were attacked with fire-arrows. After severe losses had been endured by them in the river, they still held to their land fortifications. While Woo-tseuen-mei and his force mounted the earthen wall, Wang-p'eng-nien leading on his vessels attacked the chain that obstructed the passage and broke it into several pieces. The rebel boats then took to flight. Our vessels advancing were met by a new fleet of hostile boats, below where the chain had been placed. Woo-tseuen-mei leading the attack against them, was assisted by war-junks from P'oo-k'ow, which came by the north and south banks with fresh forces. More than thirty rebel boats were sunk, on which the rest retreated. One with a chief on board was taken. The rebels then deserted the chain altogether and it was cut through by the imperial force, in two branches of the river. The rebel force that was farther up the stream, then came to carry on the engagement, when more than 80 of their boats were destroyed. The affair lasted from 7 o'clock till 5 in the evening. The chain was completely broken away, and more than 300 boats in all destroyed. On the same day Chow-sze-fa, the officer in command at Tseou-shan, led his vessels against the rebels at Kin-shan. At once the rebel force on rafts in the river was in motion, and their cannon opened fire from the south. The imperial troops attacking the earth-works, and the rafts simultaneously, succeeded in drowning many of their foes, and capturing four rafts.

On May 7th.—A memorial from Ch'in-k'i-wan, the Foo-t'ae of Keang-se, states that rebel bands had arrived at Jaou-chow-foo (a prefecture on the east bank of the Po-yang lake) and that various civil and military officers had been sent by him to meet the emergency. On March 8th, a rebel force of five and six thousand men had, as he had been informed by the prefect of Jaou-chow and two military mandarins, proceeded from K'een-teh in Ngan-hwei, to that place. Chaou-joo-shing who was in command, there being no wall capable of defence, led his troops to meet them. On hearing of the approach of the army, the rebels retired. Afraid of some artifice the army also turned back, and entrenched itself in a position where a good watch could be maintained. On the 9th the rebels advanced in three divisions. They approached by three paths and Chaou-joo-shing gave them battle, opening fire with all his artillery. Three chiefs and many common rebels were killed. During the fight a fleet of the enemy's boats coming from Too-ch'ang, (a town in the neighbouring prefecture of Nan-k'ang, and situated near the lake to the north-west of Jaou-chow) entered the river leading to Jaou-chow in the rear of the imperial troops. The loss of life to the latter was great, and they were compelled to retire, (of course leaving the city they were defending in the hands of the rebels.)

On May 13th.—The *Gazette* states that a rebel force was still under siege in Leu-chow, (a prefecture in the northern part of Ngan-hwei) and that several bodies of insurgents there had sustained severe defeats from the besieging troops. On April 24th, more than 2,000 rebels from Ngan-k'ing had entrenched themselves to the south of the city. Here they were attacked and many of them killed. Two embankments which they had made were destroyed and they were pursued for three or four miles. They lost 600 or 700 men and more than 300 cannon and other arms were taken. On the same day by night 2,000 or 3,000 rebels

arrived from Nan-king and formed camps to the southward. The imperial troops attacked them from three points, destroyed three of their encampments, and pursued their flying foe for three or four miles killing 300 or 400 of them. Of weapons 180 of all sorts were taken. On April 29th, a force of more than 1,000 rebels were encamped to the westward at a distance of seven miles. Here they were attacked and a few of them killed, the rest precipitately flying from their entrenchments. On April 30th, at night a large force encamped at the same point. Here they were however at once attacked and lost one of their camps to the imperial troops. The latter advancing a rebel magazine took fire, on which they stormed in, killed great numbers and took two camps. On the same day a rallying party of several hundred rebels from the west gate of Leu-chow, attacked the entrenchments of the emperor's troops and was compelled to retire.

The *Gazettes* recently received, from which these extracts are taken, extend from May 6th to May 14th.

The *Gazette* of the 14th of May speaks of the repression of rebellion in Sze-chuen and Kwei-chow, after the insurgents had disturbed several cities in those provinces. On the 22nd of April the imperialists obtained some successes over the rebels, on which account the emperor restores the governors of the above named provinces to the rank which they had forfeited.

The *Gazette* of the 17th of May details an engagement which took place in Hwuy-chow, in which the imperialists say that they lost about 50 men and 2 officers, and although the rebels ran away, they were not able to follow them. The emperor orders that the accustomed offerings should be made to console the spirits of the fallen.

The *Gazette* of the 18th reports the recapture of Woo-yuen district, and the pacification of the Hwuy-chow province, after having slaughtered about 500 rebels.

On May 23rd, Laou-t'sung-kwang the Foo-t'ao, informs the emperor of events in Kwang-se. Rebels from Kung-ch'ing (a district belonging to P'ing-lo-foo) had proceeded to Foo-ch'uen in that neighbourhood. The Che-h'een had died by their hands while reproaching them as traitors. From all directions troops were collecting to punish their crime.

The *Gazette* of May 25th contains a memorial from Loh-ping-chang stating that in the south of Hoo-nan province, the rebels from Canton and Kwang-se had been several times defeated, and some cities had been retaken. Native rebels had also been discovered in their hiding places. Bands had collected at L'een-chow in Canton province, taken possession of that city, and fought for their lives like desperate men. Wang-paou-seng had led a force against them and killed great numbers. A body of rebels from Yoh-ch'ang, (a little to the N.E. of the same place) had proceeded northwards to Kwei-yang (across the border of Hoo-nan.) That city was however retaken by P'ang-t'een-paou. Another rebel force from Jin-hwa in Canton province had also been repulsed by Chaou-k'e-yuh. A band of Kwang-se rebels had taken Foo-ch'uen (a district city in that province) and proceeded to Yung-ming in Hoo-nan, where they were repulsed by the imperial troops. Some Hoo-nan rebels after experiencing reverse proceeded to Kea-ho in the province of Kwei-yang. Here they were again attacked and several chiefs were taken who were at once put to death.

The *Gazette* of May 26th contains a memorial from T'oh-ming-a stating that an attack had been made on Kwa-chow still in the hands of the rebels. Ma-yung-t'ae had enticed a part of them to come

out of the city and fight. Teh-hing-a had an ambush in readiness. The rebels wading through water advanced and were met by a fire from the matchlocks and cannon of the soldiers. Great numbers were killed, and General Seih-lun attacking them from behind had his horse killed under him, while Heang-yung also details a naval engagement which took place at Nan-king. On May 11th, Woo-t'seuen-mei led on the imperial war junks and himself set fire to a large gun. Very many rebel boats and cannon were taken. Of prisoners there were 61 taken including several chiefs.

The *Gazette* of May 27th states that information had been received from Woo-chin-wuh the lieutenant-governor of Yün-nan, that some bands of rebels there had been entirely destroyed. A memorial had also been received from Ho-c'hun and Fuh-tse respecting an attack on the rebels at Leu-chow, (in Ngan-hwei N.W. of Nanking) and several successes on the part of the imperial troops. On May 8th, Ho-c'hun enticed the rebels to leave the city and killed great numbers of them. A large force landed from boats in the Tseao lake and encamped ashore, where they were attacked and exterminated. At E-ch'ing-tseih several thousand rebels were endeavouring to effect an advance, when they were attacked by two divisions of the troops and sustained loss. Ho-c'hun also informs the emperor that a portion of the army had attacked Seu-ch'ing and obtained some successes. Some weeks previously when it had also been assailed many rebels were killed and made prisoners. At a point in the lake called T'ang-kea-tsung a camp of the insurgents had been taken and burnt, and a large quantity of arms obtained.

The *Gazette* of June 3d gives a memorial from Ch'in-k'e-wan the Foo-tae of Keang-se stating that the imperial troops had recovered the district city Yih-yang (in the prefecture of Kwang-sin). The prefect Lin-fuh-t' siang had led forces against the retiring rebels and gained several successes. On the same day he states that a triumph had been gained at Woo-ning a city to the westward of the Po-yang lake. On April 3d a body of more than 1,000 rebels from Hing-koh (a district city farther west in Hoo-pih province) had arrived at Niew-sze-ling. Lin-mow-hein had led in person a select force to attack them. More than 40 rebels were killed and six encampments burnt. The rest then retreated. On April 16th the rebels arrived at Loh-k'ow. The same commander compelled them to retire with precipitation. On April 19th they advanced again and were attacked by the imperial troops. Nearly 400 rebels were killed, and the rest returned to Hing-koh. An account follows from the same Foo-tae of a great victory at Yih-yang resulting in the recovery of that city. A division of rebels from Yaou-chow-foo had found their way to Yih-yang and suffered loss in a contest with Lo-tsih-nan. They had proceeded to some villages and were burnt in their places of refuge. On April 16th Yih-yang was retaken. More than 500 rebels were made prisoners, and a thousand or more with long hair were caught in the villages.

The complete destruction of the rebel force in the north is then recorded. Seng-koh-lin-sin an-

nounces the capture of the remaining rebel chiefs at Pung-kwan-tun, and the slaughter of their followers. This division of the rebel force had come from Kaou-t'ang in Shan-tung province. Here they were surrounded by trenches filled with water. The besieged force having no means of further defence sent 500 of their body to the imperial camp offering to submit. They waded through the trench and brought with them the heart of the rebel chiefs Le-k'ae-fang and Hwang-ta-han. The imperial forces assisted them out of the water, and put them all to death. Several of the posts they had occupied were then set fire to. Multitudes were killed, and the dead chief Le-k'ae-fang captured with several other eminent rebels. The north is now cleared of these marauders.

On June 10th, Ho-ch'un, the Foo-tae of Nganhwei, states that Leu-chow had been surrounded and attacked repeatedly. Several bands of confederate rebels had attempted to reach the city, but had been successively beaten back by the imperial troops. On May 22d and the following days, the city had been assaulted with heavy guns night and day. On May 25th a breach of four yards width was made at the west gate. The soldiers entered the city but copious rain falling, the streams in the city increased so as to be impassable. On May 29th, 2,000 rebels who were trying to come to the relief of the besieged were attacked at their encampments by Ho-ch'un. They were defeated severely and their earth-works levelled with the ground.

The *Gazette* of June 11th, contains an expression of the imperial displeasure against Yang-p'ei the viceroy of Hoo-kwang. He had formerly been deprived of his titles and honours on account of the loss of Woo-ch'ang. From the time that the rebels advanced to Teih-ngan (a prefectural city N.W. of Woo-ch'ang) he had guarded and then deserted each city on the route in succession. He had thus given new impetus to the bad designs of these disturbers. He is therefore deprived of his office and placed under the orders of other mandarins.

Cha-la-fun, the Manchu general (tseang-keun) placed at Si-ngan-fu the capital of Shen-se had been ordered to lead the forces under his command to Seang-yang (a prefecture in the N.W. of Hoo-pih.) On May 25th, and the following days rebels from P'ing-lin-poo and other places had penetrated to Suy-chow (to the East of Seang-yang and North of Woo-ch'ang). Cha-la-fun, met them at Woo-le-tun, and killed more than 1,000 of them. The rebels however increased in numbers just in proportion to the numbers slain. The Manchu general though he was wounded severely, drove the enemy back, but was obliged on account of his wound to retire. His case demands sympathy.

Le-k'ai-fang, and other rebel chiefs, having been sent to the metropolis by Seng-ko-lin-sin, are ordered to be cut in pieces as a merited punishment for their abominable crimes, and to gladden the hearts of the people.

On June 12th, the lieutenant-governor of Keang-se, Ch'in-k'e-nan states to the emperor that a great victory had been gained over the rebels at Jaou-chow. This body of disturbers from the time they came to that city had been exposed to the attacks of Woo-seih-kwang.

On May 13th, armed boats had been led against them, and Shih-kwang and others, had attacked them all round. The besieged had come out in five divisions. Woo-seih-kwang opening a cannonade killed more than 300. Seizing the opportunity the troops entered the city. The rebels formed themselves into seven divisions, and fought

as for their lives. The imperial soldiers attacked them also in several divisions and killed more than 1,000. Upwards of 100 were taken prisoners. The rest escaped by the east gate. They were assailed by Hoo-ying-k'wei and others who leading armed boats against them killed 500 and more. More than 400 also were drowned. The prefectural city Jaou-chow was thus recovered. The Foo-t'ae who presents this memorial is ordered to take his force to Too-ch'ang (on the east bank of the Po-yang lake, N.W. of Jaou-chow.) There he is to form plans for tranquillizing the whole province.

The same officer informs the emperor that rebels had arrived at Kwang-sin (a prefecture in Keang-se near the juncture of Cheh-keang and Fuh-k'een) from Hing-ngan (a district city on the west) and had been driven out of the prefectural city in question. Upwards of 10,000 rebels from Ngan-hwei had reached Hing-ngan on May 5th. The pro-tempore magistrate Teih-shang-lin had attacked them and killed 100 and more. The city was at once retaken. The remainder went on to Kwang-sin-foo. Tsai-chung-ho the temporary magistrate of Shang-yaou stood to the defence of the city. On account of heavy rain, the cannon could not be fired, and in consequence the rebels forced their way in, and Tsai-chung-ho lost his life. Yuen-yung-seih the prefect of Kwang-sin-foo brought troops to the rescue. On May 8th, the rebels advanced in two divisions, and some tens of them were killed. Three days after they were defeated and lost more than 1,000 men in their flight. One of them named Fan was styled President of one of the six boards. On May 12th, in the morning they were attacked by the troops of the government. Yuen-yung-seih led them on into the city. Many from the east gate rushed to the river and were drowned. This branch of the rebel force coming from Woo-yuen (at the extreme south of Ngan-hwei), and taking possession of Hing-ngan and Kwang-sin in succession, caused much trouble, but having been assailed by Lo-tsih-nan and others who quickly recovered the lost cities they have received their deserts and the neighbourhood has been pacified.

On June 16th Ch'in-k'e-man the lieutenant-governor of Keang-se informs the emperor that the rebels at Jaou-chow had been severely defeated and the city recovered. On June 17th a memorial had been received from Heang-yung (general-in-command at Nanking) stating that the imperial troops had attacked their opponents by land and water and destroyed their batteries at San-shan. On May 28th the rebels had arrived at Keang-ning-chin, and were immediately driven back. On the 31st an imperial force advanced in several divisions, and were fired on by the enemy's artillery. Woo-mei-t'seuen leading on armed vessels discharged a shower of fire-arrows which set fire to a watch-tower where rebels were concealed. The land force seizing the opportunity ascended the hill, and killed and burnt several rebels. The destruction of the encampment at the foot of the hill was effected by Teh-ngan. The surface of the river at San-shan has thus been cleared of all hostile appearances.

On June 18th Yeh-ming-t'an viceroy of Kwang-tung and Kwang-se informs the emperor that the rebels had entered the district city of Yang-shan (in the prefecture of Leën-chow) but it had been immediately recovered. In the autumn of last year rebels from Ying-teh (a city in the Shaou-chow prefecture to the south-east, and situated on the Peh-keang or North river). They were repulsed by Kung-poo-seaou the Che-hên of the city. Afterwards another force arrived from a different direction and effected an entrance to the city. The same officer at the head of more than 10,000 local and other troops, attacked them, killed great numbers and recovered the city.

On June 25th, E-leang, the viceroy of Keang-nan and Keang-se, reports that at the recovery of Paou-shan (a small city near Woosung) remarka-

ble assistance had been afforded by the guardian spirit of the city. On Sept. 9th, 1853, when the city was lost, Tsaou-seih-tseo, an officer subordinate to the city magistrate, had collected the gentlemen and graduates of the neighbourhood and with their co-operation fixed on Sept. 22d as a day for forming a plan for recovering the place. At that very time there was suddenly seen on the city wall a bright red light which was attended by a peculiar fragrance coming out of the temple of the city god. Spirits were then observed walking to and fro and beckoning persons to come to the attack of the rebels. On this the courage of the plunderers suddenly abandoned them, and that of the imperial soldiers became a hundred times greater. They conquered at one beat of the gong. Will the emperor be pleased to grant a new title as a reward to the protecting spirit for his assistance.

The *Gazette* of June 30th contains a memorial from Yang-p'ei, viceroy of Hoo-kwang, stating that a victory had been gained over the rebels, and the city of Teih-ngan (a prefecture in Hoo-pih to the north-west of Woo-ch'ang) attacked. Previously on June 13th K'ung-kwang-shun had retaken Suy-chow (a little farther to the westward) and the discomfited rebels had retreated to Ying-shan (an adjoining district city on the north) robbing and destroying along the whole of their route. On June 21st, 3,000 or 4,000 rebels made their appearance and were attacked by Lew-foo-ch'ing. With his own sword he killed several chiefs. On reaching the river bank more than 700 of the enemy were killed, and a countless number drowned. The imperial troops crossing the river pursued them for fourteen or fifteen miles, catching and killing many of them. This defeat has done much to humble them.

The *Gazette* of July 4th contains a report from the Hoo-pih Foot'ae, Kwan-wen, in reference to Kwei-shing a lieutenant-general in Hoo-pih commanding a Manchu force. He had led his troops to Yo-kea-k'ow to attack the rebels. In pursuing them he sustained a loss of 770 men, (all Manchus). He requests the emperor graciously to consider their case.

On July 5th, T'oh-ming-a reports an attack on Kwa-chow, and a victory on land and water. On June 13th, a party of more than 1,000 rebels came from the eastern shore and were met by Ch'in-kin-show who drove them back and killed more than 100 of them. After this repulse a fresh force of 600 or 700 rebels appeared, who were engaged by Kiuo-teñ-hwa. On the right a body of 1,000 were opposed by Chaou-shoo-t'ang but obstinately refused to retreat. Luy-e-heñ led a force against them and killed upwards of 200. Ch'in-kin-show leading his horse and foot in three divisions attacked and drove back the rebels who fled precipitately. A chief dressed in red was killed by a musket-shot from Ch'in-heñ-ming. They then retired leaving 400 or 500 dead and many arms.

At Keang-p'oo (a district city on the north of the river opposite to Nan-king), on May 31st, a body of rebels had landed at the western bank. Teng-fung-lin led on the attack against them and killed a chief wearing a yellow turban. On June 18th, the same officer when observing the state of things at Kaou-wang noticed a body of 1,000 rebels advancing at a rapid pace. He assailed them at once and pursued them to the river bank, where they escaped by help of their vessels, but lost many in the river. The rebel rafts at Kwa-chow and Chin-keang have been attacked with cannon by Chow-sze-fa. Many rebels were slain. The remaining boats have been assailed by Sun-han-chang who also destroyed great numbers. The rest of the boats fled. On the whole a great triumph has been achieved.

On July 5th, Ying-kwei the lieutenant-governor of Ho-nan reports operations at Kwang-shan (a district city at the extreme south of Ho-nan province) the capture of rebels and recovery of a lost city. A party of local rebels under the direction of Yih-t'een-fu had taken possession of the city Kwang-shan, but Kew-leñ-nen had proceeded to attack them and rescued the city. The remaining rebel force had escaped to Ho-kea a neighbouring village. Here 500 of them were killed. The rest on reaching Lo-kwan-teñ were entirely destroyed by Tsun-yuen-shen.

On July 6th, it is stated by Kwan-wen, the Foot'ae of Hoo-pih, that the district city Lo-t'een (in the prefecture of Hwang-chwo-foo in Hoo-pih) had been entered by rebels. P'eng-chung-fang the magistrate had been killed. The people combined to kill the disturbers and gained a complete triumph. On April 6th more than 10,000 rebels had attacked this district in six divisions. P'eng-chung-fang leading a body of militia attempted to repel them, with his own hand he killed a self-styled prime-minister named Shih-teh-k'e, but was overpowered by numbers, received 31 spear wounds and died in the act of reviling the rebels. They then took possession of the city. Here they were assailed by Ch'ow-show-

hing, his official assistant and others. P'eng-ying-le the son of the deceased mandarin, desirous of revenge joined in the attack. They continued from 12 to 4 o'clock killing the foe, till the ground was covered with the dead. 1,800 were killed and 53 chiefs. The city was recovered.

On July 7th, Yeh-ming-chun reports victories at Canton by land and water. Rebel boats of Fan-yu-heñ (a district forming part of Canton city) had made their way to Hwang-p'u (Whampoa) and there been attacked by major Tseng-k'e. On January 7th and following days he had destroyed 24 of their armed boats, and killed more than 100 chiefs. On the 20th and 21st at Seaou-heang-k'eaou he had killed four or five hundred. On January 23d and following days he had attacked them at Ch'ih-sha-kang and killed more than 1,000. Their chief force had collected at Ta-t'ang. Here T'oo-wen-fang fought with them from eight o'clock till four. More than 1,300 were killed. A mass of houses that had served them for shelter were burnt. At Leeh-teh the rebels on the southern bank were two days earlier attacked by Le-seng-teng who for several days killed several hundreds *per diem*, and destroyed more than 100 boats.

On January 28th, they were again assailed at Tung-cha, and 700 killed. Houses to the number of a hundred where they had sheltered themselves were burnt. On January 29th they were pursued to the river bank, the village Ta-yung, where they had taken refuge burnt, and all the rebels hidden there put to death. In these operations more than 170 rebel boats and three rebel villages have been destroyed. Of rebels killed and drowned there must have been nearly 10,000, and the edge of their ferocity has been very much blunted.

On July 7th, the *Gazette* announces that a victory had been gained by Hoo-lin-yih in an attack on Woo-ch'ang and Han-yang. On June 10th, that officer had led on an assault on the rebels at the south bank of the river (the Yang-tze-keang) in concert with another attacking party who proceeded to the west gate. They made a firm resistance at the first-mentioned place, but were attacked on their flanks and rear by P'eng-yuh-ling, and their whole force exterminated, 231 heads were brought home to quarters. On June 23d and following days a body of rebels from Woo-ch'ang came down the river, while some directed their course to Kin-k'ow. On being assailed by a force under the command of Hoo-lin-yih the governor and viceroy *pro tem*. in various directions, 700 were taken and 1,000 fled in confusion.

On July 8th, Hen-ch'ün, the lieutenant-governor of Kwei-chow reports that the rebels who remained in his province had been captured and exterminated. On their retiring to the boundary of Sze-ch'uen they were attacked by Ching-ling the Taou-t'ae for that part of Kwei-chow, and by parties under his direction. A large number of them were caught, the rest escaping to the country west of Tsun-i (a prefecture in the northern part of Kwei-chow province). Here on May 31st the imperial troops killed 200 of them and captured their chiefs. Tranquillity is completely restored in that region.

On July 17th, the *Gazette* contains statements from Ch'in-k'e-man, the lieutenant-governor of Keang-se, in reference to the siege by the rebels of E-hing, (a city of the second order in the vicinity of Nan-ch'ang the capital of the province.) Rebels from Tung-shan and Tsung-yang, cities just across the boundary in Hoo-pih, had repeatedly attacked the place in question. They were opposed by Yeh-tse-ying and for some days lost several hundred men *per diem*. Chang-t'seuen-heaou at the head of a body of militia made a destructive assault on them, but proceeding too far fell a sacrifice to his own impetuosity. The rebels at the west gate made a mine and threw down the wall. Here the soldiery were not able to resist them. Yeh-tse-ying and others fought bravely and died. Woo-seih-kwang brought a military force from Jaou-chow. The rebels separated into ten or more divisions and surrounded him. They lost more than 1,000 men, but the officer just mentioned, his strength exhausted, fell by their hands, and the city was lost.

The same officer reports that a victory had been gained at Woo-ning (a city to the north east of E-ning and also near the Hoo-pih border.) On June 13th, rebels arrived at this place, and on being attacked by P'eng-ying-k'wei lost more than 100 killed. On June 18th, more than 4,000 or 5,000 additional rebels from Hweng-too and Shang-pan came directly to our encampment. Ma-chen-k'wei placed a force in ambush and attacked them on three sides. More than 1,000 of them were killed. A chief named Peih-kea-seng was killed. Several others were taken and a severe wound inflicted on the pride of the enemy.

On July 18th, Wang-e-teih the lieutenant-governor of Fuh-keen reports the capture of an important rebel chief named Hwang-yung-she. He had come from Seën-yew to Yung-ch'un (an inland city to the north of Amoy.) Here he was met by Woo-yih-ch'ang. He was caught by messengers sent by that officer, and put to death.

Heng-ch'un the viceroy of Yün-nan and Kwei-chow relates the extermination of a band of rebels. After the dispersion of the rebel body under the command of one Yang, two hundred still remained, who made an oath to live and die together and proceeded to invite comrades and form a rendezvous. Tseang-yuh-lung was instructed to proceed against them from Suy-yang (a city in the north of Kwei-chow province.) He was informed by spies that they were concealed in some brick kilns, and were carrying on their treachery there in increasing numbers. When the military approached they came out to resist them. More than 200 were killed and many rolled down a precipice there. Seu-ta, and Seu-tseay, two chiefs brothers, were taken, and others 50 in all. They were all cut in pieces. The whole country is now freed from rebellion.

On July 19th, Ho-kwei-ts'ing the lieutenant-governor of Ngan-hwei relates that the imperial troops had been victorious at Hew-ning (to the west of Hwei-chow.) On June 6th that city had been occupied by the rebels. Here they were attacked by T'eng-shaou-leang and Shih-king-fun. Several battles ensued. Finding themselves unable to continue the contest they escaped by the

west gate. The city was then immediately recovered. More than 200 rebels were killed.

The *Gazette* of July 23d contains a memorial from Hoo-lin-yih the lieutenant-governor of Hoo-pih stating that several great victories had been gained over the rebels on both sides of the Yang-tze-keang. On June 28th the rebels had come from Woo-ch'ang and Han-yang and advanced by six roads in as many bodies of 1,000 or 2,000 men each. Hoo-lin-yih sent officers to resist them. A large yellow banner was taken, and several fierce rebels and chiefs on horses. They then returned. Our forces pursued them and cut off their retreat by means of parties of men in ambush. Upwards of 500 were killed in the carnage that ensued, and 330 taken prisoners. More than 200 were drowned in the lake. On the next day hearing that the rebels had come back and taken up their quarters at Che-fang, our army attacked them and taking advantage of a strong south wind opened a heavy fire with cannon and matchlocks. They were compelled to retire losing two encampments. The imperial troops pursued them to the lesser east gate of Woo-ch'ang. In these two days not less than 3,000 rebels were killed.

On July 24th Laou-t'sung-kwang informs the emperor that Chaou-k'ing-foo in the province of Canton had been recovered. A division of rebels who had retreated to Woo-chow in Kwang-se had also been attacked and compelled to retire. The rebels of the former place had been assailed by Chang-king-sew and repeatedly repulsed. On May 21st a force of rebels who had proceeded to that place were attacked by a large body of soldiers from the city of Canton who at once took possession of the city. Those who remained retreated to Woo-chow where they were assailed by Chang-king-sew. On the 23rd a vast number of rebels in boats were drowned. The rest proceeded to T'eng-heen. Here many of them were killed by our soldiers. The survivors have gone to Ts'in-chou (a city in the south-east of Kwang-se province).

On the same day the same officer states that he had despatched various officers and bodies of soldiers to kill and capture the rebels in Kwang-se. They had retired to Kwan-yang (in the north-east of the province), Wang-chuh-t'sing had attacked them and recovered the city; a division of them had then proceeded to Se-yen and Tung-ngan in Ho-nan province. They will be immediately attacked there.

On July 25th Tseng-kwe-fan informs the emperor that a naval victory had been obtained. On June 21st and the following days, the rebels at Too-ch'ang a city near Nan-k'ang-foo in Keang-se, seized some junks loaded with rice. Our men surrounded them with well-placed guns and pursued them for 7 miles.

On July 26th, Heng-ch'un informs the emperor that the Meaou-tze were in rebellion at Lang-tae-ting a city in Kwei-chow province. This people have been committing great disorders, burning and robbing, and killing mandarins and resisting all attempts to capture them. A strong force will be immediately sent to reduce them to submission.

On July 27th the *Gazette* contains a memorial from Yeh-ming-yin stating that the siege of Ch'ao-chow being already raised, the rebels near that city were attacked and defeated. They then went on to Tsai-kea-wei, Tung-tsin and other places. They have still numerous dens in that part. On the west in the village districts many who were waiting a favourable opportunity for an attempt on the city were attacked by the officer Show-shan and exterminated. A rebel of T'sae-trang called Woo-chung-shoo had collected 20,000 followers, and surrounded the city. Show-shan dividing his forces proceeded against them. After killing large numbers he entered their villages and burnt their places of rendezvous wherever he found them. Thus those districts have been pacified.

Yeh-niung-yin further states that Fung-ch'uen a district city on the borders of Kwang-se had been recovered from the rebels. Last year in the seventh month it was besieged by rebel boats from Po-shan. On January 3rd Chang-king-sew with cannon destroyed their vessels and killed or took prisoners many of their men. Chang-a-hwai and two other chiefs were taken and the city recovered. The remainder of the rebels went on to Too-ch'ing and Too-loh, to which places they were pursued by Chang-king-sew. More than 900 were killed and the places where they had taken refuge destroyed by fire.

Yeh-ming-yin also states that the imperial soldiers had attacked the rebel boats at Hoo-men. At that place a division of rebels from Canton had taken up their abode and collected associates. K'in-yin at the head of a body of Fuh-keen soldiers had proceeded against them. Killing large numbers he pursued them to Pin-sha. More than 300 more were killed here. Many rebel boats were here collected. On the arrival of the soldiers, the rebels took to the sea and were drowned in great numbers. Other boats came from Choo-t'ow-shan and approached a strong battery with hostile intentions. K'in-yin opened a cannonade on them and destroyed seven boats. At Ta-keo on the sea coast some boats were gathered. K'in-yin sent a force against them by which they were pursued from Lung-heue to Hung-men. Fung-e-kwan a rebel general was here caught. At Hoo-men all is now tranquil.

On July 30th, Yeh-ming-yin states that Lung-ch'uen was now free from disturbances. This place, a city in the north-east of Canton province, had last year been attacked by rebels from Ch'ang-loh. They had mined the city wall and made a considerable breach in it. They were attacked by the imperial forces before they could press in through the opening, and by means of a heavy fire more than 1,500 were killed. Of their boats 100 were destroyed. The remainder of them retreated and left the city in tranquillity.

On July 31st, the same officer reports that the district city Poh-lo (east of Canton) had been recovered. At the close of last year this city had been seized by the rebels. The magistrate gathered troops and surrounded it. The rebels not

being able to make a defence escaped by the lesser east gate. They were met by Taou-yün who captured their chief Le-a-jin and others in all 53 persons. The city was at once recovered.

The same officer reports that at Shaou-chow in the north of Canton province the rebels had suffered a severe loss. Towards the end of last year this city began to be attacked by rebels and continued subject to their incursions till February. They were kept somewhat in restraint by Kwen-show. In April rebels again appeared there but were repulsed and partially destroyed by the Keang-se troops. At present the river in that part for a long distance is free from all obstructions to trade.

Laou-ts'ung-kwang states that the rebels in Kwang-se who had excited disturbances at Kwan-yang had been driven from thence by the troops and gone to Tung-ngan in the province of Hoo-nan. The details here follow. Formerly a large division of rebels had appeared at Kwan-yang, Soo-fung-wen and others attacked them there. Dividing his troops he inflicted on them a great slaughter. On May 16th and following days a decisive victory was gained. On May 20th in the night they escaped from the city which was immediately recovered. Unexpectedly on the 26th a body of rebels passed over to Hoo-nan. On the 29th they entered the city of Tung-ngan, where they are now being attacked by the imperial troops.

On August 1st, Ho-kwei-ts'ing states that Shih-tae (a district city near Ch'e-chow in Ngan-hwei) had been recovered. Two bodies of rebels had combined and entered the prefecture of Hwei-chow which had however been recovered. From Hwei-niung on the west of Hwei-chow they were pursued to Shih-tae on the north, where they held the city for some time. T'eng-shaou-leang surrounded them with his troops. Making a determined attack they scaled the walls and found the rebels in a very disorganized state. They were killed or captured with great ease and the city recovered.

On August 2nd, Heang-yung reports that the imperial troops had recovered the city T'ae-p'ing and the war junks had arrived at Woo-poo. On July 7th a large force of rebels from Woo-hoo had proceeded to Wan-che. Here they were attacked by Teng-shaou-leang and forced back. More than ten rebel boats were defeated and obliged to retire. On July 16th an attack by land and water was made upon T'ae-p'ing-foo at all the gates. The rebels seeing this fled from the city to Kin-choo-kwan and there stood their ground. Our troops pursued and killed several tens of men, and at once recovered the city. Taking the opportunity Woo-ts'uen-mei and other officers, despatched war boats against those of the rebels and drove back more than 20 of them. At 10 A.M. an attack was made at Tung-leang-shan on the river. A cannonade was at once opened on our forces, which they well answered, sinking 30 of the enemy's craft. Several victories were gained, and the boats of the rebels in that quarter all burnt.

On August 5th, the viceroy of Canton states that the admiral there had proceeded to sea to attack pirates. He was worsted. The case was undergoing proper investigation. The sea about the island Nan-ngaou,* and that adjoining Fuh-kien had been infested by pirates who were constantly coming out and again disappearing. Near the end of last year Han-kea-moo had proceeded to capture them. Seeing three piratical vessels, he fired on them. The pirates replied in the same manner. The guns of the imperial junks sunk one of their vessels. On a sudden more than 10 piratical vessels came out to engage in the conflict. The imperial force assailed them with musketry and cannon setting fire to their junks. Han-kea-moo going forward to capture them was greeted by showers of combustibles which entered the imperial vessels without there being time to extinguish them. The pirates surrounded them and set their junks on fire. Han-kea-moo was severely wounded, fell into the sea and lost his life.

On August 8th, Tseang-k'e-e reports with regard to the overflow of the Yellow River at Pih-hae, Lan-yang-sint and San-pau, that the current this year being strong, the work of repairing the dikes was difficult and dangerous. On July 31th, the force of the river increased. Two days after it had made an opening in the embankment extending to eight or nine hundred feet, and through this had flowed into the plains spreading misery and destruction in its course. The emperor expresses his commiseration with the people.

On August 9th, T'sung-ngen the Footae of Shan-tung states that an examination had been made respecting the vessels laden with grain which had been taken by pirates at sea. The Keang-soo grain junks on arriving near the island of Shih-taou (lat. 26° near Keau-chow), were boarded by pirates and every thing valuable was taken by them. Two other vessels had also been stopped at the island and the men on board kept for ransom. These are most unexpected and uncommon occurrences.

On August 11th, Heng-ch'un, and Tseang-wei-yuen state that the barbarian rebels (Meau-tze) had been attacked and several victories gained over them. At Lang-tae and Chin-ning (in the prefecture of Ngan-shun) they had been met by Wang-ch'ing-foo. On July 5th, the soldiers had advanced to two of their palisades and killed a few of them, and a few more at the Ngan-chwang bank. On July 16th, the rebels came out again to attack O-t'ang, where a few more were killed. At present they still rely on their mountain fastnesses, and will not desist from hostilities. The officers of government in Kwei-chow province are ordered to lead more troops against them, and effectually prevent their doing further mischief.

On March 11th, Ho-chun and Fuh-ts'e state that the rebels at Ying-shan (in Ngan-hwei adjoining the Hoo-pih boundary) had been driven out, and the city recovered. The rebels had made several attacks on this place and been as often repulsed by the imperial troops. On June 24th, more than 10,000 men came against it. Next day taking advantage of heavy rain, they entered the city. The Taoutae, Ho-kwei-chin, on July 9th, accompanied by the Cheheen Soo-sew-kwei, attacked the place and killed 600 or 700 rebels. When other help arrived a general assault was made. The imperialists ferrying over the river proceeded to the south-west gate. The rebels retired through the south gate and lost in killed and prisoners more than 3,000. The city was immediately taken possession of.

The same officers state that successes had been obtained over some remaining bands of rebels. On July 27th, rebels, 4,000 or 5,000 in number who remained after their reverses at Lin-kea and Ta-yin, came to a village called Ta-t'ang-tien. Here Ho-ch'un met them and killed a large number. On July 31st, 10,000 fresh rebels from the south made their appearance and entered the city. The imperial soldiers attacked them, and with large cannon killed a great number. Ho-ch'un on horseback engaged in the conflict. Five chiefs in yellow dresses were killed. The fields were covered with the dead. On this day in the engagements that took place at two places, more than 1,000 rebels were killed.

On the same day Ho-ch'un states that the case of Chung-t'ae an officer who had met with defeats when engaged with the rebels needed investigation. On July 26th, several thousands of rebels had proceeded from the Tseao lake (a little to the south of Leu-chow-foo). The mandarin forces gave them a repulse. They however came round by the hill called Ping-ting-shan and being when they reached the imperial encampments, more than 10,000 in number, they drove out the soldiers who retreated to West mountain. The officer who suffered the loss of the encampments, was thereby guilty of great inadvertence in being unprepared.

On August 12th, Kwan-wen states that Yün-wang and Ying-ch'ing (two district cities in Hoo-pih, north-west of Woo-ch'ang) had been recovered. The rebels at Tih-ngan (the prefecture to which those cities belong) having been worsted by the troops that besieged them, proceeded in considerable force by land to the places mentioned. On July 23d, Wang-p'ei-how the acting Cheheen of Ying-ch'ing heard it reported that rebel-boats from the Yang-tze-keang were approaching. He killed more than 300 of the rebels and burnt or sunk their boats. Thus the jurisdiction of Ying-ch'ing has been relieved from disorder, and this city with Yün-wang, lying on the high way between Woo-ch'ang and Teih-ngan-foo, and therefore of no little importance have been swept clean of rebellion.

* An island off the mouth of the arm of the sea at the east end of Canton province.

† In the prefecture of K'ae-fung in Honan province.

On August 14th, Tseng-kob-fau states that Ch'fin-ke-man the Footae of Keang-se had been guilty of certain faults. The order is given that he be removed from his position. His crime is said to be that he had given an incorrect account of the loss of Woo-ch'eng and Jaon-chow, cities in his jurisdiction. When the latter city was taken and a few tens of rebels had been killed, he greatly magnified the victory, and has also committed various other improper acts.

On the same day Tseng-ko-fan reports a naval victory. On July 13th, rebels boats came to Koo-tang and T'sing-shan. They advanced directly against their enemies from the west bank. The imperial guns were opened on them for four hours. The rebel chief was killed and great numbers of his followers. The remainder made their escape.

On August 18th, the regulator of sacrifices reports to the emperor that Kwan-te had been honoured by previous emperors his ancestors with titles, and asks what should be done in respect to them now that this deity had so clearly exhibited his great protecting power and had thus certainly merited to be honoured greatly. The emperor commands that his great-grand-father's title Kwang-chaou-kung (light radiating noble of first class) should be changed to Kwang-chaou-wang (light radiating king.) His grand-father and father, entitled severally Yu-ch'ang-kung and Ch'ang-chung-kung, are also to have the word Wang substituted for Kung in these titles.

On August 22nd, Loh-ping-chang states that rebels from Canton and Kwang-se had come over the border into Hoonan and been there destroyed. He had sent a body of militia to attack Jin-hwa (a district city in the extreme north of Canton province.) Here 1,000 rebels had been killed, and the city recovered. A rebel chief named Tseng-kwei had been taken with others. A body of the discomfited insurgents from Fuh-shan, had come on a plundering expedition to E-chang (a district city under the jurisdiction of Lew-chow in the south of Hoonan), and entered Lew-chow. On June 16th, Wang-paou-sheng proceeded to attack them from two points and killed 1,000. On June 23rd, the rebels not being able to resist any longer divided their force and proceeded to the two district cities Lin-woo and Kea-ho. Here they encountered Loo-chaou-chaou who killed 1,000 or more. At this time there arrived a force of several thousand rebels under Ho-luh and others from Joo-yuen (a city in Canton province), Wang-paou-sheng attacking them killed 1,800 and took their encampment. Suddenly there came another band by a by-road and entered Lew-chow. Kwang-se rebels from T'seuen-been and Kwan-yang in that province also arrived at Tung-ngan. Here they were attacked by the mandarin forces, and several hundreds killed. Of their boats 27 were taken. Local banditti at Woo-kang and Heng-yang (cities more towards the centre of Hoonan province), took the opportunity to attempt mischief, but were completely destroyed by Jin-yang.

In the *Gazette* of August 28th, Se-ling-a a Manchu, governor of Hoo-pih states that at Teih-ngan-foo the imperialist camps had been attacked and taken by the rebels. (Teih-ngan is about 100 miles N.W. of Woo-ch'ang.) On August

14th they had come out of the city in several divisions and seized some of the imperialist positions. Lew-fu-ch'ing led a force of the country militia against them. They only effected the slaughter of a few. The cavalry then advanced and killed a few more. The rebels then proceeded by the two flanks of the former force to their encampments which they destroyed. For this disaster, Se-ling-a is deprived of his office, but is ordered to continue in the discharge of its duties.

Wang-e-teh, the governor-general of Chih-keang and Fuh-keen, states that the naval commander at Nan-ngaou* had destroyed and captured several piratical vessels. The victory thus gained had been claimed by the mandarins and gentlemen of Amoy, who had forgotten the merits of the conqueror. He requests that they may be suitably punished. Hwang-wei a rebel chief of Amoy had escaped to sea. According to the statements of Le-t'ing-yu the commander-in-chief for the province of Fuh-keen. Hwang-wei with the Canton rebel Wang-hing-shun had collected comrades and large vessels at sea. On account of their number the force under the mandarins' orders could not meet them. A barbarian steamer needed to be engaged to accompany the imperialist junks and destroy these pirates. A Canton merchant, Chaou-foo-tae who has had several ships taken by the pirates, was willing to advance money to engage a vessel-of-war and steamer. On March 21st these vessels together with an imperialist naval force arrived at the rendezvous of the pirates. In the attack that then took place many piratical junks were sunk, and many prisoners taken. The rebel chief Hwang-wei perished with his vessel. The statement of Chin-ying-yin military commander at Nan-ngaou differed from these. Nothing was said by him of a steamer assisting in the attack.

On finding that the accounts differed the governor-general applied to the general commanding-in-chief for the province, for a correct account of the affair. Le-t'ing-yu, the officer in question, replied that large foreign vessels were engaged by Chaou-foo-tae. At the time of the attack Le-fung-she who had been sent with the exhibition, thought that the steamer would take the lead in assaulting the pirates, and easily gain a victory. He did not know the disposition of the barbarians. When they were going to begin, they saw that the imperialist junks were strong enough to do the work alone, and consequently retired to a convenient anchorage just by. Those who had given the incorrect accounts, had not made careful enquiries, and therefore they relate the affair differently from the officer at Nan-ngaou. Le-fung-she who had given rise to the other account was seeking a name for services not done. The governor-general requests that he may be deprived of his office.

On August 31st, Ho-ch'ün states that several victories had been gained over the rebels. The rebels at Leu-chow (in Ngan-lwei) had resisted to the utmost. On August 8th, Ho-ch'ün had led the troops to the attack. Rebels from the South in several divisions came on to meet them. In the subsequent engagement 700 or 800 rebels were killed. From August 16th to 21st a suc-

* Commonly known as Namoa.

careful contest was maintained, by which the enemy lost heart.

On September 1st, Loh-ping-chang states that victories had been gained in the North and South of his province (Hoo-nan). The rebels in the South of Hoo-pih after their defeat still held the city of T'ung-ch'ing they were attacked here by the imperial troops and lost a large number. After their second defeat; other rebels came from T'sung-yang and E-ning two neighbouring cities and again took possession of T'ung-ch'ing. Seu-che-kin here attached them and gained several victories. They in consequence retired in a body to their den.

An attack had also been made by some Canton rebels on Lin-woo-heen a city in the extreme South of Hoo-nan and a neighbouring town where there was a Yamun belonging to Kwei-yang-foo. They were assailed by the mandarins and gentry of Lin-woo, who defended their city and raised the siege. The rebels in possession of Kwei-yang-foo, had been besieged by Woo-t'sing-hoh. Several hundreds were killed daily. The rebels were still in possession of the neighbouring city of Pin-chow. The officers in command are ordered to eject them summarily.

The governor of Kwei-chow province states that the Mao-tse still continue to disturb several districts. The cities Tae-kung, Hwang-p'ing, Tan-keang, T'sing-p'ing, had thus had to suffer from burning and robbery.

Laou-tsung-kwang the governor of Kwang-se, states that T'eng-heen had been seized by rebels. Lui-paou-ch'oo, the magistrate of that place had attacked them at the lead of a force of militia, and recovered the city. He had destroyed several boats, and killed those who manned them.

The Gazette of August 20th, contains a statement from Heang-yung, commanding at Nan-king, of victories by land and water, and the recovery of Woo-hoo. On July 22nd and following days, Woo-tseuen-mei, the officer in command, had driven back the rebel fire rafts and prevented them from proceeding to Yih-ke. They then came out into the river by Chay-shan and erected a battery, but they were attacked by the imperial troops and many killed; while Teih-ngan led a force against them from Hwang-shan. On the 24th they advanced in three divisions and defeated the rebels, who returned to the island called Tung-leaon-shan. On July 25th, Ming-ngan-t'ae, proceeding from the embankment of the T'ung-shui river, advanced straight against the enemy, and taking advantage of the success he met with, assailed and took the east and west gates. Teih-ngan took the north gate. Three paths into the city were then open. After this the rebels escaped by the west gate, and great numbers of them were drowned. Rebels from Ngan-king, numbering more than 10,000, came to attack the imperial encampments, and were defeated with loss of more than 1,000. On August 1st, Ming-ngan-tae attacked the east and south gates and destroyed two batteries. Hoo-kwun-yuen scaled the wall, and the east and west gates were forced. Teih-ngan attacked the north gate, and destroyed the rebel encampments that he found there. The rebel craft in the inner streams were also entirely destroyed. Woo-hoo has thus been recovered and the whole affair has terminated satisfactorily.

The Gazette of August 21st states, that the sacred mother whose filial piety was perfect, the empress dowager, had ascended to be a guest above. May her fostering care be granted to us. For fifteen years, her goodness had been profoundly deep, and her anxiety and care such as could not be returned. On the 9th day of the present month (August 21st) at ten A.M., she went up by the path of the immortals to the distant land. We grieve and lament aloud. Our sorrow has no limit.

On August 25th, Ling-kwei memorializes the emperor stating that Shuh-leang-ngih, the father of Confucius had received a posthumous title in the reign of Chin-tsung of the Sung dynasty. His ancestors had not however received any title. It is recommended for consideration whether titles should not be granted for five generations upwards. At present Kwan-te has reached the central position in the sacrifices. His ancestors have received titles in cases where those of Confucius had none. Should there not be an equality established between them?

On August 26th, it is decreed that in consequence of the overflow of the Yellow river, and the sufferings to the people resulting from it, the imperial compassion shall be extended to them. Of the rice now passing through Shan-tung 5,000 piculs are to be retained for distribution among the poor.

On August 27th, the emperor decrees that the last directions of the deceased empress should be followed in limiting the court mourning to 27 days. The coffin is first to be placed in the K'ech'un-yuen. The emperor will wear a dark-blue toga or an every day toga. After he has accompanied the remains of the empress to the tomb, the mourning dress will be abandoned.

On September 4th, Tseng-koh-fan states that victories had been gained by land and water. On July 24th, Tah-t'si-pu had learned that the rebels at Kew-keang (on the south bank of the Yang-tsze-keang in Keang-se province) were adding to their batteries at Sin-ken, and at Lung-k'ae-ho were collecting boats manned by their own partizans. On July 26th, he attacked the east gate, and at 3 in the morning led a force against Sin-ken, and set the rebel boats on fire. They on perceiving their danger, made a stout defence. More than 2,000 rebels came from the city to aid their comrades. After slaughtering a great number, Tah-t'si-pu enticed them to the pass called San-ch'uen-ling. Here they were hemmed in on both sides by means of an ambuscade, and sustained severe loss. On the same day Tseng-koh-fan attacked Seu-kea-fow. The rebels dispersed at once, and many boats containing rice were burnt.

On the same day Heang-yung states that an attack had been made on Chin-keang. A victory had been gained and those who died are recommended to the imperial consideration for rewards. The rebels have a force stationed on the island Kin-shan, (Golden island), and at Silver island and Paou-kae-shan, they conceal bands of men for purposes of observation. On August 11th, the Foo-tae Kih-urh-hang-a took a division of the imperial force to attack Kwa-chow. The rebels of Golden island and Chin-keang, advanced and posted themselves on all the islands. The

darin troops fought with them from 4 A.M. to 6 P.M., killing great numbers. From August 13th to 18th, the rebels collected on the summit of the island Paou-kae-shan. Here they were fearlessly and incessantly attacked. The rebel battery on Silver island has been taken. The power of the rebels has been very much weakened and many straggling parties entirely cut off. The officers who had been killed are to receive posthumous honours.

On September 7th, Kwan-wen states that a victorious attack had been made on the rebels at Ke-shuy-heen in Hoo-pih. The insurgents in that region had come from the Shang-pa river, and begun to produce disturbances, when they were attacked by the city magistrate Lew-k'e and dispersed. They were then pursued and many killed. The remainder collected at Choo-sze-k'eaou, where they raised earth-works. Kwan-wen attacked them. Finding their place of refuge in danger of destruction, they came out to resist their assailants. A fire of cannon and other arms was opened on them, their works consisting of encampments destroyed, and 2,000 killed.

On the same day Kwan-wen, states that the division of rebels occupying T'sung-yang and T'ang-ch'ing (two district cities in the south of Hoo-pih) had repeatedly caused disturbances in the neighbouring city of Poo-ke. They had however been repulsed on each occasion. The city magistrate Sun-show-sin had at the head of local troops driven them back with loss. On August 18th, the rebels mustering more than 1,000 assaulted Sin-teen. The same officer assisted by regular troops attacked them for 6 hours. More than 100 were killed and the rest pursued for 3 miles. Some smaller bodies of rebels posted among the villages were also forced to retire.

The same officer relates the recovery of the city of Han-chuen. On August 25th, Le-paou-pang attacked and destroyed the rebel encampment at that place, ascended the walls, and had the pleasure of seeing the rebels escaping by the east gate.

September 10th, Yeh-ming-chin, the viceroy of Canton states that the city of Sze-hoh had been taken by the insurgents, but again retaken. It appears that on the 27th of April, the magistrate of that district recovered the city in question, having killed about a thousand of the enemy. Another officer attacked at the same time a separate band of robbers and discomfited them.

The same officer reports the recovery of the prefectural city of Shaou-k'hing. It appears that on the 16th of May, the imperial army advanced in two divisions from the junction of the Kew-keang river, obtaining divers successes as they proceeded, until the 21st of May they entered the city of Shaou-k'hing by storm. The rebels being unable to withstand the onslaught, opened the gates and fled. The imperial troops then animated by redoubled zeal proceeded to slaughter all they could find, and completely recovered the city. Within five days they captured and burnt about 1,400 boats belonging to the enemy, and killed no fewer than 30,000 of the insurgents.

The same officer reports the recovery of the city of Tih-k'hing-chow. During the month of April, the rebels had taken forcible possession of

this place, burning and pillaging whatever they found, but Chang-king-sew led a force against them, and having been assisted by the inhabitants, he routed the enemy, burning a large number of their vessels, and beheading multitudes of the foe.

The same officer reports that the rebels had invested the city of Ung-yuen, but that the imperialists had resisted them with success. It appears that on the 19th of August last year, some 10,000 of the rebels set fire to the south gate of the city in question, but the magistrate got some water poured over it, by means of which the fire was extinguished. On the 21st of the same month, the rebels attacked at once three gates of the city, but the magistrate opened upon them a fire of artillery which killed a great number; in this and several successive engagements about 7,000 of the enemy must have fallen. After the raising of the siege 3,000 more were put to the sword.

The *Gazette* of the 11th of September contains a report from Kwan-wen, the general in command of Hoo-pih, stating that the imperial troops had attacked and regained possession of Han-chin, (i. e. Han-k'how) invested the prefectural city of Han-yang, and cut off the retreat of the rebels from Han-chuen. It appears that on the 23rd of August, Hu-ling-yih made use of some fire boats and burning the bridge at Han-k'how, entered the great river. On this the soldiers by land and water came forward killed a great number of rebels, and recovered Han-chin. They then crossed the river and chased the rebels to Han-yang, destroying the fortifications at the east and west gates. On the 28th, the general united his forces and attacked the rebel defences on all sides, which were wholly destroyed, while the remainder of the rebels at Han-k'how being now scattered were easily taken. Those at Teh-an several times attempted to run away, but were driven back.

The *Gazette* contains a report from Ye-ming-chin, viceroy of Canton, stating that the marauders who had frequently disturbed Yang-chun, had been nearly all destroyed. During the 8th month of last year the rebels escaped to the west gate of Chin-kiang, but were driven away. Those on the north-east side were defeated, and escaped to Peh-lung river, where great numbers of them were killed. The remainder fled to Yang-chun, and were all taken.

The *Gazette* of 13th September, contains a report from Toh-ming-oh, saying that he had attacked Qua-chow, with the Admiral, and that he succeeded in destroying a number of rebels boats, and obtained several victories. On the 15th August, the rebels in different bands came out to fight, when Toh-ming-oh led forward his soldiers, and the rebels ran away. On the 25th at midnight the rebels again came out, when large guns were opened upon them, and they retired. A short time before, the rebels from Nanking sent 30 wheel (paddle) boats to their assistance, and came on to attack the Admiral's camp. Yeh-tsang-chun divided his forces, and proceeded to meet them. The soldiers having stopped the passage of the rebels from behind, the latter were unable to accomplish their object, and a great number of their boats were sunk. Other rebel boats came from Chih-le-chow, when Yeh-tsang-chun commencing firing upon them, by which they were frightened and ran away. Shang-

kiang, Sing-kiang, and others places have been altogether cleared of the rebel boats.

The *Gazette* of the 14th September, contains a report from Ying-kwei, stating that he had destroyed, and taken a number of rebels, among them a chief of great consequence, named Yih-tieh-fu. From the time that these rebels were defeated at Kwang-san, they were scattered in all directions, and hid themselves. The soldiers came in from behind, caught the chief, and killed upwards of a thousand of his followers.

The *Gazette* of September 17th, contains a report from Ho-ch'un stating that the forces on the banks of the great river, had met the rebels in conflict and defeated them. On September 2nd, Seu-heau-fung had led a body of men to capture and destroy the rebels on the north bank. At an unexpected moment rebels in three divisions advanced tumultuously, and were attacked by the prefect Yeh-fah. More than 40 were killed, and a military station in their possession destroyed. Then the imperial troops advanced in order of battle. More than 300 rebels came on. Cannon were fired on both sides. Through the smoke the soldiers advanced, killed more than 100, burnt a guard house, and still pressing forward, killed 260 of their opponents. Many others were drowned. The fighting lasted for ten hours resulting in a decisive victory. The magistrate of a *hien* city and a military officer were killed, whose case the emperor is requested to consider.

On September 8th, the same officer reports a victory at Leu-chow, over a rebel force that came to aid their comrades still in possession of that city. On August 26th the imperialists in a shower of rain, vigorously attacked their foes, killing 400 of them, and destroying four encampments. On August 31st, the rebels with a force of 10,000 men proceeded to Tsae-kaou. E-lin-poo and others, relying on the river that flowed between defended their position. The rebels in several parties came by Hwang-shan taking a circuitous route, and gained the principal street. They were here attacked and great numbers killed. They there dispersed. The imperial soldiers burnt their encampments and the corpses of the rebels lay there heaped one over the other. On September 3rd, Ho-ch'un himself led a force in pursuit of the discomfited rebels. At the back of the hill (Hwang-shan), he followed them for 10 miles. The country people also assisted in destroying them. The rebels in Leu-chow had erected field-

works at the west gate where the hill called Tashuh-shan afforded them a favourable position. The imperial forces now surrounded these works, when the rebels retired with precipitation, leaving their fortifications to be levelled to the ground. E-lin-poo, Yang-wau-shuh, and other officers in lower command were killed, and the imperial favour towards them is requested.

The *Gazette* of 19th September, says that T'ah-tsi-pu, the governor of Honan, had recovered Fuhang and pursued the rebels to Kew-kiang, that in the course of the fight, he had been personally engaged a hundred times, and had thereby acquired a great amount of merit. According to the report of Chin-chi-mai, however, it appears that the governor became suddenly ill of heart complaint, and died shortly after in the camp, so that his case deserves extreme commiseration. On the 20th, Chin-chi-mai reports having attacked I-ning, and recovered the prefectural city. The rebels on the north and south banks of the stream had erected fortifications. On the 25th August, Lo-shih-nan the magistrate of Ning-pu, Shan-hing, and T'ai-chow having removed his forces encamped at K'an-k'ang. The rebels numbering 7 or 8,000 came on by separated roads, when the magistrate in connection with the officer of the district attacked and killed 600 of them. The following day 40 or 50,000 rebels came by way of Fung-wang hill to Ngau-ling. The soldiers at once commenced the conflict. The rebels who had come by the right hand road remained perched on the precipitous heights of the K'i-ming hill, whereupon they were surrounded, and on this occasion three were killed, with others who accidentally fell down, in all very great many. The next day, the general in command broke into the rebel camp, and put to death an immense number. The same afternoon the above magistrate again led on his soldiers, burnt the rebel camp, and routed the rebels completely, upwards of a thousand of whom threw themselves into the river. The day after the soldiers and militia being united, put forth their utmost strength to enter the prefectural city, and recovered it, killing at least 1,000 rebels and catching 400 alive. This was certainly a smart affair. There is also notice of an addition having being made to the honorary titles of the late empress, her present designation being, The reverential, — serene, — peaceful, — merciful, — Heaven-abetting, — state-tranquillizing empress.

The *Gazette* of the 23d of September, contains a report from Tsang-kwoh-fan, stating that the general in command of the forces in Hoo-pih, T'hai-tsze-poo, had died of sickness. The emperor, in consideration of his former achievements at Seang-tan, in Hoo-nan, gives permission for the erection of a shrine in the capital of that province, for the consolation of his manes.

In the *Gazette* of the 28th of September, the viceroy of Canton reports that having added to the number of his soldiers, he had exterminated the remainder of the rebels in Sin-chow, in Kwang-se (Lat. 23° 26' N., Long. 109° 51' E.) It seems that one of the rebel chiefs from Canton province, named Leang-pei-yew, had got away into Kwang-se, where he had been pursued by the general there. The rebel in question had fled to Teng, and Ping-nan in the neighbourhood of the above-named city, where he was defeated by another officer. He then, as a last effort, endeavoured to capture the city of Sin-chow, but was disappointed by the efforts of a third captain named Luy-paou-tsoo. The rebel chief then divided his forces, and the imperialists did the same, and slew many of the insurgents. The last-named captain, however, got himself entangled with the rebel forces, and was slain.

In the *Gazette* of the next day, the same viceroy reports that the rebels had proceeded to invest Yung-gnan, in Kwang-se, but without success. Ever since last year the rebels had made various efforts to take Yung-gnan, which were defeated by the officer in command there, and in the month of March last they again invested it, but the same officer put them to the rout, killing about 500 of their number.

In the same *Gazette* the same viceroy reports that the Canton and Keang-se troops had recovered the city of Che-hing in the northern part of Canton province. It appears that the rebels from Shaou-chow-foo had attacked and taken Che-hing, but an officer from Keang-se province had sent a force against them, and recovered the city.

The viceroy of Canton also reports that the city of Yang-san, also in the northern part of that province, had been captured by the rebels, and that a military officer with the literary chancellor had been killed in their attempts to defend it.

The same officer reports that Lien-chow, in the northern part of Canton province, after having been sacked by the rebels, had been recovered. It appears that a number of roving banditti had attacked the city in question, and that the magistrate had gone out against them. In the mean time, however, the rascals managed to get in at the east gate, when the magistrate vigorously attacked them, and recaptured both that and the neighbouring city of San-keang. In this affair about 2,000 rebels were killed. The city of Léen-san a few miles to the westward of Léen-chow had been taken by the rebels, but was recovered from their grasp.

In the same *Gazette*, Se-ling-a reports that he had gained various successes at Teh-gnan, in the northern part of Keang-se. It seems that the rebels, during the month of September had come out of the above-named city to forage, when he sent some militia after them. On the 19th of September a battle ensued, in which the rebels were routed, and pursued up to the city barriers.

In this affair a great number of rebels were killed. A colonel of the imperialists was, however, slain in the contest, whose loss is commiserated.

In the *Gazette* of the 30th September, a general named Hoo-lin-yih reports that having been frequently harassed by the rebels at Tsae-téen, in Hoo-pih, he on the 21st of August dealt them out a defeat. On the 24th he gained possession of Tsae-téen, and then advanced to the attack of the town of Han-k'how. From the 27th of August to the 5th of September he continued to demolish the rebel camps on the north and south banks of the river, whilst he cut asunder the chain bridge which connected the said banks. At the same time he burnt almost all the rebel boats which were anchored in its vicinity; after which he went on shore and killed all the rebels he could find. The rebels from the city of Han-yang had constructed a battery in Ta-p'eh-san, by means of which they afforded help to their comrades; on this account the general above-named attacked and took the battery in question, whilst he pursued his advantages up to the walls of the city. The imperial force at Kin-k'how having been frequently disturbed by the rebels from Woo-ch'hang, Tsang-yang, and T'hung-ching, an imperial officer named Le attacked them, killed about 4,000, and captured an insurgent chief, who was beheaded.

In the same *Gazette* Heang-yung reports a victory at Chin-keang. He says that on the 29th of August, a great body of rebels rushed out of the eastern gate of that city, when a general named Yu-wan-tsing, met them. At the same time Keih-urh-hang-a, the lieutenant-governor, attacked the west and south gates, and stopped the rebel forces which were coming over from Kwachow. On the 1st of September, the rebels advanced in four divisions, but were met by an imperialist officer; and seeing that the rebels had constructed a mud fort, a Chinese major attacked and routed them out of it. The rebels finding that they could not prevail retired to the city. The next day they came out again, but were driven back with the loss of 500 men. [This is the same affair mentioned in the *North-China Herald* of September 22nd, in which the imperialists evidently had the worst of it. Whilst these extracts from the *Peking Gazette* were in the course of preparation, a Chinese connected with Government called on the writer, who shewed him the copy of the *Gazette*, and asked him whether the account therein given of Keih's success was true. The Chinese replied, that it was false, that Keih was beaten on that occasion, and narrowly escaped with his life. As a proof of this, he added, Keih has since been degraded four steps in office. From this we may gather how little confidence is to be placed in all these official statements which speak of the success of the imperial arms.]

In the *Gazette* of the 4th of October, Tsang-kwoh-fan reports that the imperialist land and river forces had gained various successes at Hoo-k'how, (situated at the junction of the Po-yang lake with the Yang-tsze-keang). It appears that the rebels had established themselves at that place, thereby stopping the operations of the Chinese forces; besides which, on the 26th of August, they came to attack the imperial fleet—but the

Chinese admiral opened a fire upon them, which drove them back. The magistrate of that city then led on his forces across the lake, and from the 27th of August to the 2nd September sustained several successful skirmishes. On the 4th of September, he attacked the sluice at Hoo-k'how, when he killed a number of rebels. The imperialists then entered the city, and proceeded further to attack the rebel encampment at Hea-chung-san. The Chinese admiral exerted himself at the same time, when the rebels were completely defeated. On the 5th and 6th of September, other successes were obtained, and altogether about 30 vessels of the enemy were burned, whilst a thousand of their followers were slain.

In the *Gazette* of the 6th of October, the viceroy of Canton states that the ambassadors of Cambodia had proceeded by another road to their own country. The king of that region had previously sent an ambassador with presents to Peking; on their way back, when they reached Kwei-lin, it appeared that the proper road homeward had been stopped by local bandits. Accordingly they went by Gnu-chow to Canton, where, however, the course was also interrupted. While at Gnu-chow several of the ambassador's suite died, but as peace is now restored in that quarter, it is ordered that their coffins be sent by sea to their native country.

In the *Gazette* of 9th of October, it is reported by Kwan-vun that on the 10th September upwards of 1,000 rebels came out of Chang-kiang-pu to attack the Imperial camp, when the soldiers went forward to meet them. Wu-ping-quei led the militia on, but could not succeed and was killed by the rebels. The next day we pursued and slew the rebels as far as K'i-wu, when Ling-chun-hiuen pressed on ahead, and met with his death.

The *Gazette* of the 10th October states that Tsing-wei-yuen had destroyed the Miao-tsz bandits at the lower part of the stream. On the 3rd August Wang-ting-ching advanced and took Wong-chow, killing several tens of the rebels, but Wei-lin-yang having penetrated into the very midst of their spears was slain. The rebels forming a great band went to Hiang-lu, for several days persevered in attacking the city. Si-hu-ting then came out and destroyed a few, Kau-tien-shih captured the lower barricades of the insurgents and burnt them entirely. A week afterwards the rebels came on to the number of 3,000 and more, divided their strength and commenced to attack the place. Si-hu-ting and others led forward the militia and began the conflict. An experienced brave Chu-ki-pu received a fatal wound from his gun; while others advanced and caused the rebels to retire. On the 9th August

Kau-tien-shih went by way of Lang-fung-k'ow to attack the rebel encampments. The following day a great number of insurgents came out, when Miao-lun-yun was injured by a shot in the side, yet he persevered in putting forth his strength, till the soldiers came out of the city, and the rebels commenced running away. During the 21st and 22nd of August, the insurgents renewed their attacks on the city, when our soldiers went out to meet them, and the inhabitants of the country round about K'e-sang came to our assistance. Thus before and behind the rebels were hemmed in, and some 600 or 700 were killed. As the rebels left the city, they went to K'e-sang, in order to avenge their loss, but were surrounded and had to retire, more than 100 of them being killed, and their encampments were burnt. So with other places in the neighbourhood.

In the *Gazette* of 11th October Wu-lin-yih reports that he had re-collected his soldiers and that on the 18th September, a great band of rebels having divided their strength and surrounded Tiau-san, the soldiers again dispersed, on which account the Board is ordered to inquire into his offence. Loh-yuen-wang reports that at Kew-kiang and Hu-k'ow several successive victories had been obtained over the rebels there, and that the city of Tu-chang had been recovered. The rebels of Kew-kiang on the 2nd September came out of Sing-kieu-nien, when Chow-fung-san and others, led their militia by different roads to attack them and killed several tens, destroying two boats at the same time. Three days afterwards Kieu-lung-oh with others led the soldiers and militia, and unitedly attacked the gate of the above city. On all sides they pursued and killed of the rebels a great number. Subsequently the city was again surrounded and taken.

The *Gazette* of 12th October states that the rebel Miao-tsz, on the 16th July, encompassed Ngan-mun, when Pang-su-wei perceiving that the insurgents were very few, with another officer led his soldiers to the attack and killed several, the rebels then ran away, being pursued beyond the hill, where however there was a large number of insurgents in ambuscade, who immediately rose up and inflicted many wounds on the commanding officer. They then divided into two bands consisting of 700 or 800 each, and secretly proceeded to Ngan-mun. Chin-su-shu on his left shoulder had previously received a gun shot wound, yet persevered in leading on, till his strength was exhausted, and he died. Pang-su-wei fought his way to Ngan-mun, which the rebels had already taken possession of, and at the same time he sustained much injury.

The *Gazette* of the 14th of October contains a despatch from Heang-yung complaining that the gunpowder sent from Ho-nan was of no use; adding that ammunition is of the utmost importance to an army, but if it be badly manufactured, it possesses no force, and involves those using it in difficulties. The emperor orders that the officers concerned in the affair should be examined and punished.

The *Gazette* of the 16th contains a report from Tsang-kwoh-fan, the general commanding in Hoo-pih, stating that some successes had been obtained over the rebels in that province. It seems that the officers who had recovered Ying-san, in the south-west corner of Gnan-hwuy, led their troops to recapture the city of Ke-shwuy in Hoo-pih, after which they gained advantages over the rebels in that neighbourhood, and took prisoner a rebel chief named Téen-kin-tsüo.

The *Gazette* of the following day contains a report from the same, stating that both arms of the imperial force had gained advantages over the rebels both by land and water. It appears that on the 7th and 8th of October the rebels had assembled themselves at Lew-sze and other places, when the imperialists joined their forces to attack them, which resulted in the slaughter of 100 men, and the burning of one of their stockades. The rebel stockade at another place had also been entered, and two of their boats were sunk at the opening of the lake.

The same *Gazette* contains a report from Heang-yung and Keih-urh-hang-a detailing some advantages obtained over the rebels at Chin-keang-foo, while the lines of attack were being drawn closer round the city. These great men, with their usual veracity, state that on the 14th of September 3,000 rebels came suddenly out of the north and east gates of Chin-keang to attack the imperial camp, but were stopped by the officers in command, and immediately put to flight. The rebels who came secretly out at the south water gate were slaughtered by Yu-wan-tsing. In the afternoon they had the audacity to come out again, at the west gate, when the crews of their boats landed to assist in the strife; but Colonel Lew opened a fire upon them from a battery at the foot of Paou-kae-san, which put them to the rout. On the 15th and 16th the imperialists drew up their forces in the open plain when several thousand of the rebels attacked them, but were repulsed with great loss. On the 18th they threw up a stockade at the foot of the hill, and advanced to its defence several thousand strong; but the imperialist generals ascended the hill, and ploughed up their mud defences. The rebels at Chin-keang being thus invested on three sides, must, the emperor thinks, be reduced to the last extremity, he therefore orders General Keih-urh-hang-a speedily to reduce them to submission, little thinking at the same time that Keih has got more to do than he can well manage.

The *Gazette* of the 17th October contains a despatch from the Lieutenant-Governor of Fuh-keen, stating that some part of the naval force of that province had been surrounded by the pirates and burnt. It appears according to the report of the general-in-command at Hae-tan, that on the 15th of June last, between Yang-seun-saou and the island of Koo-soo, a fleet of twenty and more pir-

ate junks was discovered, environing about five mandarin junks. The general immediately sent relief, and rescued three of the imperial vessels after killing a vast number of the enemy. But as there were still two imperial junks surrounded by the thieves, he again exerted himself in the pursuit, when the pirates were put to flight, and another mandarin junk was rescued, leaving only one war-vessel in the hands of the marauders, which was burnt. Several sailors and two officers fell in this engagement.

The *Gazette* of the 31st of October, contains a report from the lieutenant-governor of Hoonan, stating that Chin-chow and Kwei-yang, in the southern part of that province had been disturbed by the rebels, over whom, however, some successes had been obtained. It appears that the Canton rebels had made their way into Hoo-nan, and taken possession of the above-named cities; when the prefect led a force against them. On the 13th of September the rebels frequently attacked the militia belonging to the northern part of the province, but were repulsed by the imperialists, and many of them killed. The rebels then took possession of the entrance to the Seang river, when the prefect, coming upon them unawares, burnt 13 of their camps, and the rebels got away by a side road to Cha-ling, on the south-east side of the province. The magistrate of that place, however, came to the rescue, and having killed several hundred rebels outside the city, he drove their discomfited hosts into the city, and although he could not retake the place, he succeeded in capturing about a thousand rebels. Many of the rebels who held possession of Chin-chow were killed by Colonel Le; and the rebels having found that Yung-ling, near Chin-chow, was unprotected, crossed the river Seang at the fords, and entered it, after which they went out thence in all directions. In the meantime the rebels at Kwei-yang were frequently defeated by the imperialists, so that they were glad to make their escape.

The same *Gazette* contains a report from the same officer, detailing how a city had been lost and retaken. It seems that the city of Tung-gnan, about 70 miles to the westward of Kwei-yang, in the southern part of the province, having been captured, was by the exertions of the magistrate, and the assistance of the village bands, soon after retaken, in which affair a great number of rebels were killed.

In the same *Gazette* the lieutenant-governor of Keang-se reports that Fow-leang, in the north-east corner of that province had been disturbed by the rebels. It seems that in the month of April the rebels had got to King-tih-chin, the great porcelain manufactory, which they threw into confusion. In the following month they attacked and captured the town of Yih-yang, in that neighbourhood; whilst another body of them proceeded from Woo-yuen in Hwuy-chow to Kwang-sin, a prefectural city in the north-east corner of Keang-se. On the 24th of May, some more rebels came from K'hae-hwa, in Cheh-keang to Woo-yuen in Hwuy-chow, from whence they proceeded to Fow-leang and King-tih-chin in Keang-se, where they erected a barrier. Others again attacked Loh-ping, in the same neighbourhood, but the magistrate raised the militia, and

fought his way in at the west gate, while the rebels evacuated it by the north gate.

The *Gazette* of the 1st November, contains a report from the lieutenant-governor of Hoo-nan, stating that the rebels had proceeded from Tung-gnan to attack Ke-yang, and Sin-ning, in the south-western part of the province, but that they had been repulsed by the imperialists with the loss of one of their chiefs. It appears that the Kwang-se rebels having held possession of Yung-gnan in that province were on the 5th of September induced by the general-in-command to come out of the city; at the same time the imperialists vigorously attacked the place, and re-took it. On the 19th of September the imperialists, pursuing their discomfited foes, took prisoner a rebel chief, entitled the king who settles the south, and named Hoo-yew-luh. He was just trying to escape, when the imperial troops intercepted him; his followers having been dispersed, he himself was taken, and together with numbers of others slain. The rebels who entered Sin-ning, were on the 22nd of September attacked by the magistrate of that place, and killed in great numbers. The rest have now fled in the direction of Chang-sha, and Sin-ning is freed from their grasp.

In the *Gazette* of the 2nd November, the viceroy of Sze-chuen reports that successes had been obtained over certain barbarian hordes at Ma-p'een. It seems that these savages had invaded the Chinese territory, and erected stockades, greatly to the annoyance of the inhabitants; when a force was sent against them, which resulted in killing about a thousand of them, when the rest sued for peace.

The same *Gazette*, contains a report from the viceroy of Yun-nan and Kwei-chow stating, that Kwei-chow had been disturbed by some foreign banditti, who had erected their stockades, and resisted the authorities. That on the 10th of September an attack was made on them, when 2 or 300 were killed, their stockades burnt, and the remainder dispersed.

The *Gazette* of November 3rd contains statements from Toh-ming-a, respecting an engagement at P'oo-k'ow opposite Nan-king, and an attack on Kwa-chow. On October 17th the rebels came out to a town called Shih-tsih-k'eaou near Keang-poo. A force under the orders of Woo-k'in attacked them and killed 2,000. The town of Shih-tsih-k'eaou was at once recovered. A portion of the enemy from Sin-keang-kow, who endeavoured to aid their defeated comrades, were severely chastised by Teng-fung-ling. Toh-ming-a sent a force to attack Kin-shan (Golden Island) with heavy guns, and beat down their defences. Toh-ming-a brought on his troops by three roads close up to the rebel lines. They were met by separate bodies of rebels who strove to drive them back. On the east, Chin-kin-hwan assisted, and many of the Kwa-chow rebels were killed. The rest fled.

Tsaou-teng-yung, one of the Imperial censors of high repute, in a memorial represents that the signs of heaven are full of ill omens, that thunder has been heard to roll of a clear starlight night, while portentous signs are frequently observed. He recommends that the mandarins should be encouraged to point out what is wrong in the state, in order that more favourable omens may return. The emperor says, I, in governing the

empire, have fallen on dangerous times, and feel as anxious as if treading upon a tiger's tail, or late spring ice. How can I then dare to be indolent! Let the ministers of state carefully point out where a hole in the royal robes may be mended, which may tend to the preservation of the people, and the support of the state; let them also aid me in the painful efforts I am now making to correct every evil in the administration of national affairs.

Ho-ch'un, the general in command at Gnan-hwuy, states that a victory had been gained over the rebels at Che-ma-kiang. On October 13th and 14th, some of the Kean-gnan insurgents had collected together, in order to make an attack on the imperial encampments. But the assistant-general Kih-leen led on a force, and opened a fire upon them, pursuing them for seven miles, and killing more than a thousand. Two imperial officers, high in command, were killed on this occasion.

The *Gazette* of November 4th states that Seun-chow in Kwang-se, had been attacked and taken by rebels from Kwang-tung province. It was defended by the prefect for more than a hundred days, who killed 3,000 or 4,000 rebels during the siege. The admiral for Canton province was however several times defeated, and the numbers of the enemy increased daily, till on August 29th the insurgents entered by the west gate and proceeded to plunder the city. The officers who were in the city have not since been heard of.

Heang-yung states that an attack had been made at Woo-hoo and a victory gained. On October 2nd the rebels erected stockades at Yih-ke. Two of their guard-houses were burnt by the imperial soldiers by night. On October 9th Teng-shaou-leang and others attacked their stockades with cannon. Many were killed and in the confusion and flight that ensued, a thousand lost their lives by drowning in the river, or by the sword. Seven of their encampments were destroyed. The west lake was thus cleared of rebels. Woo-ts'eu-en-mei at the head of a naval force also gained a triumph, and took prisoner a rebel chief. On October 14th, Teng-shaou-leang made an assault on the rebels at Tsang-ting-k'eaou, killed several hundreds and seized some stores of provision. The remainder of the rebels fled with the loss of two chiefs of high titles. On October 18th, Tsai-ying-lung again burnt two rebels' encampments. Woo-t'seu-en-mei attacked Yih-ke, and in the face of a cannonade entered their encampments; he burnt two of them at Peh-shan, while their defenders fled.

Laou-ts'ung-kwang, the lieutenant-governor of Kwang-se, states that some bands of rebels at Woo-seuen and Kwei-hein (two districts belonging to Seuen-chow in Kwang-se) had been exterminated. It seems that at the latter place a degraded graduate of Woo-seuen had joined with some of the Hakka people of Canton in an association called Shang-ti-hwei (literally "the society for honouring younger brethren," but altered, as is supposed, from "the God-worshipping Society," the sounds of which characters in Chinese resemble each other). They oppressed the people, obliging them to bring rice and money as tribute. But Hwang-foo-seang caught and killed the leader. One Leang-a-chaou collected some stupid people to revenge his death, but the

imperial officers laid siege to the town where they were, and having captured Leang-a-chaou, put him to death.

On November 5th it is stated, that when the rebels had seized upon Teh-ngan-foo in Hoo-pih, Se-ling-a had been appointed Imperial Commissioner to attack them. On August 14th, however, the rebels took the imperial encampments, and seized on the baggage of the army. At that time, the emperor says, he merely deprived Se-ling-a of his honours. Now it is represented that in the engagements that have taken place, only the horse have been victorious, while the infantry were frequently routed; the emperor therefore decrees that Se-ling-a be deprived of his office, and be placed under the orders of Kwan-wen, the general commanding in that province.

Kwan-wen states that an attack had been made on the rebels south of Teh-gnan-foo. On October 19th, Yen-chaou-pin led the imperial forces against them, and though the rebels fought hard for 6 hours he killed several hundreds of them. The next day Se-ling-a sent an officer against them who killed some hundreds. On the 26th of October Se-ling-a states that an attack had been made by the rebels on the infantry encampments. The infantry were led out against their assailants but on the first brush ran away. Se-ling-a killed some of the runaways with his own hand, but finding that he could not keep them at their post, he brought up a force of cavalry, and killed several hundreds of the rebels. Teh-leng-ngih attacked them in the rear, when the rebels were discomfited. Flying in various directions, they were pursued for several miles, and upwards of 1,000 were

killed. Several hundreds were also taken, all with long hair. The imperial cause being thus victorious on the south of Teh-gnan, the emperor orders that the city may be retaken forthwith; and as Kwan-wen has received the seals of imperial commissioner, he commands him to disperse the rebels without delay.

The *Gazette* of the 6th of November contains a report from Tsac-tseng, stating that the rebels had disturbed Chow-ka-pang in Me'n-yang, (to the westward of Han-yang) but had been forced to retire. It seems that the rebels had come in separate bands to attack Chang-gnan-fow and Chow-joo-san. On the 20th of October they came from the latter place to Chow-ka-pang, burning and destroying every thing they met with. Kwei-yuh, however, sent a force against them, and though the insurgents at first made a stand, the imperialists opened a fire upon them, and repulsed them. Suddenly, however, another band of rebels came from Hoo-k'how, but having been met by a body of imperialists lying in ambush, they were discomfited, and many of them were drowned.

In the *Gazette* of the 11th of November Kwan-wen reports that the imperialists had advanced to Lung-tan, and gained divers successes. On the 28th of October the rebels had taken Lung-tan, a town in the prefecture of Han-yang, but had been driven out but the imperialists. Whilst the rebels were resisting the imperial forces a fire of artillery killed many. The next day they attacked Tsac-teen, when the rebels left their fastnesses, and were put to death by the imperialists. The insurgents at Choo-joo-san were also pursued for several miles.

The *Gazette* of November 14th, contains a report from Yeh-ming-yen of the loss and recapture of K'ae-keen a district city in Canton province, belonging to Chaou-k'ing-foo and bordering on Kwang-se. The Che-heñ Yin-tso-mei had collected local troops and driven them away. Their chief T'eng-seih was killed and many of his followers shared his fate.

Yang-e-tseng reports that barbarians from Corea had been driven on shore by a storm, and saved from death. On September 11th at Sung-kea point some fishermen had rescued ten men with long hair. Their dress and language shewed them to be barbarians. One of them could read Chinese characters. He stated that they belonged to Yung-tsin in the province of Kin-li in Corea. In returning home from T'sing-shan in a boat they had built for the purpose they encountered a storm. The memorialist had given them provisions, money, and clothes, in conformity with the desire of the emperor to treat strangers with kindness. They had been sent on to the Board of Ceremonies to decide on what further steps should be taken in the matter.

In the *Gazette* of November 15th the viceroy of Canton states that rebels at Hwei-chow (to the east of Canton city), had been defeated and captured, but the imperial troops had been severely injured by another party of rebels. The demerits of the general-in-command are referred to the emperor for consideration. The rebels had spread themselves east and west along the river from the city in question. Leu-ta-shing the General at T'ae-wan, had attacked them and killed many of them. On repeating the assault the whole force of the enemy came out at once, and inflicted considerable loss on their adversaries.

On November 17th, Ho-ch'un states that Leuchew-foo has been re-captured. The rebel force there had been completely destroyed. On November 11th, Ho-ch'un formed the troops into divisions for an attack. Fuh-tse led them on. They quietly proceeded to the foot of the city wall, planted ladders and mounted them. While the rebels were confused by this movement another force entered the east gate, and set the neighbouring buildings on fire. The chiefs were burnt to death. A party of fugitive horsemen

attacked the soldiers, who fought fiercely. Blood flowed like water. The city was at once taken. Of the rebels 5,000 were killed, 2,000 heads were brought in and 300 prisoners. They had held the city for nearly two years. Ho-ch'un and Fuh-tse are rewarded with gifts and titles.

The *Gazette* of November 21st gives details of the rising of the Meaou-tsze. These mountaineers had attacked and taken a city of the fourth order and some imperial posts. A body of these rebels had proceeded from a place called Meaou-ting-chang to the country belonging to Tuh-shan-chow (in Kwei-chow near the Kwang-se border). The prefect of that city regardless of danger attempted to check them. Unexpectedly there arrived a rebel reinforcement from another quarter, on the flank of the imperial troops; who at once dispersed and fled. A military post at the village called San-keo was taken and occupied by the rebels. They held another at Ta-liao, but it was wrested from them. On September 6th, the Meaou-tsze at San-keo proceeded to Too-kwang, a city of the fourth order, to the east of Tuh-shan. Here Chow-joo-ch'un attacked them at the head of the local troops. While thus engaged he saw the glare of a conflagration within the city, an intimation that it was lost. Two officers of the imperial army have been killed.

The *Gazette* of November 22nd states that in Hoo-pih the city of T'sung-yang had been taken from the rebels. After the recapture of T'ung-ch'eng last month, the defeated rebels had gone in a north-west direction, to T'sung-yang and encamped outside that place. They made an agreement with a body of insurgents at T'ung-shan, a city farther to the westward to join them. Lo-tsih-nan cut off the communication between the two cities, and then took measures to recover the city. He enticed the rebels away to fight, and caused his men to make a show of being defeated. They were thus drawn away and killed to the number of 600 or 700. As they evinced no desire to abandon the city, Lo-tsih-nan selected his best soldiers and attacked it by night. The besieged being severely handled by cannon shot and rockets, were thrown into confusion and rushed tumultuously from the gate. Many of them were trampled to death, and the city was at once retaken.

(Translation of the last pamphlet brought from Nanking by the "Rattler.")

IMPORTANT OBSERVATIONS REGARDING CELESTIAL PRINCIPLES.

SECT. I.—ON THE BEING OF A GOD.

The first existence in the universe is God, the greatest and most powerful of beings, the framer of this universal fabric, and the ruler of all intelligences.

That God is in heaven is a truth in accordance with celestial principles, and consonant to human reason ; among ancients and moderns, learned and rude, none have objected to it ; is it not then rational to infer its correctness ?

God first existed, then man ; first spirit, and then matter ; we people could not have produced ourselves, neither can inanimate substances make themselves ; we therefore conclude that it is God alone who was the former of all things.

We find things existing in a most beautiful and orderly form ; in heaven there is the sun and moon, on earth the hills and rivers, men and things, birds and beasts, each in its own position, and arranged in a most appropriate manner, all perfect and regular ; from this we conclude the previous existence of God, in order to make and regulate them thus.

The sun and moon go round in their courses, the stellar bodies spread out their hosts, revolving and re-revolving, day and night without intermission ; if God were not to support and superintend the whole, how could it thus be ?

The people of the world live for a little while and then die, after which their children rise up in their stead ; the number appears neither to increase nor diminish, the males do not exceed the females, nor the females the males ; generations flourish and decay, families rise and fall, but the race continues the same, without becoming extinct ; who manages all this, and causes it to be thus ; is it not God ?

Trees and herbs are produced, from the root to the branches, from the branches

to the leaves, without is the bark and within the pith, they flower and fructify, all contributing to some useful purpose : if God did not form all these, pray who did ?

A glance at the brute creation teaches the same truth ; they have an instinctive care of their offspring, seek their food, and form their nests, they go forth in flocks and again return to their dens ; even the very insects fulfil their various ends ; who taught them all this, if not God ?

The human body is a wonderful construction, with its various parts and members, its organs and faculties, the thousands of veins and the myriads of hairs, the eyes to see and the ears to hear, with the hands and feet to handle and walk, while the blood courses along the arteries, and the digestion of the food goes on spontaneously—how wonderful, how mysterious is the human body ! Moreover every individual is possessed of such a body, in its general construction alike, but the features of each how different, the voice how dissimilar ! hence there is no mistaking one for another, and the business of the world does not fall into confusion. The parents from whom they spring have no power to determine, whether male or female, good or bad, shall be produced. Who then determines all this ? Is it not God, who at their creation and formation causes them to be thus ?

The human soul is still more wonderful, a pure and immaterial spirit, without form or substance, which can reflect, remember, rejoice, regret, dislike and love, with the various human passions, being endowed with immortality throughout endless ages—such is the soul of man. Now spirit can form matter, but matter cannot create spirit ; heaven and earth, darkness and light are nothing but mat-

ter, how then could they produce spirit? parents and ancestors only generate the body, but do not bring forth the soul, from whence then does this soul come? God must have first existed in heaven, and sent down his influences on earth, in order to produce the human soul, otherwise from whence do all the inhabitants of the world obtain their intelligent spirits?

Rewards and punishments, with all just recompenses must come from God: if the king is selfish and *magistrates unjust*, the people become oppressed, and unless God redress their wrongs, who will bring righteousness to light?

From all the above we infer, that there must be a God in heaven, otherwise nothing could have existed; and if there is a God, men ought certainly to reverence him, to look up to him for protection, and to be apprehensive of his wrath.

Moreover, when we see a work, we infer the existence of a workman; if we met with a house, we suppose that there must have been a builder. Now this universal fabric is like a large house, in which all things are contained. To make this large house there must have been a great architect; also the grander the production, the greater the producer; if this be not God, who is it?

SECT. 2.—ON THE UNITY OF GOD.

In the former section we have shewn that there is a God in heaven, who created heaven, earth, and all things; we now observe, that this God must be possessed of infinite power, in order to the construction of the frame of nature, and to the due government of all things.

If God be infinitely great, his unity will be apparent. The word infinite does not admit of a competitor. There can be only one infinite being, there cannot be two. If there were two Gods equally great, then neither of them would be infinite, and if there were no infinite, who made all things?

If God made heaven and earth, he must have existed before heaven and earth; and if the universe were made, it must have existed subsequent to its maker; therefore he who exists before all things is God. Now in the beginning there could only have been one God before all things,

if there were any other spirit prior to him, then God could not have been the first, and his claim to infinite greatness would be annihilated.

Looking abroad on all things throughout the universe, it is evident that they must have had an origin. Men generate men, herbs produce herbs, each after its kind; in the beginning however there must have been only one plant and one human being; from whence did these come? had they no origin? Certainly God must have been their origin, and God is the origin of all origins, the infinite being who produces immensity, self-existent, the former of all things, and himself springing from none.

Again; one origin is sufficient to account for the existence of all things. One pair for instance could produce hosts, one plant a forest; one father may lay the foundation of a whole family, and one monarch rule a whole empire. In this way we perceive that God *our Heavenly Father* is capable of producing this universal fabric, and *one true spirit is able to manage the whole*.

God *our heavenly Father* is almighty; he doeth whatsoever pleaseth him, and none can resist his will; if any could resist, and God were unable to overcome such resistance, then God would no longer be God. Moreover almighty power is incapable of division: if there were two almighty beings, and these happened to contend together, which of them would prevail? if one of them did prevail, then he would be the alone almighty being: if neither prevailed, there would be no almighty being; and if none, who made heaven and earth?

Every thing is dependent, men depend upon heaven and earth, heaven and earth depend on God: if there were no heaven and earth, where would men reside; if there were no God, whence would heaven and earth be derived? But God depends on none: he existed before all the universe, and were the universe to be annihilated, God would still exist. He has no need of a standing place in order to fix his position, nor of the services of men in order to maintain his existence, from which we perceive that God is dependent on nothing. Now he who is independent, is one alone: God is independent, and

all things depend upon him, hence we conclude that God is one alone.

If we allow the existence of two Gods, we might as well allow the existence of ten, or of a thousand, or a myriad; but how would the universe contain such a host? How can there be an unlimited amount of infinite and almighty beings? There must be only one, self-existent God, on whom all things depend, and besides whom there is no Lord.

* * * * * (a)

Some might ask, If there be only one God, how is it that the people of the world honour a variety of spirits, how did this practice originate? To which we would reply, This practice did not spring up in a moment. In ancient times men were sparse and their knowledge circumscribed; all those who distinguished themselves for talent and ability, energy and capacity, were honoured in a peculiar degree. Such, for instance, as first discovered the use of medicine, or laid the foundation of a country, or excelled their fellows in learning and strength, were treated with particular respect; succeeding generations increased in their regards, until at length posterity worshipped them as supernatural beings, and paid them divine honours. But all this was excessive and improper. A mere being of flesh and blood, who was born yesterday, and who will die to-morrow, ought not to be thus honoured. We may give men every credit for their ability, and imitate their virtues, but to reverence them as superior beings is wrong.

Some, again, surveying the splendour of the heavenly bodies, and hearing the thunder roar, have conceived that these objects had something miraculous about them; whereupon they have invented the title of "the genius of thunder" and "the mistress of lightning." Looking upon the outstretched ocean, they have got up the designation of "the dragon elf;" or visiting the mountain cave, they have imagined presiding sprites, while for spring summer autumn and winter, they have suggested superintending elves. Traders must have their protector, and they have looked up to some deceased worthy; husbandmen must have something to rely on, and they have set up the genius of the soil; from whence it comes to pass that

through all the world *corrupt* spirits have been honoured. But these have none of them any real existence, except in the imaginations of men; they are utterly destitute of proof: both heaven above and earth beneath are all subject to the superintendence of the only one God, all regions and all periods are alike beneath his sway; *how then can these corrupt spirits be foisted into the place of God in protecting mankind?*

SECT. 3.—ON THE NAME OF GOD.

As there is a God, he must have a name, by which people may know and designate him.

As God is great, he must have a great name, otherwise it would not be adequate to set him forth.

Among exalted appellations there is none so high as Heaven, therefore in speaking of God we may employ the term Heaven to designate him.

But lest people should make a mistake, and regard the sky as Heaven, it is better to add the word Lord. If we merely employ the term Heaven our meaning may fail of being apparent; and if we only use the word Lord the title seems insufficient, but the Lord of Heaven, points to the most exalted Spirit, and the most spiritual Heaven, hence it is very suitable.

To call God the Lord of spirits is also allowable; for throughout the whole universe, * * * * * (b)

God is the only Lord, who presides over all things. Only people must guard against error, and not take the Lord of spirits to mean the parental tablet which *superstitious* people are accustomed to employ, in order to lead forth the manes of their ancestors. This would be a mistake of no ordinary kind. * * * (c)

God has given us a revelation of his will; this book discourses largely of spiritual things, and frequently gives to God the name of Jehovah, the meaning of which is the self-existent and eternal God.

* * * * * (d)

Without explanation, however, it is to be feared that people will fail to comprehend it. The Supreme Lord is an appellation descriptive of infinite glory, greatness and power, * * * * * (e)

for the Ruler of high Heaven, is *one* alone.

But the term God (Shang-te) is the most suitable of all, only we must be careful as to what ideas we attach to this term. * * * * *

(f) When the Historiæal Classic speaks of Shang-te as great, as highly exalted, as conferring a moral nature upon man, and as the being whom we should worship and serve, the idea is correct. But when superstitious and diabolical systems speak of "the pearly emperor Supreme Ruler (Yuh-hwang Shang-te)" whose birth-day is said to occur on the 9th day of the first moon, this is nothing but the most egregious error. For God, the Lord of heaven, is neither susceptible of birth nor death, without beginning or end, from everlasting to everlasting, hence he differs widely from the above-named fabled being.

Some people refer to God under the appellation of Heaven and Earth, because of all which they see and hear, there is nothing like heaven and earth, for greatness and goodness which seems incalculable; but the clouds which are over our heads, and the ground which is trodden under our feet, differ widely from the God we are now speaking of; heaven and earth are visible and material, finite and exhaustible, but the God *who is in heaven* is

* * * * * (g) without beginning and end, *to be seen only by those who ascend to heaven*. Moreover heaven and earth move round like a machine, he who moves them is God. Heaven and earth are created objects, he who made them is God; hence we perceive that heaven and earth are widely different from God: and to employ the phrase heaven and earth to designate God is improper.

To use the phrase "Emperor heaven and Empress Earth" in order to designate God, is also improper; because the terms Emperor and Empress convey the idea of male and female, but God is only one *true Spirit*, alike unsusceptible of being reckoned by numbers, or distinguished by sex; on which account the phrase just alluded to must on no account be employed.

The phrase "spiritual intelligences" (shin ming) is also to be avoided; for when people in general employ this term they allude to Ta-pih-kung, and such like stone and wooden idols, which human

hands have made; very different from the Lord of all, who made heaven, earth and all things.

SECT. 4.—ON THE SPIRITUALITY OF GOD.

God is a pure spirit, very different from matter, not included in the host of things, nor mixed up with the universe of being, but perfectly good and incomprehensible. * * * * *

(h) Matter may be made smaller by division, and larger by addition: the smallest particle may be reduced in size by the separation of its parts, and the very largest increased by adding to its bulk; but God is too minute to be divided, and too immense to be enlarged; the slightest alteration either way is impossible.

Matter has a head and tail, right and left, corners and sides, with top and bottom; its size can be measured, its breadth can be estimated; its height can be ascertained, and its distance calculated; but God has neither boundary nor limit, place nor situation; without a revelation of himself the cleverest men must remain ignorant of him, how then can the common herd know him perfectly.

Matter is capable of rise and fall, advance and decay, kingdoms flourish and perish, rocks are riven and hills precipitated, the hardest and the firmest things are sometimes injured and destroyed, but God perpetually exists, he remains for ever undiminished in glory, throughout interminable ages he neither advances in years nor approaches dissolution.

Matter cannot be in two places at the same time, but God is constantly present surveying every place.

Neither can there be two things in one place, but God is present with every thing every where. * * * * *

(i) From all this it is evident that God is opposed to matter, let us now consider in what way God is a pure spirit.

Spirit is a perfect mysterious ethereal something, an intelligent soul, capable of thought and consideration, will and determination, remembering the past and anticipating the future, distinguishing things that differ, selecting that which is excellent and rejecting that which is obnoxious, the essence capable of all this is what we denominate spirit.

Every thing in the universe was created by God, and cannot therefore act independently of him; there are obedient good intelligences, and there are disobedient wicked elves, but the spirit of heaven is God, * * * (k) an immaterial, uncreated, independent, pure and infinitely exalted intelligence, ruling over all mankind and managing the universal whole.

God is an infinitely pure intelligence, a perfectly holy spirit; other intelligences are mixed up with matter, and not free from weakness, but God is infinitely above all affairs and things, most honourable and glorious, without a single atom of deficiency.

* * * * *

God made heaven and earth, hence we conclude that he must be a spirit; for matter cannot act spontaneously, wood and stone cannot come together to form a house; there must be an intelligent agent, to conceive and calculate, to put forth strength and energy, in order to the accomplishment of anything. Here also it is the same. If God had not been an intelligent being, laying down his plans and exerting his energies in the formation of the universe, how could this host of things have ever come into existence?

God is pure and unmixed, alike incapable of separation or combination; hence he must be a spirit, essentially different from matter. One piece of matter, if divided, can become two; several pieces of matter, if combined, may become one; but God is everlastingly one, and not two, from which we conclude that God is a spirit.

God is infinite and inexhaustible, hence he must be a spirit. The greatest material existence has its limits, the most expanded ocean has its shore; high as is the heaven, it possesses a zenith; but God is boundless and unfathomable, hence we conclude that he is a spirit.

* * * * *

Seeing, then, that God is a spirit and one only, *dwelling in heaven*, those who wish to honour God must not make images to represent his form, nor present sacrifices to fix his presence, for spirit is essentially immaterial. Therefore to make the image of an old man, or to depict the form of a great warrior, in order

to represent spirit, is wrong; even to write the word "spirit" or "happiness," in order to fix the position of the spirit is also wrong. *For the true spirit is the Lord and Ruler of high heaven, and whosoever shall set up an image to worship it, falls into gross superstition, and is deluded by the devil; who sometimes assumes the name of a good spirit, in order to deceive and destroy mankind.* Those therefore who undertake to worship a spirit, should bow down towards empty space, or stand alone, in an abstracted manner, whilst they get up the feeling of veneration, when they may supplicate protection, and look for a blessing. *There is no need of incense, candles, gilt paper, or any thing of the kind; it is merely necessary to have the various kinds of grain which God has made for the sustenance of human life, with animals good for food, all reverently spread out,* and then with a mind filled with veneration, let the mouth pour forth its praises. This is the great ceremony of worship. But with regard to those things which common custom has employed for the worship of corrupt spirits, they are merely for the purpose of making a show and putting on a delusive appearance: a good man should carefully avoid them all.

SECT. 5.—ON THE ETERNITY OF GOD.

God is everliving, there is no time wherein he does not exist, from eternity to eternity, throughout endless ages and generations, without beginning or end, alike unsusceptible of birth or death.

Eternity conveys the idea of endless existence. A thousand or a myriad of years, and again a thousand myriad years, reach not to eternity. Suppose a clepsydra, the orifice of which was so exceedingly small, that in a myriad years it only allowed one drop to pass through, how long a period must elapse before it all ran out. But suppose the vast ocean were the clepsydra, allowing only one drop to escape in a myriad years, when it was all exhausted, we should not have reached the limit of eternity, but the years of eternity would still have to roll on, without having sustained the slightest diminution. How great, how distant, how lengthened, how vast is eternity! and throughout all this immeasurable duration God perpetually exists.

The life of man may extend to half a century, no dynasty outlives a millenium; from the beginning of time until now not more than 6,000 years have passed away, which may be easily counted; but eternal ages are not to be reckoned: they surpass the power of numbers, they exceed all possible bounds; the human understanding cannot fathom them, but the being of God pervades them all.

Eternity has two aspects, the past and the future; an interminable series of years has already past, and an endless succession of ages is yet to come: but the being of God pervades them both, from the eternity that is past, to the eternity that is to come, God perpetually exists.

Every thing has a beginning and an end: as to animals and vegetables, their commencement can be easily traced, and as to their termination, if you wait a little you will witness it. Souls have a beginning but no end; when the souls of all are created by God, they begin to exist, but they cannot die, hence they have no end; but God is eternal, self-existent, and without beginning. If God had a beginning, then God would have been born; and if God has been born, we beg to ask who produced him, and who were his parents? If there be any capable of producing God, then such a being would be God, and God himself would not be God, for being born of another he must be subject to control. From whence we conclude that God is not born, and if God be not born, he must have neither origin nor termination, but be eternally present, the self-existent spirit.

The present universe will not exist for ever, but will come to a termination, from which we perceive that it will have an end: but God will exist for ever, without limit or exhaustion, from which we perceive that he will have no end. If God were to come to an end, he must be capable of death; and if God be susceptible of dissolution, we beg to enquire who is able to cause God to die? Who can injure the Deity, or effectually resist him? If any could inflict death upon God, that being would be God, and God would be no longer God; for whosoever can be overcome and slain by another, must be subject to his will. But God has neither

beginning nor ending, being himself the everliving, self-existent spirit.

God being everlasting, his life is not to be measured by years or periods. If it be so, we beg to ask what is the nature of such periods. Do they each amount to a thousand million of years? for they must have a limit. If you assumed a myriad of years to be the limit, then previous to that myriad of years, what was there in existence? and what was the duration of that previously-existing being? If any thing did previously exist, it must have had an origin, pray whence did it come, and how many years did it last? When you have answered all these queries, we have thousands and myriads of such enquiries to suggest, which you cannot answer. But how much better is it to acknowledge at once that God is eternally existing, for this truth once perceived will solve the whole enigma.

The duration of God's existence exceeds the power of numbers, and infinitely surpasses the utmost stretch of calculation. It is alike incapable of increase or diminution, priority or sequence. Men live from one year to ten, and from ten to a hundred; every day they live they are older by one day, and every year they tell, their age advances to that degree; but with God one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day. This, however, is a mystery, and who can fathom it?

Men are ever changing, and do not continue the same, but God abides without change, everlastingly the same. The age of man is like a flowing stream, it is daily on the move, and perpetually changing. The water you see to-day, is not that which flowed past yesterday, and tomorrow other particles will pass by. But God is everlasting, like a rock on the banks of such a stream, which remains fixed and immovable let the waters roll by ever so much; yesterday, to-day and for ever he is the same; let men remove or die, God continues unchanged throughout eternal ages, throughout the revolving ages of eternity perpetually present.

God's eternity is from himself, it does not come from without, nor depend upon another; his life is not derived from any other source, neither can he be deprived

of it by the efforts of others; he ever lives, firm and unmoved.

The eternity of God is his original possession: if a man exists, he must live, without life where would be the man? Thus if God exists, he must eternally exist, if he did not live for ever, how could he be God?

God's eternal existence is necessary, if he exist at all, his existence must be of this character: if God were not everlasting, how could he make heaven and earth, how could he sustain the universe, how reward the good and punish the bad? He must live throughout eternal ages, in order to fulfil these requirements.

God is alone everlasting, hence his joy is eternal joy, his existence eternal existence, his power everlasting power, his goodness perpetual goodness, and his glory a glory without end. Hence he ought to be loved, honoured, adored and praised, with all our powers, and to the utmost extent of our ability.

In ancient times Moses obtained a glance of the Divine Majesty, when he asked his name; to which the reply was given, "I am the self-existent spirit." He did not say the being that did exist, or that will exist, but the constantly self-existent one, the God who is the same yesterday, to-day and for ever.

God in calling himself the self-existent one, did not mean that he alone existed, or that others did not exist; but he meant that God exists by his own power, and that he originally, constantly, and eternally lives. Men exist by the power of the Lord, God alone exists by his own energy, hence he calls himself, self-existent.

The universe has to be made before it can exist, before it was made it had no existence from all eternity: when the universe comes to an end, it will cease to exist, and must ever be considered as if it were not. But God receives his being from none, and can never experience a dissolution of being, hence he exists from everlasting to everlasting.

* * * * * (n)

SECT. 6.—ON THE UNCHANGEABLE- NESS OF GOD.

God is not susceptible of change or alteration in the slightest degree, but remains ever the same.

Men are perpetually the subjects of change, when their strength is refreshed by food, they become robust and strong, but deprived of nourishment, they become weak and feeble. When joy comes, they are glad; and when sorrow invades, they mourn: the bodily parts and passions are perpetually changing, but God has none of these, hence he never alters.

Men pass on from youth to age, and from age to death, perpetually experiencing change: to-day they are older than yesterday, and to-morrow they will be older than to-day. A few years ago they were not born, and in a few years to come they will die; how can they be exempt from change? But God is free from old age and death, hence he never changes.

* * * * * (o)

God's eternal existence cannot be measured by days and months, nor limited to years and ages: when the universe first sprang into being, God was not young, and when the world comes to an end, God will not be old: there never was a time when God began to exist, and there never will be a time when he ceases to live, but he remains ever the same, without variation.

When things change, they either become less or more, but God's happiness is incapable of increase or diminution, how then can he change.

God's power is infinite and his possessions unbounded, should any wish to produce an alteration in him, they must overcome his power, and deprive him of his possessions; if not, they cannot bring about any change.

God's intelligence can never vary from light to dark, nor his power from great to small, nor his happiness from high to low, nor his goodness from forward to backward, nor can any thing that belongs to God ever be susceptible of change.

God's will is everlastingly unchangeable, he does not determine in one way to-day, and in another way to-morrow, but his resolves are always the same. For God possesses sufficient wisdom to plan, and power to execute, hence what he purposes always succeeds, and his designs once formed never alter. The proverb says well, 'To plan rests with men, but to accomplish with God, the ever-varying calculations of man are not equal

to one divine decree.' How true is this?

God's laws are perpetually the same; in the distinction between virtue and vice, and the retribution of good and evil, he abides by the dictates of justice and the impulses of benevolence: he alters not his invariable laws, nor departs from his accustomed way, but manages all things as he has been ever wont, without the slightest variation.

God's word never alters; formerly a revelation from heaven was given, contained in both Testaments, conveying promises to the good, and threatenings to the bad. Now as God does not change, his word does not vary, and the promises and threatenings above alluded to will never be abrogated; one view of this truth is calculated to inspire delight, the other terror.

SECT. 7.—ON THE OMNIPRESENCE OF GOD.

God is in every place, omnipresence is his nature, pervading all things without exception, and leaving no place unoccupied with his presence, *a perfect complete and entire whole, thoroughly occupying the universe*: widely extending all above, on the right hand and the left, above, below, and on every side, there is no place where he is not found.

God's spiritual essence fills heaven and earth, and beyond the boundaries of the universe, there is no place to which it does not extend. He moves through the region of the ethereal.

There is no place to which God's presence does not extend; east and west, north and south, above and below, on the right hand and on the left, higher than bird ever soared, deeper than fish ever dived, farther than the sun's rays can shine, or human thought conceive. Should you pile up ten thousand heavens on the top of the present heaven, to that elevated spot God's presence would extend; or spread out ten thousand earths beyond our present globe, to that distant spot would God's essence reach; or higher and more distant still, a myriad and a myriad-fold, you would find no place where God was not.

The omnipresence of God is a self-evident truth: if he exist at all, he must

exist somewhere; and if he exist somewhere, it must either be in one place, or in all places; if God be only in one place, then in all other places there would be no God; and if in all other places there were no God, then his non-existence would exceed his existence; how then could he be God? But God is every where present, so that his essence extends to all places; in this way his existence exceeds his non-existence, which is of itself an evidence of his divinity.

* * * * *

God's omnipresence is evident from his works, for his work is infinitely great; ruling over the whole universe, he sits exalted in high heaven: and nourishing the myriads of things, he is near at hand wherever things exist, *so that when the house leaks he can observe it, and the minutest flaws do not escape his detection*; from which we see that God is every where present.

* * * * *

This truth is calculated to make the wicked tremble, *what is done in the darkest chamber can with difficulty escape the glance of Heaven*; God is everywhere present to examine human actions, and will punish them according to justice; a spirit keeps watch at the eaves of the house, and takes notice of every rising thought; at the dawn of day Heaven peeps in, and the heart of man is exposed to the celestial glance; light and darkness are the same, distance makes no difference, for God is everywhere present.

SECT. 8.—ON THE OMNIPOTENCE OF GOD.

The power of God is infinite and universal, extending every where, and to be resisted by none. God's power excels all other, and every kind of energy is subject to his sway; the strength of all other things comes from God, and he is the fountain of power.

The power which others possess, compared with his, is as nothing; the strength of man increases from youth to age, when it begins to decline, but God's power is everlastingly the same. Human strength is limited, exerted to its utmost limit, it will not lift a thousand pounds; combined in an aggregate, it is inadequate to remove mountains or empty seas; but God's

power is inexhaustible and unbounded, extending to everything in the universe.

God is omnipotent, there is nothing within the compass of the universe which he cannot accomplish, and no conceivable obstacles over which he cannot prevail, how vast and unlimited is the power of God!

Men are unable to do many things, God is able to do everything. Omnipotence is a great word; it can reach to the height of heaven, it can fathom the depth of ocean, it can number the host of stars, it can control the multitude of men; it can still the wildest tumult, it can save the most wretched object; all this is within the reach of Divine power.

Every thing possesses an individual capacity, birds can fly, fishes swim, beasts roam, and men converse; each one has its peculiar property, but God possesses all capacities.

The most difficult thing is easy with God, in accomplishing it he needs not the aid of men, nor in effecting it is he visited with weariness; he can produce all things out of nothing, and bring about an endless succession of changes as easily as we turn the hand.

God's omnipotence is inexhaustible, when the sun illumines the earth it sheds forth all its light, when substances fall towards the earth they come with all their weight, but God's power is never exerted to the utmost.

That which God can do differs from that which he chooses to do: what he does perform is great, but what he can perform is much greater. That which God actually does is limitable, but that which he can bring to pass is illimitable.

God created heaven and earth, this is what he has done: but God could create a higher heaven and a broader earth, this is what he could do. God created the universe in six days, this is what he has done; but God could have made the universe in a moment of time, this is what he could do. We cannot therefore judge by what God has done as to what he can do; God could have made the world a thousand million times greater and better than it is, but it has pleased him only to make it such as it is. This is what he has done, not what he could do.

God possesses power to do a thing before he sets about it, and whether he will do it or not depends upon his own will; God possessed this power in himself from all eternity, and when he thought proper to act his power was displayed.

Whatever God wills must come to pass. With men it is not so. Human ability does not at all equal human desires. The divine purposes do not come up to the divine energies. Men wish to do this and that, but cannot. God can do this or that, but will not. If he were disposed to do it, there is nothing impossible with him.

It is God alone who can do whatsoever he pleases; the richest and greatest among men cannot carry out their wishes; even monarchs desire to perform but cannot accomplish, and wish to obtain but cannot acquire, because their strength is inadequate. Should they wish to increase their stature one cubit, they cannot, or to lengthen their lives one day, it is out of their power. Whatever is fixed by the celestial decree they cannot reverse.

With regard to the celestial decree, it is none other than the will of God. The classic says, "Riches and honour rest with Heaven, life and death are settled by decree:" which is in fact the determination established by God. God sits on his lofty throne, widely contemplating the whole universe, and settling the destinies of men; whether happiness or misery be their lot, all depends on his will. Men cannot do as they please, human beings cannot obtain their desire; God regulates the whole, according to his own holy will.

Taking a general survey of the universe, we find power in existence; heaven and earth can revolve, the sun and moon can shine, trees and plants can grow, fire can burn and water flow, air can expand, the wind can blow, the thunder can roar, and the lightning flash, the earth can tremble, and the rocks be precipitated;—from whence now does all this power come? Is it inherent, or derived? If matter inherently possessed this power, then matter would be God; but how irrational is it to suppose such a thing. If this power is derived, from whence is it obtained? Neither you nor I bestowed it: the sages did not communicate it, for before the sages were born, this power

existed. But did not this power all come from God, and if all power came from God, then God must be all-powerful.

God's great power is displayed in the works of creation, for he made all things, and not man; a single blade of grass, or the petal of a flower, the most skilful artificer could not produce; they might make something to resemble it, or they might paint its likeness, but to cause it to live and grow, and bring forth fruit, is beyond their power. But with God nothing could be more easy than to make all things, and when he made all things, he had no need of instruments or models, or assistants, but by his own power, he made everything out of nothing; hence we conclude that God's power is inexhaustible.

God's strength can never be exhausted, he is never weary; although in six days he made heaven and earth, and throughout six thousand years he has sustained this universal fabric, his energies are the same as at the beginning.

God's power is regulated by wisdom, and guided by benevolence; it is not exercised according to passion or caprice, as is frequently the case with men.

If God be almighty, then his compassion can be greatly manifested; his justice fully executed, his wisdom brightly displayed, and his truth preserved entire. Were it not so, the above-named virtues, would fail of being perfectly carried out.

God's omnipotence is everlasting; his compassion is sometimes brought to an end, and his patience exhausted, but his power never fails.

* * * * * (r)

God does not however deceive nor work iniquity. God is most holy, and cannot but love the good and hate the wicked; he is most just, and cannot reward the sinner, nor slay the innocent; he is most wise, and can neither forget the past, nor be ignorant of the future; he is most true, and can neither renounce his covenant nor break his promise.

The Scripture says, Great is our Lord, and of great power, his understanding is infinite.

Jesus said, With men this is impossible, but with God all things are possible.

From God's having made the world, we argue his omnipotence. Out of no-

thing he made everything, he laid the foundation of the earth, he spread abroad the canopy of heaven, he embraces the ocean, he arranges the stars, is he not then omnipotent?

God by his great power created heaven and earth, with him therefore there is nothing difficult.

God perpetually protects all mankind, and supports the universe of being, he places the sun and moon in empty space, he hangeth the world upon nothing, all of which are manifestations of his almighty power. He who originally made all things must be almighty; he who constantly supports this universal fabric must be omnipotent.

If God had not exerted his creative energies, nothing would have existed; if God were not to sustain nature, the whole would fall into annihilation; but in making and supporting all, from the creation until now, and from this present time till future ages, God's omnipotence is apparent.

God's almighty power is displayed in saving men. He that was sent down into the world to save men, was God's beloved Son, the holy Jesus, who redeemed from sin, and brought in righteousness, and thereby turned misery into happiness. Without the exertion of almighty power, how could this have been accomplished?

If God be almighty then sinners ought to tremble, and the guilty mourn, for to be visited by divine vengeance is a most fearful thing; there is no escape therefrom, and no means of avoiding it. We cannot expect either to deceive or resist effectually, but must submit to condign punishment.

If God be almighty then the righteous may rejoice, and the good be cheerful, for to obtain the favour of the Lord is a most desirable thing. It will never be lost nor forgotten, we may enjoy it without satiety, and be happy without end, obtaining grace and love for ever and for evermore.

Jesus said, Fear not them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do, but fear him, who after he hath killed hath power to cast into hell; yea, I say unto you, fear him.

REMARKS.

The preceding pamphlet, as will appear to any one on a cursory perusal, could not have been the production of an unassisted Chinese. It was in fact composed by the writer, and first published in Batavia some twenty years ago. It was republished in Shanghae ten years ago, in the form which has now been imitated by the insurgents, there being an almost verbal resemblance between the last edition and that now brought from Nanking. It must have travelled to Nanking from Shanghae some time within the last ten years, and having been seen by the leaders of the insurrection was adopted by them, upon whose list of accredited books it stands the last, on a par with the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and the other pamphlets compiled by themselves, the whole bearing this imprimatur, "The above 21 works are ordered to be circulated by imperial authority."

The reader of the pamphlet now brought to the notice of the public will perceive various phrases and sentences printed in Italics, and here and there a number of stars interspersed. The former denote insertions made by the insurgent leaders, which were not in the original tract; and the latter passages which have been omitted by them. The first of these will speak for themselves, to the last we shall presently allude. Their additions are generally speaking of little importance, but in some instances are indicative of their peculiar turn of mind. For instance the mention made of "unjust magistrates" after "selfish kings" shews what sort of grievance it was that most affected their minds, in the existing state of Chinese politics; and the frequent insertion of "Heavenly Father" and "true Spirit" after "God" is probably intended to render the tract uniform with their own publications, where "Heavenly Father" and "true Spirit" are so frequently put in apposition with the Divine name. The additional remark that the God "who is

in heaven, is seen *only* by those who ascend to heaven" is evidently intended to bear out the assertion of the Tri-metrical Classic that—

"In the Ting-yew year (1837)

He (Hung-sew-tseuen) was received up into heaven:

Where the affairs of heaven

Were clearly pointed out to him;

(And where) the great God personally instructed him."

The object of the addition of the following phrase is very clear "It is merely necessary to have the various kinds of grain which God has made for the sustenance of human life, with animals good for food, all spread out and reverently presented." The mode of worship adopted by the insurgents, namely the spreading out of eatables, wine and tea, as a sort of eucharistical offering before God, was probably admitted by them, through condescension to the weakness of the people, who had been familiarized to it from their forefathers, and who, if not allowed to sacrifice to God, would be tempted to do it to the idols of their heathen neighbours. They were also, in all probability led to its adoption, from having paid more attention to the Old Testament than the New. At any rate, having adopted it, and finding no allusion to it in the tract which they were re-publishing, they thought proper to introduce the sentence upon which we are commenting.

The omission, indicated by the stars at (g) is very significant. The phrase in the original tract runs thus: "God is immaterial and invisible, without beginning and end." This if inserted fully would have upset the pretensions of Hung-sew-tseuen, who claimed the honour of a personal intercourse with the Deity. It was therefore omitted, and the clause above-named inserted.

The other omissions are not very material. That marked (a) is a mere enlargement of the idea that the acknowledging of more Gods than one would be inconvenient and difficult, and may be omitted without any detriment to the

sense or interference with the argument. The omission marked (b) is, "throughout the whole universe, *amongst the good and bad spirits*, God is the only Lord." The phrase in Italics being the one left out; which may indeed be done, without inconvenience. The omission marked (c) is as follows: "*In former times, amongst the people of Israel*, God gave us a revelation of his will:" the first part of the sentence having been left out, but for what reason it is difficult to conjecture, except that the insurgents did not wish to confine the communication of God's will to the Israelites and to ancient times, but to intimate that such was communicated to the Chinese, in the present day, namely to themselves. A very dangerous principle, if allowed. The next omission marked (d) is, "The use of this name (Jehovah) to designate God is very appropriate." Why this has been left out, one cannot immediately see, unless it were because the insurgents had left off to use this name in common, as some have said was the case. The omission (e) is as follows: "The Supreme Lord is an appellation descriptive of infinite glory greatness and power, *similar to the phrase Ruler of Heaven, Creator of all, &c., either of which may be employed to designate God; but people must not imagine, because there are several names, that therefore there are several Gods*, for the Ruler of heaven is one alone." The intermediate members of the sentence, printed in Italics, are the portions left out; for what reason we cannot tell.

On a closer inspection, in the sentence marked (f) there is no omission, but only a slight verbal correction of the quotation from the classic, one sentence having been quoted in the original tract, and another in the Nanking edition of it. The wording is however nearly the same. The omission at (g) has been already explained.

The omission at (h) is a follows: "God is opposed to matter; matter possesses form which may be seen, sound which may be heard, substance that may be felt, scent that may be perceived, taste that can be distinguished; but God is without form, sound, scent or taste; we can neither observe his form, nor hear his voice, nor feel nor perceive him by any bodily or-

gans." The insurgents have omitted all the above sentence, probably because they could not entirely agree with all its statements in detail, though they have frequently inserted phrases generally alluding to God as an immaterial being.

The omission (i) is as follows: "Matter is the subject of motion and rest, God is not the subject of motion and rest: when matter is met with, a resistance is experienced, but spirit comes and goes without our perceiving it: it needs neither road to travel along, nor door to enter in at: without our preception or knowledge a spirit is at our side: how wonderful are the mysteries of the divinity!" The omission of this is to be accounted for on the same principle as the preceding sentence.

The omission marked (k) is as follows: "God is wholly without body." That marked (l) is longer and runs thus, "Some have asked whether the spirituality of God bear any resemblance to the wind or atmosphere? To which we may answer, none. The wind and the air, though invisible, are substances capable of measurement, and produced by fire and water; water when heated sends forth steam; if a pipe be blown into, wind will come out; you can feel it with your hand, you can perceive it by the ear, hence it is matter; how can it then resemble God? No man has seen God; if any one pretends to have seen him, we beg to ask what is God like? Idolatrous images are merely resemblances of men, not of God. Every thing formed by human hands, is designed merely to represent body, not spirit, for spirit is invisible. No one has ever seen God, therefore no one can make a resemblance of him. God is omnipotent, he fills immensity, higher than heaven, deeper than earth, more vast than the sea: on every side there is no place where God is not present. If he were matter, how large would that matter be? Matter of such a vast size would fill the universe, and where then would be room for others? What vacant space would there be for you and me? But God is not matter, therefore though he fills heaven and earth, heaven and earth do not appear full: God is in every place, without hindering every thing from being in its own place." It is evident from the

omission of all this, that the insurgents do not like the doctrine of the pure immateriality of the Divine Being, and though they may admit it in general terms, yet when it comes to be illustrated and enforced, they prefer to omit such sentences.

The omission marked (*m*) is of the same character. "Some have asked, seeing that God is a spirit without body, what can be the meaning of the expressions, 'The eye of the spirit is quick as lightning,' 'the hand an of invisible being sustains us;' does God possess hands and feet? To which we answer, By no means; these are mere metaphorical allusions, intimating that God is very wise and powerful, but not that he has hands or feet."

The omitted passage marked (*n*) is rather long. In it the eternal existence ascribed to God is contrasted with the recent origin of several of the recognised idols of China: such as the Queen of Heaven, whose rise dates only 800 years back; that of the Mars of China, who has been heard of only about twice that number of years. Buddha is also brought in, as having a history of only 2,000 years, and the founder of the Taon sect, as flourishing 3,000 years ago; all of them capable of easy reckoning, and thus not to be compared with the eternal God, who is from everlasting. The boasted kalpas of the Hindoos, in which years are profusely heaped on years, are shewn to have their limits, and not to be put in competition with the everduring existence of the Eternal.

The paragraph omitted at (*o*) is merely a further elucidation of the changeableness of humanity, as contrasted with the immutability of the Divine Being.

The matter marked as omitted at (*p*) and (*q*) amounts to about four pages. It is a rather extended dissertation on the omnipresence of Deity, reasoned out and illustrated in various ways. It is difficult to divine why the insurgent chiefs omitted all this, except that they wished to study brevity.

The omission at (*r*) is as follows: "God's power is incapable of being imparted to another, almighty energy is possessed by him alone. There are, however, several things which God cannot do: he cannot experience sickness or

suffering, death or destruction, diminution or annihilation. Moreover, God cannot do anything that is improper, unrighteous, or untrue." The reason why the insurgents have omitted these sentences is possibly because they did not like to say that God could not do any thing; particularly as in quoting the following part of the sentence, "God cannot lie or do iniquity" they have altered the *cannot* into *does not*. The *cannot* being retained in the latter part of the sentence, however, shews their inconsistency."

The reader may be disposed to ask whether the eight sections above given constitute the whole of the original pamphlet? to which we may reply, By no means. There are altogether 20 sections, which treat on the knowledge, and wisdom of God, as displayed in the creation and preservation of the world, as well as in the salvation of men. The holiness and justice of God, also, form the topic of separate discourses; while another is devoted to the exhibition of these attributes in the redemption of men. The Divine truth, goodness, patience, compassion, love, and blessedness then form the subject of separate discourses; thus giving a full view of the Divine attributes, not one half of which has been reproduced in this edition brought from Nanking. The reason for such cutting down of the original tract may have been a desire to study brevity, and because they thought the matter sufficiently discussed in what is already given; or it may be that the original tract found its way to Nanking in a mutilated form, and as the 8th section ends at the foot of a page, they may have fancied that this was the whole. Indeed it occurs to the writer that in some instances the pamphlet was divided into two parts, which were bound up separately; the first part, therefore, may have fallen into the hands of the insurgents, and the latter not. If this were the case, they cannot be blamed for not publishing the whole. Neither can it be charged against them, from their treatment of this pamphlet, that "they have generally discarded their Christian profession;" as the last paragraph but four speaks plainly of the "sending down of Jesus Christ, God's beloved Son, into the world, to redeem men from sin, and bring in righ-

teouness, thereby turning misery into happiness." Had they intended to abandon what they know of Christian doctrine, this passage would most certainly have been omitted.

Neither are they to be blamed for adopting Christian tracts, and circulating them among their followers. It were most devoutly to be wished that they would do this to a still larger extent, until the whole series of approved tracts

re-appeared in Nanking, under the auspices of the power now ruling there. They would certainly do no harm, and might accomplish much good. The remark made on the subject by one in Shanghae is significant. "If this be the doctrine of thieves, it is a very good doctrine, and were all thieves to circulate such opinions, we should have little reason to regret their ascendancy."

W. H. MEDHURST.



KOO-SAN, OR DRUM HILL.

This hill is situated about 9 miles to the eastward of the city of Foo-chow. It is about 2,000 feet high, according to barometrical measurement. Near the top of the hill there is a large stone, in shape somewhat resembling a Chinese drum; according to common report, in stormy weather a sound is emitted from this stone, like the roll of a drum, hence the name of the hill. Near the stone drum there is another rock, which the natives have imagined to resemble a flag, from which military associations, the Chinese imagined that the hill is the protector of the provincial city.

The highest point of the hill is called **大頂** Ta-ting, Great Peak, which resembles an inverted basin; this peak is frequently enveloped in clouds, it is therefore necessary to wait for a fine day before the ascent is made, in order to enjoy the prospect. To the south one may then see the river Min, with its double branch, beyond which the hills rise in majestic proportions, and with grotesque appearances, resembling, in the estimation of the Chinese, elephants and tigers, hence the precipitous peak which forms the most prominent object in that direction is called "the five tiger hill." On the west, the city of Foo-chow lies stretched out before you, with the famous bridge, high gate-ways, and pagodas, as if delineated in a map. The whole landscape is dotted with towns and villages, like squares on a chess board. To the north, the prospect is circumscribed by a long chain of hills, which seem to vie with each other in height, while they stand up as a wall. To the east lies the sea, studded with islands, beyond which on a fine day the high land of Formosa is said to be visible.

Adjoining the large peak is a lower elevation, called the **小頂** seaou-ting "small peak."

It lies immediately behind the monastery. The view from this peak, towards the west and south, is nearly as good as from the former.

Beyond the large peak, in a northerly direction, is the **鳳池** fung-che, "phoenix pond,"

surrounded by high peaks. The pond is situated in a hollow, several acres in extent, and is never empty even in the driest season. On the east side of the hollow lies the pond, and on the west the stone drum rock, about a dozen feet wide. There is also a rock shaped like a hand, called "the palm of Kwan-yin."

On the left side of the monastery is situated **靈源洞** ling-yuen-tung "the cave of the wonderful spring." You descend to the spot by a series of steps, and then enter a narrow ravine, the perpendicular sides of which are about 30 feet

high; the over-hanging shrubs approach each other towards the top, so that it almost resembles a cave, hence the name. The ravine is spanned by a bridge, but there is no water beneath. The western part of the ravine is called **喝水巖**

hoh-shwuy-gnan, "the rock from which the water was driven away:" of which more anon. At the western end of the ravine there is a stone niche, about 10 feet wide, called **忘歸石** wang-kwei-shih, "the stone from whence you forget to return." Towards the eastern part of the ravine is

龍頭泉 ling-t'how-tseuen, "the dragon's head fountain," from which the water constantly issues. It is currently reported that the water which flowed through the western part of the ravine suddenly stopped, and that then the spring working its way upwards suddenly burst forth from the eastern side; on seeing this the natives formed the dragon's head, from the mouth of which the water now issues, and falls into a stone trough made for its reception. A little beyond the fountain there is a jutting rock, called the "white monkey's promontory;" on the left of which there are two stone orifices like doors.

To the west of the monastery is a small elevation called "the lion's peak," on account of its resemblance to a crouching lion; near this rock is a depression called the basin, and an upright stone with an inscription on it, in praise of the romantic scenery around. East of all this is a hollow, once inhabited by about twenty families, who were placed there by a former king of Fokien province for the purpose of cultivating the tea plant.

Near the "phoenix pond" above-mentioned there is a cave called the "rolling sea cavern." The mouth of the cavern is wide, but the depth of it has not yet been ascertained. It is tenanted by birds, and the sound of the rolling sea is heard at its mouth, hence some have supposed that there is some connection between this cave and the sea.

The **湧泉寺** Yung-tseuen-sze, monastery of the bubbling fountain, situated under the "white cloud peak" on the Koo-san, or "drum hill," was formerly a mere marsh, wherein it was supposed that a poisonous dragon dwelt, which beast the natives thought disturbed the equable flow of the seasons, and produced droughts and inundations very injurious to agriculture. On which account in the year A.D. 781 an officer named

Fei-chow requested a priest called **靈橋** Ling-keao, to go up the mountain and recite the

華嚴 Hwa-nēn classic by the side of the pool; the consequence of which was, as the natives suppose, that the dragon took to his heels, and committed no more ravages. After this a temple was built on the spot.

In the year 908, the king of the Fo-kien province filled up the marsh and enlarged the temple, when he invited a priest named **神晏** Shin-gnan to reside there. About 100 years afterwards the emperor of the Sung dynasty bestowed a tablet on the temple, and 400 years from that time, an emperor of the Ming dynasty raised the temple to the rank of a monastery. In the year 1714 Kang-he presented the monastery with a complete set of Buddhist classics, amounting to 7,240, contained in six large cases. These are still kept with great care, but no entreaties will avail to induce the priests to open the cases for the inspection of foreigners.

In the same room in which the books are kept, there are two sacred relics which strangers are permitted to see, upon the payment of a small fee. The one is a **舍利** Shay-le, or remains of some celebrated Buddhist priest, in the shape of a small bead contained in a crystal bottle. The bottle is however rendered opaque, either by dirt or age, and is so closely shut up in a wooden cage, that it is impossible to examine the bead. The other relic is a large tooth, called by the priests a tooth of Buddha; placed on a stand in front of the crystal bottle. The nature of this is more patent, and it is evident to all observers that it is no other than the molar tooth of an elephant, about six inches long, by 2 broad, and 3 deep. On observing this, it was immediately suggested to the priest that the tooth in question was that of an elephant and not that of a man. The priest continuing to assert that it was a veritable Buddha's tooth, he was asked how large he supposed Buddha to have been? He replied 16 feet high. Granting, it was said, his enormous size, upon what did he live? Upon grain and fruits was the reply. But he was requested to notice that a tooth such as that in question was not designed for the chewing of rice and cakes, but for the grinding and masticating of the roots and branches of trees, with reeds and rushes. He began now to

open his eyes, and candidly owned that he did not know whether it was a tooth of Buddha or an elephant, but it was handed down to him for a Buddha's tooth, and as such he shewed it. He was advised henceforth never to repeat the assertion, at least to foreigners, as by so doing he would only expose himself to ridicule.

With regard to the antiquities of the place, it may be remarked, that the Chinese still shew the rock under the shadow of which Ling-keau recited the Hwa-nēn classic, in order to drive away the dragon; also the hollow in the stone where he used to cook his food. The name of the "phoenix pond" originated in a countryman's having seen a partly-coloured bird bathing in the pool. The origin of the name of Hoh-shwuy-gnan is derived from the second founder of the monastery called Shin-gnan, who in the commencement of the 10th century was reciting the Buddhist classics in a grotto at the western end of the ravine, when he got annoyed by the perpetual murmur of the brook close at hand, and scolding the water he drove it away to the eastern side of the ravine, where it now flows. The grotto where he sat is still called the national teacher's grotto, it is about ten feet square, and as many deep, and at this place, Shin-gnan, having (as is supposed) miraculously dried up the water, fixed his residence. He used, it is said, frequently to scrape up the exudations of the rock, to satisfy his wants, and the marks left by his fingers are still pointed out. The "white monkey's promontory" is so called from a white monkey, who used to occupy that position.

On the top of the highest peak there used to be a pavilion, in front of which Choo-foo-tsze, the celebrated commentator on the Four Books, inscribed the words "**天風海濤** heavenly winds and ocean billows;" it is now however destroyed. "Change clothes pavilion" is a name given to a place on the eastern side of the hill, where the king of Fo-kien formerly changed his dress.

There have been 72 abbots presiding over this monastery for the last 1000 years, two of the most celebrated of whom have been several times mentioned in this narrative. They appear to have been appointed to their offices by the government of the country, and to have had little connection with the monasteries to the north of Fo-kien.

(From the Transactions of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.)

ARTICLE II.

THE EAGRE OF THE TSIEN-TANG RIVER.

ON THE EAGRE OF THE TSIEN-TANG:

By Dr. MACGOWAN, M.D.

Read to the Society, 12th January, 1853.

No one who was witnessed, under favourable circumstances, an Eagre,* or the tidal phenomenon called from its Indian designation a "Bore," can be surprised at the account given by Arrian of the tide near the mouth of the Indus, or at the astonishment manifested by Alexander and his army when they first beheld its action. On the Hooghly branch of the Ganges, were I first saw the Bore, it presented no feature calculated to excite wonder; but on the Tsien-tang, it struck me as being one of the grandest spectacles in nature.

A Chinese proverb reckons three wonders of the world,—the tides at Hang-chau, the thunder in Lung-chau,† and the demons at Tang-chau.‡

* "His manly heart, whose noble pride
Was still above
Dissembled hate or varnish'd love,
Is more than common transport could not hide:
But like an eagre rode, in triumph o'er the tide."

DRYDEN.

† Lungchau, (thunder district) is a long mountainous peninsula in Canton province opposite the island of Hainan, and is celebrated throughout China for several myths respecting its thunder storms, which doubtless reverberate through the alpine regions of that latitude in a manner which awakens awe and superstition. Standard Encyclopedias, quoting from various authors on the subject, inform us, that after thunder storms black stones are found, emitting light and a sonorous sound on being struck. At times, also, hatchet-shaped things are picked up which are useful amulets. The fields are often furrowed by thunder as if they had been ploughed. In a temple consecrated to the Thunder Duke, the people annually place a drum, drawn thither on a carriage purposely constructed, which it is supposed he beats during a storm; and it is said, that since a drum covered with paper has been substituted for one covered with leather, the peals of thunder have been less severe. Formerly the drum was placed on the top of a mountain, and a boy left there as an attendant on the thunderer—a sort of sacrifice to him.

‡ Tang-chau is not far from the birthplace of Confucius, a peninsula of the Shan-tung Promontory. Thither it is believed the spirits of the departed repair, until summoned to judgment in Hades. Innumerable accounts are given of the pranks of ghosts, which are for a season at liberty in that region. The "ghost's lantern," *ignis fatuus*, is often seen there.

To the first named marvel, the province of Chih-kiang owes its name: that it has not been mentioned in the Travels of Marco Polo, is to be accounted for from the circumstance, that the phenomenon did not occur during any of his visits to the city of Hang-chau, otherwise it would not have remained until the present day undescribed, nor would a distinguished geographer have stated, that "In the North Pacific we have neither the bores of a Hooghly nor the terrific tides of a Bay of Fundy."§

The Tsien-tang|| river, originally called Chih-kiang, takes its rise in a mountainous region where the provinces of Kiang-si, Fuh-kien, and Chih-

§ Vide Johnston's *Physical Atlas of Natural Phenomena*. This splendid and remarkably accurate work contains a few slight errors in treating of this *terra incognita*. The lofty mountain chain passing through the entire length of Formosa, is omitted in the Chart of the mountain chains of Asia. A very large space in the Geological Chart should have been coloured to represent the extensive district of pure alluvium between 30.15 and 35. N. extending from the sea a great distance, comprising an area of about eighty thousand square miles, destitute even of a pebble or grain of sand.

|| The 浙江 Chih-kiang Kin-sing River, has had several homophonous characters to express it, the primary one being 折 Chih, to break, (afterwards written 浙) because a great tidal wave broke apart in the

river. Thus the Eagre gave name to the river, which was subsequently applied to the province. Its present name, Tsien-tang—money dyke, arose in consequence of the cost of an embankment. The celebrated poet Chwang-

tsz' calls it 潮 Chü. It was once known also by

the name 曲 Kieh—crooked or perverse, a designation so far forgotten, that at an examination of above three thousand graduates at Hang-chau, during the Mongol sway, when the "River tide," was given as a theme, one only of the number employed it in his essay, who for this archaeological lore was honoured with the next degree. The successful aspirant for literary distinction was so pleased with the incident, that he erected a hall, which he called Crooked River Clover Hall, and appropriated to himself the soubriquet, "crooked river old fellow."

kiang are long conterminous, and after pursuing a north-easterly course, disembogue into the Hang-chau Bay, a short distance below the city of that name. It is about 220 miles long, flowing more than two-thirds of its way through a mountainous country; the remainder, draining a low alluvial plain. A considerable quantity of silt is conveyed by it to the sea, thus aiding the Yang-tsz' and Yellow Rivers, in extending this part of the continent eastward. Being broad, shallow, and rapid, it is navigated with difficulty by flat-bottomed vessels, which seem admirably constructed for that purpose. They are drawn by boatmen against the stream, with ropes several hundred feet in length attached to the topmast, those on board being engaged in poling. At Hang-chau, it is about four miles wide; and at its mouth, about ten miles distant, the width is seven. The configuration of a river, however, has little effect in giving rise to Eagres, the cause of these phenomena must be sought for in the form of its estuary, where is presented in a remarkable degree the peculiar features necessary to a sudden elevation of the tidal wave,—a shallow and gradually contracting bay subject to high tides, at the embouchure of a river more or less obstructed by sands.

Hang-chau Bay, (a foreign designation, Chinamen not distinguishing it from the sea,) is an indentation in the extreme eastern part of the Chinese coast, where the continent converges towards the Pacific, as if to form a cape; its northern headland is Yang-tsz' Cape, an alluvial flat, formed by the great river of that name; the opposite headland is of a very different character, being formed by the termination, at Ketow Point, of the Nain-ling chain of mountains. Thus, on one side the shore is so low and the bay so shallow as to render it perilous to navigators, while at the other, there is a bold coast and deep water. From Ketow Point to Yang-tsz' Cape, the distance is sixty miles, which is the width of the estuary. A line intersecting it, drawn from the mouth of the river, would be about seventy-five miles. A portion of the Chusan Archipelago is included in the south-eastern part of the bay. Although these islands are generally separated by deep channels, the descent of the submarine ground on this part of the coast is extremely gradual, owing to the ever accumulating detritus of the great rivers. The bay itself, is very shallow, and constantly decreasing in depth, the channel being wholly obliterated towards the Tsien-tang. At its southern boundary it receives the water of the Ta-hiah or Ningpo river, where the tides are in no respect remarkable; and to the north of this, near the embouchure of the Tsien-tang, Cháng-ngo is disembogued, in which river the tides have a great and rapid rise and fall.

Navigators are well acquainted with the force of tidal currents among the Chusan islands, and in the outer part of the bay; there is a rapid increase of their velocity as you advance up the funnel-shaped frith, where they rush at sixteen miles an hour. In the neighbourhood of Chapoo, where they are more moderate, their flow is between eleven and twelve knots, with a fall of twenty-eight feet. Vessels approaching this part of the coast are thus in danger of being lost among sands without sighting the low shores. Captain

Collinson, when endeavouring to find a Channel to Hang-chau in the H. C. Steamer *Phlegethon*, experienced a tide of "eleven and a half knots when nineteen miles distant from the Chao-oo Hills, and two from the shore. Traversing the river [estuary], which at this point is about fifteen miles wide, there was no continuous channel found, although there were some deep spots. When the *Phlegethon* was exposed to this tide, she had an anchor down, with a whole cable (having previously lost an anchor and cable in endeavouring to hug up,) was under her full power of steam, with sails set, and was still driving." Whales are not unfrequently drawn in by this vortex, and left floundering on the strand, or in shallow water, by the receding wave: some of the accidents recorded of the unfortunate *celuceæ* are worth quoting.

In 488 A.D., a salt inspector discovered near the mouth of the river a "sea-fish," which the tide had left behind. It was more than three hundred feet long, of a black colour, without scales; before dying, it bellowed like a buffalo; the common people called it "sea-swallow," and ate its flesh. In 949, after a storm, a pair of whales were drawn in, one on the northern, the other on the southern side of the bay, stated to be over five hundred feet long. Making due allowance for exaggeration, these animals must have been of enormous dimensions—the largest of the species. About a century ago, in the month of February, "a huge sea-fish appeared off Chapoo; it followed the vessels in with the tide, and at ebb was unable to return. It measured one hundred feet in length, ten feet high, and twenty wide. After consulting a diviner, who, invoking aid from the Dragon King, pronouncing favourably, the people cut off its tail; which made the creature roar like thunder, spouting out sand and water like a couple of ditches. All now rushed forward and minced him to pieces. Its flesh was not rancid; it had square bones which were divided and made into rice-pestles; the tongue was long, and studded with thorn-like bristles of a yellow colour, five inches in length.¶

A few miles N.E. of Chin-hai, is a village, the inhabitants of which, it is said, often capture enormous sea-fish, which strong spring tides cast upon their beach. It is their custom to begin the dissection by making an incision with a copper coin, for good luck, which is styled "the first cut for the Emperor."

Among the marvellous occurrences of the province narrated in its general statistics, is the appearance in olden time of an enormous mass of pumice, which floated up the bay, wafted doubtless from Japan, the product of volcanic action on mount Fusi, or other neighbouring volcano. Considerable quantities of pumice are thus cast on this part of the coast every year.

At the upper part of the bay, and about the mouth of the river, the Eagle is scarcely observable, but owing to the very gradual descent of the

¶ According to a popular myth, the river was at one time infested by a great *Kiau*, or sea serpent. In 1129 A.D., a district graduate heroically threw himself into the flood, to encounter and destroy the monster. His wife forthwith put an end to her existence also, from devotion to him. Their virtues were commemorated by the erection of a temple for their worship.

shore, and the rapidity of the great flood and ebb, the tidal phenomena even here present a remarkable appearance. Vessels, which a few moments before were afloat, are suddenly left high and dry on a strand nearly two miles in width, which the returning wave as quickly floods. It is not until the tide rushes beyond the mouth of the river, that it becomes elevated to a lofty wave constituting the *Eagre*, which attains its greatest magnitude opposite the city of Hang-chau. Generally there is nothing in its aspect, except on the *third* day of the second month, and on the *eighteenth* of the eighth, or at the spring-tide about the period of the vernal and autumnal equinoxes, its great intensity being at the latter season. Sometimes, however, during the prevalence of easterly winds, on the *third* day after the sun and moon are in conjunction, or in opposition, the *Eagre* courses up the river with hardly less majesty than when paying its ordinary periodical visit. On one of these unusual occasions, when I was travelling in native costume, I had an opportunity of witnessing it, on December 14, 1848, at about 2 P.M.

Between the river and the city walls, which are a mile distant, dense suburbs extend several miles along the banks. As the hour of flood-tide approached, crowds gathered in the streets running at right angles with the Tsien-tang, but at safe distances. My position was a terrace in front of the *TRI-WAVE* Temple, which afforded a good view of the entire scene. On a sudden, all traffic in the thronged mart was suspended, porters cleared the front street of every description of merchandise, boatmen ceased lading and unlading their vessels, and put out into the middle of the stream, so that a few moments sufficed to give a deserted appearance to the busiest part of one of the busiest cities of Asia. The centre of the river teemed with craft, from small boats to huge barges, including the gay "flower-boats." Loud shouting from the fleet announced the appearance of the flood, which seemed like a glistening white cable, stretched athwart the river at its mouth, as far down as the eye could reach. Its noise, compared by Chinese poets to that of thunder, speedily drowned that of the boatmen; and as it advanced with prodigious velocity,—at the rate, I should judge, of twenty-five miles an hour,—it assumed the appearance of an alabaster wall, or rather of a cataract four or five miles across, and about thirty feet high, moving bodily onward. Soon it reached the advanced guard of the immense assemblage of vessels awaiting its approach. Knowing that the *Bore* of the Hooghly, which scarce deserved mention in connection with the one before me, invariably overturned boats which were not skilfully managed, I could not but feel apprehensive for the lives of the floating multitude: as the foaming wall of water dashed impetuously onwards, they were silenced, all being intently occupied in keeping their prows towards the wave which threatened to submerge every thing afloat; but they all vaulted, as it were, to the summit with perfect safety. The spectacle was of greatest interest when the *Eagre* had passed about one-half way among the craft. On one side they were quietly reposing on the surface of the unruffled stream, while those on the nether portion were pitching and heaving in tumultuous confusion on the flood, others were scaling with the

agility of salmon, the formidable cascade. This grand and exciting scene was but of a moment's duration,—it passed up the river in an instant, but from this point with gradually diminishing force, size, and velocity, until it ceased to be perceptible; which Chinese accounts represent to be eighty miles distant from the city! From ebb to flood tide, the change was almost instantaneous; a slight flood continued after the passage of the wave, but it soon began to ebb. Having lost my memorandum, I am obliged to write from recollection: my impression is, that the fall was about twenty feet; the Chinese say that the rise and fall is sometimes forty feet at Hang-chau. The maximum rise and fall at spring tides is probably at the mouth of the river, or upper part of the bay, where the *Eagre* is hardly discoverable; in the Bay of Fundy, where the tides rush in with amazing velocity, there is at one place a rise of seventy feet; but there the magnificent phenomenon in question does not appear to be known at all. It is not, therefore, where tides attain their greatest rapidity, or maximum rise and fall, that this wave is met with, but where a river and its estuary both present a peculiar configuration.

Dryden's definition of an *Eagre*, appended in a note to the verse about quoted from the *Threnodia Augustalis*, is, "a tide swelling above another tide," which he says he had himself observed in the river Trent. Such, according to Chinese oral accounts, is the character of the Tsien-tang tides,—a wave of considerable height rushes suddenly in from the bay, which is soon followed by one much larger. Other accounts represent three successive waves riding in; hence the name of the temple mentioned, that of the Three Waves. Both here and on the Hooghly, I observed but one wave; my attention, however, was not particularly directed to this feature of the *Eagre*. The term should perhaps be more comprehensive, and express "the instantaneous rise and advance of a tidal wave," the Indian barbarism "*Bore*" should be discarded altogether.

A very short period elapsed between the passage of the *Eagre* and the resumption of traffic: the vessels were soon attached to the shore again, women and children were occupied in gathering articles which the careless or unskilful had lost in the aquatic meleé. The streets were drenched with spray, and a considerable volume of water splashed over the banks into the head of the grand canal, a few feet distant.

The earlier records of the Chinese would seem to indicate that the beauties of nature had failed to make deep impressions on their imaginations; but from a remote period men of letters have portrayed nature with true poetic feeling, and in delineating landscape they have particularly excelled. An object, therefore, of such sublime grandeur as the *Eagre*, occurring frequently at the Athens of China, could not fail to attract the pencil of the literati; it has therefore often been the theme of poetic scholars. No one, not himself capable of clothing the "perception of similitude in dissimilitude," as Wordsworth expresses it, should attempt a version of their artistic effusions; yet an account of this tidal phenomenon would be extremely defective, unless it were presented, to some extent, from a Chinese point of view.

It has been already mentioned, that the Chinese

regard the Eagre as one of the wonders of their world, and that it gave name to the province. As might be expected, therefore, it is blended with their mythology. It is not a little remarkable, however, that it should be popularly ascribed to the spiritual energy of a 神 *shin* (or god,) who lived so recently as five hundred and forty years before our era, or about twenty years before the birth of Confucius. At that period the Tsien-tang was the boundary of two belligerent kingdoms, Wú, and Yueh. Fú Chai, king of the former, incensed against his minister Wú Tsz'si, for opposing the terms of a treaty, submitted by Chung, ambassador of K'ü Tsien, king of Yueh, sent him a sword, with which, understanding his master's will, he committed suicide, by cutting his throat, a method still pursued by sovereigns in China towards officers of distinction who have incurred their displeasure. This incident in ancient history is recorded in the spring and autumn annals of Confucius; but in a work, entitled, "Spring and Autumn Annals of the States of Wú and Yueh," a historical novel, written several hundred years after, a prevailing myth is superadded to the authentic narrative, which the author himself seems to credit, and which to the present day is received as verity.

Wú Tsz'si's corpse, which was thrown into the Tsien-tang, after being carried to and fro by the tide for some time, tunneled a passage through the hills on the Yueh side, as far as the tomb of the quondam ambassador Chung, whose cadaver he took with him to the estuary. Since that period, it is stated Wú Tsz'si has been the god of the Eagre, his periodical indignation being exhibited by its violence; hence the sacrifices and prayers officially presented at appointed seasons to propitiate his anger. Monarchs of almost every dynasty have honoured him with titles, so that they fill half a page of the work in which they are recorded.

Since the apotheosis of the faithful statesman, their penchant for hero-worship has led the people to multiply the tutelary divinities of the tide to a great extent. Thus it has lords many and gods many, in so much so that a Pantheon has been erected at Hai-ning, the Temple of the Tidal gods, in which, besides a central image of Wú Tsz'si, there are fifteen others ranged in rows on either side. Some of the most distinguished of the *shin* have temples dedicated to their special honour, and therefore deserved notice in this sketch.

The Tidal King Temple, is in the country. "Its *shin* (or god) was an officer named Stone," who in 828 A.D., undertook the restoration of a dyke, which an Eagre of unusual violence had overthrown; and failing in the construction of the foundation, drowned himself from chagrin. "He afterwards became a *shin*" (or god,) and three centuries later, on the occasion of a combat between the people and rebels, who were attempting to capture Hang-chau, his name was seen inscribed on a streamer in the darkened sky, where also unearthly noises were heard. The enemy instantly succumbed. Again, a hundred years later, when an extraordinary Eagre destroyed the dykes, occasioning great loss of life and property, the waters retired through prayers and sacrifices to his manes. In consequence of this, a Buddhist

priest was appointed to the charge of his temple, that a regular religious service might be kept up to his honour.

The Temple of Unanimity. "Its *shin* is Luh kwei," a military officer who flourished in the twelfth century. He fell on the field of battle, and "became a god." Not long after, when the dykes were overthrown by a violent tidal wave, his *shin* led soldiers from Hades and forced back the tide. Subsequently, when it returned with greater force, extending to the city walls and flooding the country, he re-appeared accompanied by three damsels bearing streamers. By their united labour, the stones, which had been carried away, were brought back for a foundation. To commemorate these services, the title of Great Mound Earl, was conferred upon him by the Emperor, who also ennobled the fair attendants. The temple has, besides several stone images, those of the three fairies and twelve horary *shin* (or gods,) for alternate officers in the government of the tide.

One more example will suffice: It is of a temple some distance from the city, erected in honour of a tea merchant, who, above seven hundred years ago, devoted a large part of his property to the construction of a dyke, which was overthrown soon after its completion. In despair he cast himself into the swelling wave, which wafted his corpse from place to place; wherever it rested, sand was thrown up, and thus a foundation was provided for another embankment. Posthumous titles were conferred upon him, and a temple erected in which divine honours are paid him.*

* The desire common to man, of being embalmed after death in the memory of the living, is turned to practical account by the shrewd politicians of the Middle Kingdom, who, from a remote period, have been in the habit of rewarding public devotion by conferring posthumous titles. The prospect of being thus honoured has stimulated to many virtuous and patriotic deeds; hence the number of public men in China who are ever ready to sacrifice their lives for the good of the state. Several who perished in the late war have been distinguished in this manner. This method of recognizing public services not only commends itself to utilitarian statesmen for its economy, but as a source of revenue, for besides selling honours to the living, they are disposed of also for large sums to the dead. Grateful for the services of worthies in public or private life, the people occasionally give expression to their feelings, both in the erection of temples to their memory, and by the purchase of posthumous titles. A Mr. Sau, a rice merchant of this city, who, during the prevalence of a famine in the former dynasty contributed generously of his merchandize for the relief of the necessitous, had a temple erected to commemorate his worth by his fellow citizens. Not long since, the mercantile community subscribed several hundred dollars for purchasing for him a title from the Emperor. Thus he received what, in the ecclesiastical parlance of the West, would be denominated canonization; but instead of being called Saint Sau, he has the designation of Marquis of Majestic Virtue, though among the people he is generally known as a *Buash*, the Buddhist and colloquial term for *shin* (or god.) Posthumous titles are far cheaper than those for the living. A distinction, for instance, conferring the privilege of wearing a brass knob on the top of the cap, which costs a hundred dollars or more, can be procured in behalf of a deceased person for eight hundred cash, or little more than half a dollar. The privilege of placing them on the corpse before interment, is neglected by few surviving friends, and the fees thence accruing to the prefectural chancellor of Ningpo, go far towards his support.

Despite the superstitions of the populace, which had the sanction of government, there have been philosophical minds, who, without discarding popular myths, speculate on the natural cause of the phenomenon, and propound theories for its explanation. From a summary of these, contained in the Topography of the Prefecture, the following, having reference also to tides in general, have been selected:—

1st, This theory accounts for the tide, as a consequence of the contracting and expanding of the Spring of Nature.

2d, An enormous Serpent entering into and emerging from oceanic caverns causes their ebb and flow.

3d, The Buddhist theory, which attributes them to the transformations of the Divine Dragon.

4th, In consequence of the Sun rising out of the ocean.

5th, From being influenced by the Milky Way.

6th, From being drawn by the Sun.

7th, From the phases of the Moon. According to Plutarch, Pytheas of Marseilles first ascribed tidal oscillation to this orb.

8th, Pulsation of the Earth's blood—water.

9th, Expansion and contraction of the Atmosphere under the influence of the heavens, which occasion a corresponding rise and fall both of land and water: thus, when the waters flood, the earth ebbs, and *vice versa*; of which landmen are no more conscious, than persons in a boat are of the tides. In confirmation and illustration of this theory, the fact is adduced, of the rise and fall of the pilous surface of the dried skins of certain sea animals simultaneously with the tide! By others, the reciprocal action of the dual powers was referred to, as explaining all tidal phenomena. One, like Pliny, says the sun and moon draw the waters after them.

Some, however, more shrewd than the rest, sought for the cause of the peculiar tides of the Tsien-tang, in the configuration of its embouchure, an idea which is combated by another writer as untenable, because the Ningpo and Chang-ngo river present the same features (which is a mistake,) and have no Eagre. It is owing, says this author, to the greater quantity of water which comes into that river. The learned adhere to one or other of these theories, the populace to that of the serpent, all classes believing that the gods already named are actively concerned in the matter. It should be remembered that until Newton cleared up the subject, very crude notions prevailed respecting it in the West.

Although the inhabitants of this region are the most timid in the empire, there were among them, at one period, many who from mere bravado would plunge into the frightful wave. A proclamation against the custom still exists, from which it appears that many lives have been lost in attempting this exploit. After appealing to that regard which all should entertain for the body inherited from their parents, the document exhorts all good people not to go voluntarily to the dread abode of the Sea Dragon; and admonishes them that their souls, should they perish in this manner, will sink into eternal perdition under the Nine Springs of Hades. "Life has its natural limits, why not await the last day fixed by the decree of Heaven?"

Parents, wife, and children, will be seen gazing from the shore bewailing your fate, and no condolence can be offered them." Condign punishment is threatened against all who should disregard the admonitions.

The geological changes resulting from these great tides are less than might be expected, owing to the degradation of the land by tidal and fluvial action elsewhere. Occasionally the land suffers the loss of considerable portions of soil, but it is speedily replaced by the same power, and is ever extending, by accretion from debris. There have however been some marked physical changes effected within the historic period, by the combined action of the Eagre, and of the two great rivers of China.

Until about the eleventh century, there was a ledge of rocks projecting above the surface of the stream, near Hang-chau city, known as *Losah* rock, a Sanscrit term employed by Buddhists to express *devilish*. Hence that part of the Tsien-tang, taking its name from this obstruction to navigation, was once called the Devilish River. It was large enough to be a place of resort on certain festivals—religious and Thespian. A poet of that period playfully inquires how it happened that the Great Yü, whilst opening the river, omitted to perforate a rock a *le* in length. Finally it yielded to the attack of the fierce Eagre, and gradually disappeared.

A smaller rock measuring only 16 feet high, 14 long, and 6 wide, disappeared 145 B.C. Two years after, it was brought into sight again by the same force which had removed it, when it disappeared altogether.

Kam-pu, once a mart of considerable importance, the port of what, at one period at least, was the metropolis and capital of the empire, mentioned by Marco Polo as an extremely fine port, twenty-five miles from the city, frequented by all the ships that bring merchandize from India is now an insignificant walled village, in consequence of the receding of the sea, and the filling up of the bay. More than fifty miles distant, another city, Cha-pu, has sprung up near the sea, which for a long time to come will be the port of Hang-chau; but the Yellow River and the Yang-tsz' are surely, and not slowly, depositing silt, which will render it in its turn inaccessible.

Chinese ingenuity has long been exerted, but with indifferent success, in preserving their alluvial plain from the wasting action of the Eagre. The earliest mention of dykes is about the commencement of our era, when an Engineer named Tsau undertook the work. Offering a thousand copper cash for every bushel of earth brought for the embankment, he induced labourers to collect in immense numbers, who on being required to bring stones instead of earth, soon disappeared. From this circumstance the work was called Tsien-tang, the *cash* or *money* dyke—a name subsequently applied to the district, and finally to the river, its present designation.

Embankments of earth were generally resorted to, until the middle of the seventh century, when stone was employed; but the frequent inundations which occurred from the tide, shew that the art of constructing dykes was imperfectly understood. The general statistics of the empire ascribe the first erection of dykes to the prince Wü Shuh.

930 A.D., whose court was at Hang-chau. This Viceroy, according to the records of the Sung dynasty, also employed intimidation and cajolery in defending the land from the violence of the Eagre. First he summoned five hundred daring archers, each of whom was provided with six arrows, which they let fly at the aqueous monster as it came swelling onwards; next he made prayers and offerings in the temple of Wú Tsz'-si; and finally, he composed a hymn, which he enclosed in an envelope, together with the key of the dyke water-gate, and addressing it to the gods generally, threw it into the river: forthwith the waters retired. Frequent reference is made to these proceedings in topographical and other works. Perhaps they were performed merely for the amusement of the people, or, if he had any faith in them, he was too sagacious and practical to confide in anything less than dykes, superior and altogether different from those heretofore employed. Bamboo frames were made and sunk on the banks behind a row of piles, and filled with large stones; and on the foundation thus laid, the embankment was built. To the present day no method has been found superior to that of this prince. The contrivance is not unlike that which western engineers have found most effectual in protecting river banks.

This work endured only sixty years; a tide carried much of it away, laying the country under water, and occasioning devastation. An imperially appointed officer, aided by the military, was occupied seven years in vain attempts to construct a permanent embankment. At length he was dismissed, and his successor, by employing the method mentioned above, completed the work in one year. It however was not owing to superior skill or energy that he accomplished it, but to one of those sudden shifts of the loose bed of the estuary, which have given rise to so many superstitions. According to the statement he made to the emperor, who had expressed a desire to know how the work had been so quickly finished, the engineer, after praying to Wú Tsz'-si, had the satisfaction of procuring his aid; for the next day the waters retired, having raised several miles of yellow sand, which enabled him to accomplish the undertaking. Nevertheless disasters, from the washing away of embankments, when a violent storm occurred simultaneously with the Eagre, are recorded during every reign. It was found necessary to have soldiers stationed on its entire length to mark the first point of loosening.

In 1026 A.D., an officer named Tsiang constructed a stone dyke several miles in length, of such excellence and strength, that about seventeen years after the grateful people of Hang-chau erected a temple to him on the embankment.

The emperor Kau-tsung, in 1131, ordered ten iron plates, each weighing above one hundred and thirty pounds, to be employed as charms against the mischievous spirits, in hopes that they would thereby be induced to respect the dykes, which were kept up at so much cost. They were sunk at convenient distances, in front of the embankments; but on the following year, iron charms and stone walls were all carried off, and the loss of life and property was unusually great in consequence. On the following year, the experiment again tried, the monarch himself writing the

charms, according to the forms of the Tautist sect. These iron plates were deposited in chests of choice wood workmanship, and sunk by Tautist priests with great ceremony. The result is not mentioned, but the record goes on detailing numerous repairs following successive disasters.

During the period of the Mongolian reign in China, the destructive action of the tides was remarkable. Kublai, the first emperor of that, (the Yuen) dynasty, caused repairs to be made; but they could not have been effective, as soon after, it is recorded that more than twenty thousand men endeavoured in vain to restore the breaches of a few miles. Disasters occurred every year, and repairs were going on incessantly; at length a Mongolian officer (judging from his name) informed the emperor Tai-ting of the experiment made with Tautist charms; and as his majesty approved of the proposition for repeating them, they were doubtless tried.

Just as the Yuen dynasty was drawing to its close, the reigning emperor called upon the head of the Tautist sect to perform his arts to stay the flood; and on the failure of these, he had two hundred and sixty Buddhist priests engaged in trying the virtue of their ceremonies for the same purpose, and with the same result. At length, after a general consultation among imperial officers, (men who had displayed ability in constructing the Grand Canal,) the whole population was either called out to labour, or required to subscribe funds. Buddhists and Tautist priests, it is stated, were not exempted. Embankments, were accordingly constructed, superior to any which had preceded them; and to commemorate the event of their completion, the name of the city In-kwan, at the upper part of the estuary, was changed to Ning-hai, or the "sea tranquillized."

No extensive repairs were called for until twenty years after, but from that time, the fall and rebuilding of dykes are frequently mentioned. After one of these disasters, an ox was sacrificed to the *shin* of the eastern sea, the repairs at this time required thirteen years' labour, and nearly the whole province was called on to aid in defraying the expense.

A typhoon, in 1578, which lasted three days and nights, caused with the tide extensive losses. Roaring or howling noises are mentioned several times in connection with sea storms; they were peculiarly alarming in that typhoon. Salt-water covered the fields for many miles, drowning many of the inhabitants. In reconstructing the dykes, unusual care was taken to have stones hewn in such a manner as to afford mutual attachment and support: five were laid lengthwise, and on these, five more placed crosswise; the wall was then carried up, the stones, which were five feet two inches long, and one foot eight inches in thickness each way, being placed alternately sideway and endwise towards the stream. Some details are given of the cost of these stones. The quarrying and dressing was three mace of silver, one mace for boat-hire, and seven candareens for portage, —that is, about seventy-five cents for each stone. The dykes which I saw on the Tsién-tang were perpendicular walls; the Chinese, however, are perfectly aware that a slope towards the water gives additional strength to an embankment; a sea wall at one part of the bay near Chin-hai, is

placed a portion of its way at an angle of thirty degrees.

In the reign of Kang-hi in 1665, after a typhoon, like the former of three days' duration, and occurring with an Eagre, the dykes were generally overturned, with much destruction of life and property. In rebuilding them, iron clasps were employed to keep the stones together. This illustrious monarch personally inspected the works, and gave many directions respecting them. During this reign one of those phenomena occurred, which has at different periods in their history struck the people with amazement. Officers and people were bewailing an inroad of the tide which had carried off several miles of country, and were sacrificing to the gods for succour, when another tide suddenly brought the whole back again!

Kang-hi's successor Yung-ching, (1723-36,) endeavoured by the use of huge amulets and numerous religious ceremonies to appease the gods, although he did not neglect the embankments. Finding that five iron oxen which had been placed at different points of the river and estuary were not likely to prove efficacious talismans, he ordered the erection, at his own expense, of a great temple dedicated to the *Hai-shin* or sea gods, in the city of Hai-ning. A stone slab or monument contains the imperial rescript in relation to the structure. "I find," says his majesty, "that the ancient sages sacrificed to the gods of the hills and springs, on account of their power of delivering and succouring men; it is proper therefore to seek their favour. They should be revered and recompensed; men's hearts should be excited to regard them with reverential awe, lest they should gradually presume to slight them. In the second year of this reign, when the dykes were overthrown, I sent officers with funds to examine and restore them. I apprehend that the people in general are wanting in reverence for the *shin ming* [gods], and that they are often wanting in piety; I therefore urge you to decorous and respectful demeanour in everything that regards them, and hereby enjoin on the officers, to impart instruction to each family, in order that all may be aroused and quickened. Of late years the gods have silently vouchsafed protection, enabling the people to repose in safety, and though this year the tides have been very great, threatening general ruin, yet they happily abated without damage to the embankments, entirely in consequence of the mysterious protection which the gods, having regard for us all, have vouchsafed. I therefore make a special gift from the privy purse of one hundred thousand taels of silver [about \$130,000,] for the erection of a sea god Temple, that they may therein be honoured and recompensed. Let the civil and military officers measure off the ground, and engage men to rear a spacious and magnificent edifice, in which to honour, and sacrifice to, the gods, in acknowledgment for their protecting the people and warding off calamities. Its appearance, moreover, will serve to affect to gratitude

those from afar, as well as those who are near, causing them to discard impiety and to become reverential."

In the same spirit the succeeding emperor Kien-lung addressed the people in 1758. Referring to a visit he had made to Hang-chau, when he witnessed the Eagre, he says "Surely the protection which the *shin ming* have vouchsafed the city, [since the repairs of the previous reign] requires the erection of a temple to the gods of the sea, in the capital of the province," and then directs that their power and virtue should be honoured accordingly. On another occasion he devoutly thanks the *shin*,* for the favour experienced, and states that he keeps it constantly in mind.

From the foregoing extracts from native authorities it will be seen, that the people of this part of China are in an analagous position to the Hollanders. The subject of dykes has long occupied their attention, and tasked their energies, —on the Hwáng, to resist fluvial, and on the Tsien-tang, tidal action: volumes have been written on the subject, and a corps of officials are employed specially for observing the wear of embankments.

To give an idea of the expense entailed by the tides of Hang-chau Bay, I have cast up the sums disbursed at different times during the reign of Kien-lung, comprising a period of sixty years (1736-96,) as detailed in the Topography of Hang-chau.

For the embankment in Hang-chau district:—

Tael of Silver.

Contributed by officers,	4,338,064
Appropriations from Imperial Treasury,	942,800
Contributed by the people,	790,526
	6,071,390

or about \$130,000 per annum, but as silver is now 20 per cent dearer than it was in that reign, a corresponding reduction should perhaps be made from this sum. There is a coast line of about 180 miles, extending from Chin-hai to Hang-chau which is not included in the above; also, the shore of the estuary west of Cha-poo, has more or less embankment, to the boundaries of Hang-chau, which requires large outlays. As the greatest force of the tides is experienced on the left, or Hang-chau side of the estuary, it is probable that an expenditure of one-third of the above sufficed to preserve the country from inundation. As the Yellow River is "China's sorrow," so the "difficulty" of Chih-kiang is the Eagre of Tsien-tang.

* 神, *Shin*, is the term adopted by students of Chinese to designate God in this language, conceiving it to be the generic name of the deities of China. Accordingly throughout this paper, *Shin* has been thus translated. It should be added, however, that a majority of the older scholars concur in rederring it by *spirit*, employing the title of *Shang-te* for the chief object of worship,—the *Theos*.

51.

OUR RUSSIAN ADVERSARIES.

WHILE awaiting between the mails the arrival of Russian intelligence more immediately interesting, we lay before our readers some details respecting the military power of the mighty nation at war with us.

The fleet of Russia owes its birth, the army its entire regeneration to Peter the Great. In the days of his father Alexis, 40,000 Strelitz, or sharp-shooters, were the only body properly styled an army in time of peace. Around these, in time of war, might be assembled a feudal array of 260,000 men, with all the faults and inconveniences peculiar to forces so devised. The pretorian insolence of the Strelitz compelled Peter to suppress them in 1698. He accomplished this with the few corps into which he had already introduced foreign officers and a foreign system. These were the nucleus of the army which, 60,000 strong, was well beaten at Narva by 8,000 Swedes in 1700, but which, in 1709, repaid the debt by the victory of Pultawa. Peter raised it to 380,000 men, of which, however, a large portion were irregular in the ordinary sense of the term. Its credit and strength improved as the century advanced, and in 1798 it counted 318,000 regulars besides 60,000 Cossacks: but it is believed that not above 150,000 of these could have crossed the frontier to act on the offensive, even after three months' preparation. In 1839 it stood at about 500,000 exclusive of reserves and Cossack and other tribal contingents. In 1848, we are assured by Haxthausen, that while putting his reserves in motion towards Poland, Nicholas could have marched into Germany and Hungary, 260,000 foot, 70,000 cavalry, 25,000 artillery men and 996 guns, without disturbing one of his garrisons, without detaching any of the Caucasian army, and without recalling a single man absent on furlough! In all that concerns Russia, and especially the Czar Nicholas, the highly respectable authority quoted is such an optimist, that we are constrained, as one of his reviewers puts it, to prefer his facts to his conclusions: still, there is little reason to doubt that the army has added to its strength and efficiency greatly since the accession of Nicholas in 1825. The latter quality is not only due to its experience acquired against worthy enemies, in its Turkish, Polish, and Hungarian campaigns, but also to the personal vigilance and abilities of the late Emperor: a man, so far as we know, not indeed of that sort of sporting enthusiasm which addicts itself to the profession of arms from sheer fondness of danger and excitement; not perhaps with any genius for war: but still, like many a good officer with us whose lot has confined him to camp and garrison, sufficiently in love with the calling to live and die in uniform; gifted, to say the least, with strong military tastes, and zealously devoted to the perfecting of his chief instrument of ambition.

The Russian army as a whole must be divided into two distinct Sections; I. the REGULAR, or Paid Force; and II. the IRREGULAR, drawn from the Cossacks and other tribes, who, although numbers of them serve in the Paid Force, supply the Czar as their Suzerain, with a contingent of men and horses.

The latter is in fact a species of feudal militia or yeomanry amongst whom there is nevertheless a large share of regular organisation. We will dispose of it at once. It is made up of Cossacks of the Dnieper, and of the Don; Crimean Tartars, Bashkirs and Metscheriaks of Perm and Orenburg; and Buriats and Tongouses of Siberia. Of the Cossacks and others there are several regular regiments, troops and companies in the Grand Army. It must be farther observed that there are several irregulars not Cossacks.

Cossacks proper are distinguishable as of the Dnieper or Little Russia and of the Don, or of Great Russia. The first, the original Zaporogues (*za* beyond, *porogi*, the falls) of the Dnieper, distinguished, sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other, in the wars of Turkey, Poland, and Russia, are now undisputing subjects of the latter power, whom they support, as Cossacks of the Black Sea, of Azov, and of the Danube, with the three large bodies of mounted pikemen styled the Irregular Armies of those regions; of the amount of which we have no return.

The Little Russian, or Don, Cossacks are stated to be able to turn out some 90,000 cavalry swordsmen for frontier service. They are formed in regiments of 6 troops of from 120 to 150 men each; the formation of the troop having reference to the civil division of the country: and are distributed as the Armies of the Don, the Danube, the Black Sea, the Caucasus, Uralia, and Astrakhan. They furnish besides a Marine Division on the Sea of Azov, and a corps of cavalry to Siberia, which province has farther some 24,000 infantry militia in its towns, and a frontier force, on the Chinese side, most likely composed of Buriat and Tongouse tribes.

The Cossacks draw no pay except on service. The state gives them artillery and ammunition, but neither horses or men. On the other hand they are exempt, at least the Don Cossacks, from poll-tax and conscription, and have rights of fishing, hunting, sale of salt, brewery, and distillery, not enjoyed by the rest of the Empire. Though reported to be degenerate as compared with their ancestors, their intelligence, activity, and hardihood fit them admirably for outpost duty and pursuit, to the great saving of the regular cavalry, who are thus husbanded for operations on the grand scale.

The REGULARS are again to be distinguished as
1. The Army of Operation, in ten Grand Divisions:

2. The Army of Particular Service in five Grand Divisions:

The ten Divisions of the Army of Operation are one of Guards; one of Grenadiers; six of Infantry (so-called); two of Reserve Cavalry; and one of Reserve Light Cavalry. From a table which we subjoin it will be seen that the Guards, the Grenadiers, and the six Grand Divisions of Infantry, are in effect small armies of 35,000 or 40,000 foot, with a due proportion of cavalry, artillery and engineers. The two Cavalry Reserves are a mixed force of cavalry and artillery; the second composed entirely of dragoons, expected on occasion to do infantry duty. The revival of this latter arm, for some time in disuse, is due to the late Czar.

The five Divisions for Particular Service are

1. The army of the Caucasus.
2. The army of the Interior.
3. The corps of Finland.
4. The corps of Orenburg.
5. The corps of Siberia.

Of these the Caucasian army alone has cavalry, and it, and the Siberian corps, alone have artillery.

Every regular regiment is raised, on the Napoleonic principle, with certain battalions or squadrons, told off as troops of reserve or formation, and certain others always kept on the war establishment, and ready at any moment to take the field. By the way, the fact that the denomination of these latter is *deistovoiushchitschia* must be our apology for adhering to the use of some English terms likely enough to mislead those who are only used to our puny establishments. A regiment, especially, which with us ordinarily means one battalion, in Russia contains from four to six. Cavalry regiments, in our army but of three squadrons, in that of Russia represent from six to eight.

Foremost, for our purpose, stands the Army of Operation, and foremost in this, the Six Grand Divisions of Infantry. Of these in 1848, four lay, to the south-west, in Polish Russia, under Prince Paskiewitch; the 5th to the southeast, towards the Black Sea, ready to support the army of the Caucasus on its left, or to move right, as it did in 1849, upon Transylvania. The Cavalry Reserves occupied the military colonies of Kherson and Kharkov, midway between the chances of war on the Polish frontier, and on, or to the East of, the Black Sea. The Guards and Grenadiers, picked troops, garrisoned St. Petersburg and Novogorod.

The present war has of course materially affected this disposition; and without more active hostility on the side of Austria than that power has as yet seen good to display, and with nothing to hope from a forward movement of the Turks across their own frontier, the Crimea, the left centre of the six Corps of Infantry as above distributed, is likely to become a point of concentration for the whole of those corps, should Sebastopol not be taken before the season has reopened the lines of communication in its rear.

Any great offensive movement in the south of the Empire would always be undertaken by these Grand Divisions; the Guards and Grenadiers, to speak strategically, forming the reserve. In an economic sense the Army of Reserve must be considered quite apart from this. In the

return of the Army of Operation care has been taken not to overstate the strength of any part of that force. It must be observed on the other hand that, as therein detailed, it includes neither recruits nor superannuated soldiers. The term of service in the Russian army is 25* years, but unlimited furlough is granted, at the end of 15, to natives of the Eastern, and at the end of 10 years, to those of the Western Provinces, in a proportion of 50 men to every Infantry battalion of Guards, 150 to all other Infantry (except that of the Army of the Interior), and 10 to every Squadron of cavalry. These *permissionnaires* return to their homes and civil avocations if they please, but may be called out again at any time before the expiry of 25 years from the date of their conscription. Thus, in 1848, 150,000 furloughs were cancelled; 60,000 men being recalled from leave to raise the Army of Operation to its full complement, and 90,000, to complete in like manner the dépôt battalions, duly belonging, in accordance with the original constitution of the regiments, to the Army of Reserve and Instruction. This, as will be seen in Table II, is arranged in two Levies, the first, it is supposed, to be exhausted in replacing the casualties of the Grand Army before recourse is had to the second.

The foregoing data would authorise the conclusion that, when war was declared, last year, the Army of Operation, with the Reserve, counted something like 400,000 good soldiers, and certainly not less than 1,300 pieces of artillery, and this without drawing on the Army of the Caucasus, or on any other of the Grand Divisions on Particular Service. The strength of these latter in 1852 appears to have been as follows:—

	Battalions foot.	Squadrons horses.	Guns.
I. Field Army of the Caucasus	71	11	186
"Regularised Contingents" of Georgians, Black Sea Cossacks & Caucasian Tribes	47	"	"
II. Army of the Interior	52½	"	"
III. Corps of Finland	12	"	"
IV. Corps of Orenburg	10	"	"
V. Corps of Siberia	15	"	12
	207½	11	206

Total some 200,000 men.

To these must be added Reserves and Invalids:—

26,000 reserves of all the above corps			
22,000 veterans of infantry in 552 companies of 40			
13,800 invalids " "	138	"	100
40,000 artillery-men, sappers military artisans &c.	220	"	"

Total some 100,000 men.

We have no evidence that any of these Divisions have been employed against us except that of Orenburg, the name of which occurs more than once in the Russian despatches on the War. The Army of the Caucasus, which is the most prominent, consists of the 19th, 20th, and 21st general divisions, numbering onward from the eighteen contained in the Six Grand Divisions of Infantry. In the same series, the Corps of Fin-

* For the Guards 20 years, and for the troops in the military colonies, 22 years.

land is the 22nd, the Corps of Orenburg the 23rd general division. Of the two latter there is nothing farther to remark. The army of the Interior, either in garrison or cantonnements, is quartered in every part of the Empire, Finland and Caucasia excepted. Its 51½ battalions are distributed in ten sections. Siberia is allotted 2½, which are not to be confounded with the 15 forming the Corps of that vast province, nor with its tribal contingents mentioned in our account of the Irregular Army.

We shall close our notice of the Regulars with some remarks upon its method of recruitment, gentle and simple.

Their Officers are supplied, in part, from the *noblesse*; either volunteering; in which case, after probation in regiments, they are examined for commissions; or educated in one of 28 establishments computed to hold about 10,000 cadets:—and, in part, from the non-commissioned grades; 12 years of irreproachable conduct being the necessary qualification. A noble not serving till he attains the 1st grade (captain?) of military, or 14th class of civil service, forfeits his titles, and is compelled, if he do not sell his serfs, to surrender them to the crown within a given time. For irregularity or indiscipline while serving, he may be degraded to the ranks, without reserve of any privilege of his former status. The children of those whose titles have lapsed by simple non-service may, under certain limitations, regain them by serving.

The soldier, except in a comparatively few cases, as in Georgia, Finland, &c., where enlistment is voluntary, is enrolled by conscription; drawn from the cantonnists, of whom more anon; or condemned to the ranks for punishment.

The Conscript may be taken from any one of the 40 tribes, which, out of the 85 composing the Russian people, are liable to conscription, and sent to any division or turned to any account. There are in all the grand corps regiments or battalions of Fins, Tartars, &c.; but the bulk of recruitment is effected without reference to place of birth or destination.

The base of the levy is the increase of population since the foregoing census of the serfs of the crown or those of the nobility. The latter feel seriously the loss of good men, in a land where labour is scarce; and, in defiance of the ballot to do their best to meet the conscription with the least profitable portion of their human property. The conscript becomes a free man.

In a country so thinly peopled both census and enlistment proceed slowly, and to abridge both, Nicholas, in 1834, divided the whole Empire into a north and south section, and in 1839 into an east and west section. The ordinary levy is about 5 per 1,000 throughout. In 1849 after the campaigns in Hungary, Wallachia, and Transylvania, and excessive suffering from cholera, it rose to 8 per 1,000 in the better peopled provinces of the West, while but 4 per 1,000 were drawn from those in the East. Nicholas has greatly improved the treatment of the new conscript; on his march of from 3 to 18 months' duration to his appointed corps, he is now better fed and clothed than the effective soldier. Exempt from conscription are orphans, the fathers of 3 living children, only sons in families; also certain

classes of the *bourgeoisie*, and natives of many of the tribal districts.

The Cantonnists are the sons of the army in the most liberal sense. Soldiers' marriages are promoted by the state; soldiers' children are devoted to its service except in the cases of exemption already enumerated. The wives of those in the Georgian, Siberian and similar regiments accompany their husbands at the expense of the government, which in return lays claims to the sons born even before enlistment. These military families are lodged by the state, but under a military system which is said seriously to affect morality. In all other instances it is only those who are born subsequently who are reckoned among the cantonnists, and these are in two categories: one, where the son remains at home till he is twenty and then joins the army; another, where he is separated from his parents and brought up for the service by the state. The latter system is admitted to be fraught with much moral evil to the lads.

In 1842, the returns shewed 71,900 over 20 years of age and serving with different corps: this number included none of the feeble or infirm, for whom as unfit for the army, other means of gaining a livelihood are found:—35,450 *élèves* in training; and 185,640, under twenty and still with their families. This total of 292,990 cantonnists includes all the illegitimate sons of soldiers' wives, widows, or daughters. A soldier's wife is free to marry again if her husband is absent 3, or according to some, 5 years: a son born of her within 2 years of his departure is claimed as a cantonnist.

The *élèves* receive an excellent education in the government establishments for the purpose; all which, in common with those for the noble cadets in training for commissions, are under one general department of administration. In 1842, there were 36,000 cantonnist boys, of from 12 to 17 years of age, formed into 25 battalions, 20 squadrons, and 5 batteries.

Lastly, the lower ranks are reinforced by officers degraded, and by civilians guilty of theft, vagabondage and like offences; but these must form a minority of no great magnitude.

The pay of all hands seems to us ridiculously small. A lieutenant-colonel scarcely draws that of a British subaltern; but he and other seniors have, under certain circumstances, an additional allowance; a private soldier receives from 10 to 20 shillings a year! The government give a fair ration of bread and meat, and provide salt at cost price: but salt, vegetables, and all other luxuries have to be purchased by the consumer, who has however a rate-in-aid from the *artel*, a species of mess fund formed in part from stoppages on the pay of non-commissioned officers and men; in part, from certain government grants; and, in part, from the gains of those who, by authority and under favor of government, are employed on works extraordinary. The discharged soldier has also claims on this fund, when he retires.

The conscript is equipped in the first instance by government, but at the charge of his locality, on which a tax is levied for the express purpose. The equipment of the regiment being in the hands of the colonel, was, before the time of Nicholas, common matter of scandal for its imperfection:

but this evil has been much abated of late. The horses of the Regulars are provided by the state at a cost of about £10 a head for the light and £20 for the heavy Calvary. The state also manufactures its own munitions of war, most of the raw material being Russian produce.

The discipline of the army is beyond doubt severe, but the general condition of the Russian soldier, his tastes and habits considered, is certainly not worse than that of his neighbours. The service, on the whole, must be trying, or the man weak, as the average mortality is 3 per cent., and this without much exposure to other climate than his own. The Caucasus costs the country many troops and a fearful number of officers. The excessive loss of the latter is explained by the statement that the Circassians have but little powder to throw away.

Haxthausen, from whose pages most of the above particulars have been collected, is careful to combat the prevailing opinion that a large part of the Russian forces have no existence save on paper. The late Czar's personal supervision of it is his chief ground of belief that, in the Army of Operation at all events, the official returns of Infantry are tolerably accurate. Of those affecting the Artillery he entertains no doubt, and he insists on it that there is no country possessing the same facilities for remounting both Cavalry and Artillery.

Diminish the totals as we may, there will still remain a huge force for active service, and an immense frame-work for the formation and instruction of reserves; and, without speedy and complete success on our side, we must find hope for the early termination of the war in other causes than the deficiency of trained soldiers in the ranks of Russia.

In the opinion of General Chrzanowski (pronounced Shanowski), such is its unsoundness within, that three years of unsuccessful war would break the Empire up. This officer served in the Polish artillery in Napoleon's Russian expedition; after the peace, in the army of his country till 1825, when with about 100 other Poles he was transferred to that of Russia. He then acted on the Staff of Wittgenstein and Diebitsch, accompanying the latter in his Balkan Campaign of 1828-9. In 1830 he rebelled with his countrymen against Russia, and was afterwards attached for Anti-Russian purposes to the British Embassy at Constantinople. There can be no better informed authority on

the affairs of Russia, and according to him the civil and religious antipathy of all her other provinces to the inhabitants of Great Russia, and the discontent of these latter themselves, doom the Empire to certain destruction unless she prove superior to her foreign foes.

Of the 70 millions of people in the Empire the Great Russians amount to no more than 20 millions. These are said to form the best infantry; the Little Russians the best cavalry; but, except Poles, Tartars, and Cossacks all the regulars are eminently peace-loving by nature and averse to the profession of war. The Great Russians, says Chrzanowski, are proud, vain, ambitious, bold, unscrupulous, and self-devoted; seeking to absorb all the other races by a system of centralization, and detested accordingly. Two thirds of themselves are exposed to persecution as Dissenters; the clergy are aggrieved generally at the conscription of their sons, exempt from it before the reign of Nicholas; the middle classes would free themselves from the yoke of the government agents: the aristocracy from that of the Emperor. The Little Russians farther abominate his Majesty as Anti-Christ for his assumption of the ecclesiastical supremacy assigned by them to the Patriarch of Constantinople; the said supremacy, be it observed, being also denied to the Emperor by three fourths of his subjects. Finally, the Cossacks, who are almost all heterodox, are very disaffected.

These opinions are more trustworthy than those of Haxthausen who was but a short time in the country, and who, seeing every thing with Imperial eyes, assures us of the great unity of the nation as a civil and religious community under its one common head and father, the Czar. Still it must be remembered that Chrzanowski is a Pole, and, as such, one ceasing not to hope that the hour is at hand when his own and other races, now bent by the superior will of Russia, may reassert each one its nationality. We may accept with less caution an important opinion of the gallant Pole respecting two of our new allies. The Austrian army, he says, is officered by men unmistakeably gentlemen; an advantage Englishmen will appreciate. The Turks properly officered would make soldiers only second to the French and English. Success then to General Vyvyan and his Turkish Legion!

(See Tables I. and II.)

I.—Table showing the organisation and probable effective strength of the Russian ARMY of OPERATION in 1848.

CORPS D'ARMEE OR GRAND DIVISIONS.	INFANTRY.					CAVALRY.					ARTILLERY.							ENGINEERS.														
	Divisions.			Brigades.		Regiments.		Squadrons.			Non-commissioned Officers and Men.		Divisions.		Brigades.		Battalions.		Non-commissioned Officers and Men.		Foot.		Horse.		Total Guns.		Battalions.		Sappers.		Horse.	
	Divisions.	Brigades.	Regiments.	Regular Horse.	Irregular Horse.	Non-commissioned Officers and Men.	Divisions.	Brigades.	Regiments.	Regular Horse.	Irregular Horse.	Non-commissioned Officers and Men.	Divisions.	Brigades.	Battalions.	Non-commissioned Officers and Men.	Heavy Guns.	Light Guns.	Heavy Guns.	Light Guns.	Heavy Guns.	Light Guns.	Heavy Guns.	Light Guns.	Heavy Guns.	Light Guns.	Heavy Guns.	Light Guns.	Heavy Guns.	Light Guns.		
1 THE GUARDS	3	6	12	37	26,000	3	6	12	60	174	11,550	1	5	15	3,000	48	24	8	36	116	1	2	000									
1 THE GRENADIERS	3	6	12	37	26,000	1	2	4	32	—	4,800	1	4	14	2,800	48	24	—	16	83	1	—	000									
6 THE INFANTRY OR LINE ..	18	36	72	294	136,000	6	12	24	192	—	28,800	6	24	84	16,800	192	384	—	96	672	6	—	000									
1 FIRST CAVALRY RESERVE	—	—	—	—	—	3	6	12	80	—	12,000	1	—	6	1,600	—	—	16	32	48	—	—	000									
1 SECOND CAVALRY RESERVE	—	—	—	—	—	2	4	8	80	—	12,000	1	—	6	1,600	—	—	16	32	48	—	2	000									
1 LIGHT CAVALRY RESERVE	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	4	24	—	3,000	1	—	3	600	—	—	—	24	24	—	—	000									
	24	48	96	368	208,000	16	32	64	468	174	72,500	11	33	128	23,600	288	433	40	236	996	8	4	000									

II.—*Reserve of the ARMY of OPERATION, in two Levies.*

N.B.—There are battalions of grenadiers in the Grand Division of Guards; of grenadiers and carabineers in that of Grenadiers; and chasseurs both in the Guards and Infantry Grand Divisions.—

—First Levy—		—Second Levy—	
INFANTRY—	9 Battalions grenadiers. 3 " carabineers. 86 " Infantry of the Line. 36 " chasseurs.	12 Battalions guards. 12 " grenadiers and carabineers. 72 " line and chasseurs.	
CAVALRY—	52 Squadrons.	62 Squadrons.	
ARTILLERY—	24 Batteries (foot). 24 Batteries (horse).	24 Batteries (foot). 11 " (horse).	
ENGINEERS—	98,000 men. Total—(Haxthausen)—	115,000 men. 280 guns.	

RELATION OF BUDDHISM TO THE OLDER HINDOO MYTHOLOGY.

Following the guidance of the Buddhist books, the existence of the Vedas and their mythology at least five or six centuries before the Christian era must be regarded as an established fact. Religious divisions had then already arisen in the social life of the Hindoos, and numerous adherents of all castes were joining the newly raised standard of Buddhism. Colonel Sykes and others have maintained the hypothesis that Buddhism was the original religion of Hindostan, and that the Vedas with their religion, the four castes, and the Sanscrit language itself, were all invented at a later date by the Brahmans. This conjecture has little to support it from any source of evidence, and is perfectly untenable when recourse is had for information to the Buddhist books. From them it is clear that the Brahmanas were in antagonism with the system of Shakyamuni from the first, that the four Vedas were already venerated as the sacred books of the nation, and that the truth of their mythology was not denied by the founder of Buddhism or his followers. So far from opposing the popular belief in such beings as Indra and Yama, the Asuras, Devas and Gandharvas, they are included in the mythological *personnel* of the new religion, and these names have thus become known from Japan to Persia, and from Java to the Altai mountains. No mythology perhaps has ever spread so far as the Hindoo, forming as it does a part of the people's religion in all Buddhist countries, as well as in its mother land.

An account of the opening scene of the *Saddharma pundarika*, or *Lotus of the good law* in Chinese *Fa-hwa-king*, will shew the place assigned in the Suttas of "the great development" class, to these fictitious beings. The Sanscrit names in most instances are taken from Burnouf's translation of the Nepalese original.

"Thus have I heard. On a time Buddha was residing at the city Radjagriha (wang she, 王舍), on the mountain Gridhrakuta, with 2,000 Bikshus all of them Arhans." Here follow the names of many of Buddha's disciples. "There were also 2,000 more, some having knowledge and some having none. Ma-ha-pa-ja-pa-ti (摩訶波闍波提 Mahâpradjâpati) came with female disciples and their followers, in all 6,000." "Of Bodhisattwas, 80,000 also came." "Their names are Mandusiri, Kwan-shi yin, &c."

"There came also Shak-de-wan-yin, (釋提桓因 Shakra, the Indra of the Dêvas), with a retinue of 20,000 sons of Dêvas (天子).

There were also the sons of the Dêvas Chandra, Samantagandha, and Ratnaprabha. Besides these, there were the four great kings of the Dêvas, (Mahârâdja), with a suite of 10,000 sons of Dêvas. Then there were the son of the Dêva Ishwara (自在天), and of the Dêva Mahêshwara (大自在天), and their retinue of 30,000 sons of Dêvas. The lord of the universe Saba (Saha), the king of the Brahmâ heaven (梵天王) also came, with the two great Brahmâs Shikhin, and Djyôtiṣṭhprabha, and their retinue of 20,000. There were also eight dragon kings (Nagarâdja), with their retinues, four kings of the Kiṇnaras, four of the Gandharvas, four of the Asuras and four of the Garudas. The son of Wafdêhi, 韋提希, Adjatashatru, 阿闍世, king of Magadha (Behar,) (and father of Ashoka) with a suite of many thousands was also there."

These constitute Buddha's audience while he delivers the instructions contained in this Sutra. Most of the names, the descriptive passages, and many notices of the retinues of the kings are omitted for brevity. The whole account however in the Chinese version, is one third shorter than in that of the French translator, who has followed the Sanscrit text. Kumaradîva did not scruple to pare off the redundancies of this and other works that he translated, which is perhaps one reason of their permanent popularity.

Two of the principal Hindoo divinities occur in this extract, Shakra and Brahma. The latter is the first in the well known triumvirate of gods, Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva, or the creator, preserver and destroyer. Here he occupies a humbler position, being merely the disciple of Buddha. Shakra or Indra is met with in Buddhist legends more frequently than Brahma. In some Chinese temples, their images are said to form a pair among the auditors of Shakyamuni. The Buddhist compilation, *Fa quan chu lin*, contains an extract from the Central Agama Sutra, where several

names by which Shakra is commonly known are explained. Indra, his most frequent appellation, is a term of office, lord or ruler, and as such is translated into Chinese by *ti* or *chu*. It is often applied to others of the chief Devas or gods with distinctive names. Two other Brahmas will be observed to accompany the chief Brahma.

The word Ishwara rendered by *t'ui tsai*, *self-existent*, is the term used by missionaries in India for God, in the Christian sense. Mr. Wenger's letter, inserted in Dr. Legge's "Notions of the Chinese on God and Spirits," says that this term is applied to Shiva and Vishnu as a title of authority. "But should any other of the innumerable *devatas* be called Ishwara, it would be an unusual thing, and call for something like an explanation." In the Buddhist passage cited above the term is applied as a distinctive name to two of these *devatas*, indicating a difference in the Brahmanical and Buddhist use of the word. The commentator on the Fan wang Sutra identifies the great Ishwara with Brahma, but this is not authorized by the text and disagrees with common usage which makes them different personages. He adds, "In the whole universe, there is but one king, and this is he." According to the Chinese rendering "self-existent," the term Ishwara strongly resembles the Hebrew name Jehovah.

The four Mahārādjas, or great kings of the Dēvas, preside each over one of the four continents into which the Hindoos divide the world. Visitors in Chinese temples will have noticed two warlike images on each side just within the entering door. They are the Dēvas here alluded to. Each leads an army of spiritual beings to protect mankind. At the head of the Gaudharvas and Vaishnavas is Dhritarāshtra, for the eastern continent. The inhabitants of the south, Djambudwipa. 閼浮提, are protected by Virudhaka with an army of Kubāndas. In the west Virupaksha commands an army of dragons (Nagas) and Putanas. In the north Vaishravana is at the head of the Yakshas and Rakshasas.

The names of various classes of mythological beings are sometimes translated and at other times transferred in Chinese Buddhist works. The Nagas from their form, are rendered by the word *lung*, dragon. The Apsaras are called *t'ian nü* or female Devas. The Dēvas, including all the Hindoo gods that are mentioned whether great or small, are called *t'ian* (heaven). The Kinnaras,

緊那羅, are celestial choristers looking like horses with horned heads. The Gandharvas, 乾闥婆, are also musicians who play and sing for the amusement of the Devas. The Asuras,

阿脩羅, are beings of gigantic size, dwelling in solitary woods and mountain hollows. They make war with the Dēvas and are connected with eclipses (v. Hardy's Manual of Buddhism).

The Garudas, 迦樓羅, are golden winged birds who are large enough to devour the Nagas. Beings inferior to the Dēvas are called collectively, the eight classes (*pa pu*).

It will be observed that all these beings, including the most venerated and powerful of the gods, are introduced as disciples of Buddha. The combination of ascetic eminence and profound philosophy in Shakyamuni raise him to a position higher than any of them. Beings of every rank in earth or heaven confess their inferiority to the human Buddha by becoming his humble and attentive auditors.

Farther on in the same work other names occur. The Yaksha's 夜叉 are a species of demons living in the earth and waters, often represented as malignant in their disposition towards man. The Mahōragas 摩睺羅伽 are the genii of the large serpent called in Chinese the Mang snake. The Rakshasas 羅刹 resemble the Yakshas, but they have not the power like them to assume any shape at pleasure. When they appear to men, it must be in their own form. They live in the forest of Himāla, and feed on the flesh of the dead, (v. Hardy's Manual of Buddhism.) The Brahmas (*fan*, formerly *Bam* or *Yam*) are the inhabitants of the heaven called *Brahma loka* (*fan t'ian*) over which *fan t'ian wang*, (Mahabrahma) or the chief Brahman presides. The Prētas in Chinese *kwei* "demon," are the inhabitants of the *narakas* or subterranean and other prisons called *ti yuh*, "hell." Many of them formerly belonged to the world of men. Some are condemned by Yama to certain prisons. Others haunt the graves where their former bodies are interred. The Prētas hunger for food, hence the custom so prevalent in China of feeding the ghosts of relatives. The Māras 魔 are enemies

of Buddha's doctrine. On this account they are considered as demons, although they inhabit one of the *lokas* or heavens of the Hindoo cosmogony. The king of the Maras (Mo kwei) is called *Po siin* and *Mo (Ma) wang*. The word *Mara* is explained "he who kills," also "the culprit." The *kwei* are in some instances of a good disposition. Among such are reckoned, as a Buddhist work quoted in the *Fa guan chu lin* informs us, the *shin* or genii of mountains, seas, and other natural objects. The word *shin* is also used generically for the eight classes of beings before mentioned, from the dragons downwards, and is very frequently employed by the Buddhists for the soul of man, perhaps more than in any other sense. The early Buddhist apologists in pleading for the immortality of the soul as a part of the doctrine of metempsychosis constantly used *shin* for soul.

The king of the *kwei* or demons is Yama, in Hindoo mythology, the ruler of the dead. From his office as judge of future punishments his name constantly occurs in the conversation of the common people in China. He is called *Yan-mo-lo-she* (formerly *Djam-ma-la-ja*), which is abbreviated to *Yan-lo*. The usual Hindoo name may be recognized in *Yan-ma* and *Yam-ma* which are other designations applied to him in Chinese books. *Djam-ma-radja* means the royal pair, a brother and sister, who judge men and women respectively. Associated with *Yan-lo* are nine

kings who preside together over the state of the dead. His image is placed with theirs in temples, accompanied with various representations suited to remind the spectator of the world of torment. In the *Ti tsang Sutra* he is described as coming from the iron mountain wall, where the Buddhist hell is situated, to the Tau li heaven to hear Shakyamuni Buddha deliver a Sutra there. He is classed among the sons of Devas, and is attended by many thousand kings of demons. He may be pointed to as the most remarkable example of the influence of Hindoo mythology on the popular mind of China. The common people all expect to meet *Yan lo wang* (Yama) after death and be judged by him with the strictest impartiality. They believe that he fixes the hour of dissolution, and that the decision once made nothing can alter or postpone it.

These various beings when in the Sutras they appear before Buddha, perform to him an act of worship, and ask for instruction like any other of his auditors. Their power is great, but it is far passed by that of Buddha, and it is all employed to extend his fame and doctrines. Their authority as rulers of the world is still recognized, but Buddhism by a simple stretch of the imagination makes a universe a thousand times as large to form the kingdom of Buddha. They promote virtue and the Buddhist religion. For this they live and rule. The very highest acts of deity, such as the creation of all things, or in the language of idealism the causation of all sensational phenomena, are denied them. The central Shastra (*Chung lun*) sets out with proving that creation was not the act of the great self-existent god (*Ishwara Deva*), nor of the god Vishnu (*Venu Deva* also written *Ve-shi-nu*); nor did concourse and commixture, or time, or the nature of things, or change, or necessity, or minute atoms, cause the creation of the universe. In the Buddhist view, these deities are also subject to death, and men by certain virtuous acts which are specified, may be born at some future period to become their successors.

Buddhism while it thus aimed to find some

intelligence and power higher than those of the popular divinities, failed to perceive that the creation and government of the universe are united in one all-wise eternal mind. It looked no farther than the wisdom of a human sage, and the innate goodness and self-elevating power of the human mind. It gives to the wise man, the honour that is due only to God.

In forming an estimate of the extent to which the older Hindoo mythology has been spread in China, it should be remembered that the Tauists have copied from the Buddhist books in the most slavish manner. Some names are new, but the majority are adopted without alteration. Brahmas, Devas, Asuras and Maras figure in the writings of this native sect. The prayer-books used in chanting by the Tauist priests are from beginning to end an imitation of the Buddhist Sutras. By the combined influence of these two religions, the Hindoo view of the universe, with its numerous classes of beings higher than and inferior to man, and its multiplicity of worlds some for happiness and others for torment, has become the common belief of the Chinese people.

Other Hindoo gods such as Shiva and Durga, Rama and Krishna, do not occur, unless concealed under names which closer examination may decypher. The rise of their worship in India was at too recent a date, to allow of their being introduced into the early Buddhist literature. The unexampled viciousness of the recent Hindoo worship, would also be an insuperable bar to its adoption in China. In the Buddhist books of China, there is abundance of what is puerile, superstitious and incredibly but nothing openly opposed to good morality. In such a country only what is decorous in the images and worship of any sect could be tolerated.

Since neither Vishnu nor Shiva occur among the auditors of Buddha, on occasions when all the chief persons in the universe are present, it must be supposed that the extended popular worship of both these well-known deities, was subsequent to the time when the Buddhist books were written, and within the Christian era.

THE BUDDHIST UNIVERSE.

The universe according to the Buddhists is in a constant state of change. The periods in which its changes take place are called Kalpas, (*Kih-po* or *Kih*.) Eighty small Kalpas make one large Kalpa. The inhabitants of the Brahma heaven live through 20 small Kalpas, and their chief Mahabrahma through 60. Kalpas are divided into the small Kalpa, the Kalpa of establishment and destruction and the great Kalpa. In the small Kalpa, the age of mankind diminishes from an immeasurable length to ten years, and then increases from ten to eighty thousand years. In twenty of such periods the world is completed. Through twenty more it remains in the same state. After twenty more the world is destroyed, and there remains nothing but vacancy during twenty more. The first forty mean Kalpas make up the Kalpa of establishment. The other forty compose that of destruction. All of them taken together form a great Kalpa. We live in the second intermediate Kalpa, or that in which the world continues in its completed state, in a period called the *hian kalpa* or age of wise men (Mahabhadra-kalpa). There are still eleven small kalpas to be passed before the age of destruction commences. During the eighth kalpa (Mandukalpa) immediately preceding the present, a hundred Buddhas successively appeared. Shakyamuni is the fourth Buddha of the Mahabhadra-kalpa. In his time the age of man had already gradually diminished to 100 years, and the same process of gradual subtraction by one year at a time is still going on. In the centre of the Saha world, or that ruled by Shakyamuni, is the Sumeru mountain. A wide sea separates this from eight other mountains. Outside these mountains beyond another wide sea, is a great circular mountain mass of iron. A thousand such circular iron mountain chains constitute one small world, (*siau ts'ian shi kiai*). Three thousand such walls form a great world (*ta ts'ian shi kiai*). This is the Saha world.

Within each iron wall are four continents, and a sun and moon to shine upon them. It is in the southernmost of these continents, Djambudwipa in the case of our own world, that India and all countries known to the Hindoos are situated. Far to the north is the Sumeru mountain, 1,120,000 miles high, and whose depth in the sea is equally great. It is composed of gold on its east side, of lapis lazuli (*lieu li*, or spelt in full according to the old pronunciation, *be-lu-li* and *be-du-li*, in Sanscrit *vaiduria**) on the south, of crystal (*p'oli* glass, in Sanscrit *sp'atika*) on the north, and silver on the west.

Travelling south from Djambudwipa across the

* The d and t in these two Sanscrit words are the cerebral d and t, usually printed with a dot under them. They approach the sound of l. The Buddhist dictionary *Yih ts'ie king yin i* says that the word *p'o li* is in its full Sanscrit form *sa-p'a-ti-ka*. In K'ang hi we are told, the Roman empire has glass of five colours *ta ts'ien yau tsu shi p'o li*. In Buddhist books it means rock crystal. Why the aspirate is not preserved in the common colloquial term *po li*, glass, is not clear.

southern ocean, there are 360,663 *yojanas*† (*yeu siün*) to the circular mountain mass of iron. This mountain's depth in the sea is 312 *yojanas*, and its height above the same. Its circumference is 3,610,350 *yojanas*. Each iron-bound world has a Sumeru mountain in its centre. Supposing the world to be under the eternal law of change sketched above, Buddhist authorities give no account of its first origin, not feeling the need of a doctrine of creation. The physical causes engaged in its periodical formation and destruction are Water, Wind and Fire. These are three of the four elements *ti, shui, ho, fung*, earth, water, fire, and air, which are supposed to form the basis of all things. They are perhaps to be taken in the sense of elemental causes, rather than elemental atoms.

Over and under this world of mountains, seas and continents, are two others, heaven and hell. Of celestial regions there are thirty-two, inhabited by the divinities of the older Hindoo mythology. For the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, peculiar to Buddhism, other abodes are found. Among the thirty-two heavenly regions, ten are called worlds of desire, including among others, the heaven of the sun and moon, the heaven of the four kings of Devas, and the heaven of the thirty-three, or paradise of Indra Shakra, who has under him thirty-three powerful devas. There are also the Yama paradise, the Tushita paradise, the Nimala paradise (*hwa loh*) and the paradise of Paranimita (*ts' hwa tsai tsai*).

At the base of the Sumeru mountain reside Shins and Yakshas. Half way up the mountain is the paradise of the four kings of Devas. On the summit is the *Tau li* or *Trayastrinsha* (thirty-three) heaven i.e. the paradise of Shakra, king of the gods. The rest of these celestial abodes are fixed in vacancy, each as high again as the one beneath it.

The next tier of these paradisiacal regions consists of eighteen. They are called heavens of form, denoting that the senses are still in activity there though there is freedom from that influence of the passions which is still felt in the regions of desire near the world of men. The eighteen heavens of form are divided into stages of contemplation. Three belong to the 1st, 2d and 3d stages, and nine to the fourth. The first stage is appropriated to the Brahmas, divided into three classes, the (Mahabrahma or) king, officers of state, and people. Each of these classes has a paradise assigned to it. The heavens above these have various names compounded of the ideas of purity, light, virtue, abstraction and tranquillity. In the highest of them all *Akanit'a*, resides *Mahishwara* or *Ma-he-shu-la*.

The uppermost tier of four, "formless" as they are called, derive their names from the notions,

† There are two kinds of *yojana*. One consists of four *Goshalas*, the other of eight. A *Goshala* is the distance at which the bellowing of a bull can be heard, or nearly two miles.

of vacancy, knowledge, destitution of all properties, and negation of all thought.

Of these 32 heavens five are inhabited only by sages, twenty-five by sages and common men together, and two by common men alone. One of the latter is the paradise of Mahabrahma. A wise man can never be born in the abode of Brahma, say the Buddhist cosmogonists, because that deity, in his ignorance of causes, asserts that he can create heaven, earth, and all things. He being so arrogant as this, no wise man would go to live in his heaven. The other is the paradise of abstraction, where those heretics who disbelieve in the Nirvana, but aim to gain a state of perfect mental abstraction, will hereafter be born. They will there enjoy 500 years of freedom from the sufferings of life in a state of mindless vacancy, but since they will not tread the path of the Nirvana, evil desires must afterwards arise and they must be born subsequently in hell. No wise man therefore would willingly go to that heaven.

One of the higher worlds is assigned for the residence of those disciples of Buddha who have attained the rank of Anagamins and Lohans. Those who are shortly to become Buddha are first born into the Tushita paradise.

Mara, king of the demons, (Mo kwei) resides in the space below the Brahma heaven.

These heavens are peopled by Devas. Men from the four continents of our own world may be born into them by transmigration into the body of a deva. The devas are born and die, their bodies are of great stature, they wear clothing, have horses and elephants to ride upon, marry, eat and drink and perform many other actions resembling mankind. Above the worlds of desire there is no distinction of sexes.

To become an inhabitant of these worlds is regarded as a reward for good actions for those who have lived previously in lower states of existence. But it is still a punishment when viewed in comparison with the attainment of Nirvana or any of the higher grades of discipleship under the teaching of Buddha.

The Buddhist hells (in Sanscrit Niliya or Naraka), the prisons of the lost, are in some cases situated under the region inhabited by man. Twenty thousand yojanas (280,000 miles) below the Djambu continent is one called the Avichi Naraka or the hell of "unintermitted" torments. The Yama Naraka is half way between. Others are among fabled mountains, or on the shores of a great sea. In Chinese books they are called by a common name *ti yuh*, earth-prisons.

In the *Ti tsang Sutra* is a story of a maiden of the Brahman caste, whose mother had been condemned to the *Wu kien ti yuh*, or Avichi naraka. Full of distress she went to a temple to pray for help from an ancient Buddha whose image was there adored. In reply to her offerings and prayers, a voice addressed her, that of the Buddha represented by the image. She was told to sit at home and meditate on the name of the same Buddha. While doing so she fell, after a day thus spent, into a state of deep reverie, and found herself on the banks of an ocean. Here she saw many beasts of prey with iron bodies, flying and walking on the sea. Multitudes of unhappy men and women were also swimming there, and were constantly bitten by these ferocious animals. The maiden supported

by the power of Buddha did not feel terrified. A demon king addressed her kindly, and informed her that she was come to the great iron mountain girdle that surrounds the world. I have heard, said the maiden, that hell is here. How can I reach it? *Ans.* Only by spiritual power, and of merit self-acquired. *Qu.* And who are these unhappy criminals suffering in this sea? *Ans.* They are the wicked inhabitants of the Djambu continent, who have recently died. After 45 days, if no one performs any meritorious act for their benefit, they must first be transported to this place. Eastward are two other seas of misery (K'u hai) where the punishment inflicted is still greater. *Qu.* But where is hell? *Ans.* Within these three seas, there are many thousand prisons, but of the larger kind only eighteen. *Qu.* My mother died not long since. Where now is her soul? The goodhearted demon king answered this question by another. *Qu.* Oh Bodhisattwa, what sort of life did your mother formerly lead? *Ans.* My mother held heretical opinions. She ridiculed and slandered the three treasures, (Buddha, the law, and the priesthood). If she became a believer for a time, she soon ceased to honour them. *Qu.* What was her name? *Ans.* My father and mother were both of the Brahman caste. Their names were Shira and Yetili. The demon king holding up his joined hands respectfully to the Bodhisattwa, said, Holy maiden return. Dismiss all sad thoughts. It is now three days since the sinful Yetili was born an inhabitant of paradise. The filial love that prompted such acts to save a parent, and such piety towards an ancient Buddha are sufficient not only to preserve a mother from hell, but also to raise innumerable other persons to heaven. The Brahman maiden then returned to consciousness as from a dream. Reflecting on what had happened, she visited again the shrine of the ancient Buddha, and made a vow that through innumerable coming Kalpas she would perform acts of merit for the deliverance from suffering of multitudes of living beings. Shakyamuni Buddha added, addressing Manduasiri, that demon king and Brahman maiden have now become the T'sai sheu Bodhisattwa and the Ti tsang Bodhisattwa.

This story must serve instead of a detailed description of the Buddhist hells. It will be sufficient to say of them, that they combine all that is horrible to each of the senses. Every form of torment, mental and physical, that can befall the unhappy violators of a good conscience and of the Buddhist law, are found there. The extremes of cold and heat, cutting, flaying, biting, insulting, tantalizing have to be endured by such persons according to their deserts. Demons of the most monstrous shapes and most cruel dispositions terrify them, in every possible way. All that fire and water, knives and clubs, can by ingenuity be made to do in tormenting, is there done.

The preceding brief sketch of the three worlds (*san kiai*), almost all refers to what is common to the other native Hindoo sects. Buddhism adopted the national belief in regard to the form of the universe, including the worlds of reward and punishment. It belongs to all forms of Buddhism in China or elsewhere.

The northern Buddhists have however gone farther and framed a much more extensive cosmogony, which deserves a separate consideration.

THE EXTENDED UNIVERSE OF THE NORTHERN BUDDHISTS.

About four centuries after the time of Shakya-muni, or Gautama as he is more commonly called in Birmah and Ceylon, a great increase to the Sanscrit literature of the Buddhist religion began to be made. Very little had been added to the national mythology by the founder and first propagators of this system, except what respected Buddha himself. Their aim was to inculcate virtue, encourage the ascetic life, and urge persons of all castes and both sexes to aim at deliverance from the evils of existence and the attainment of the Nirvana. They based their teaching on the existing doctrine of metempsychosis, of the gods and other classes of beings, and of heaven and hell. These had been united from the earliest infancy of the Hindoo nation in one system. By the transmigration of souls, all in heaven or earth, whether gods, men, demons or inferior animals are linked together into one chain of animated existence, and compose one world. It is the business of a Buddha and a Bodhisattawa to instruct these beings in moral truths, and assist them to escape from all the six forms of life, into a state of perfect enlightenment, and tranquillity. The mythological element as it existed in early Buddhism was even then an old creation of the popular mind, that had grown up with the first literary efforts of the nation. In this respect it agrees with most other mythologies, originating not in philosophical schools but among the people themselves.

To this was added a legendary element. Long tales were invented to illustrate the great merits and powers of Buddha. Free use was made in these narratives of those vast periods of time, into which the Hindoos divide the past history of the world. The biography of the great sage was extended by attributing to him numberless previous lives. The manner in which, from small beginnings, he rose by self-sacrificing and meritorious acts to be lord of the world and teacher of gods and men (*t'ian jin si*), is minutely recorded. But the scene is not extended in any other way. New worlds are not invented in far distant space. The writers of these legends, while they represent their hero as visiting the celestial regions to instruct their inhabitants, or as becoming by transmigration an inhabitant of those paradisiacal residences for long terms of years, do not transgress the limits of the popular Hindoo universe.

The northern Buddhists however about the beginning of the Christian era pushed the bounds of their system much farther. Men appeared at that time in northern India, devoted to metaphysical discussion, who aimed to develop to the utmost the principles of Buddhism.* In adding

to the number of Buddhas and Bodhisattwas, they felt it necessary to frame new worlds to serve as suitable abodes for them. With their peculiar philosophy it was easy to do this. Not believing in the existence of the world of the senses, there was no more difficulty in admitting to their system an unlimited number of fictitious worlds and fictitious Buddhas, than in continuing to recognize the universe of their predecessors. They named their system Mahayana, *ta ch'eng* or great development. Among these teachers the leading mind was Lung shu, or Nagardjuna as he is called by the Tibetans. Cooma Körösi, cited in Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, says, "With Nagardjuna originated what is known in Tibet as the *Madhyamika* system in philosophy. The philosophers in India had taught, either a perpetual duration, or a total annihilation, with respect to the soul. He chose a middle way; hence the name of this sect." The Chinese Central Shastra (*Chung lun*) which bears his name as the author no doubt contains this system, and his opinions may therefore be regarded as nearly those of the *T'ian t'ai* school, whose doctrine is based on that work, and of which Lung shu is consequently regarded as the first founder.

This circumstance throws light on the objects of Lung-shu in composing the Sutras of which he was the author. For this school gives a symbolical interpretation to the mythology of the Buddhist books. The very popular and influential Sutra called *Hwa yan king*, came from the pen of Lung shu. The Chinese preface to that work, says that Lung-shu-p'u-sa, having exhausted the study of all human literature, entered the Dragon palace to examine the Buddhist *pitaka* (*sau ts'ang*). He there found three forms of the *Hwa yan king*. The largest was divided into sections whose number is expressed by the particles contained in a world of dust. The next consisted of 1,200 sections, and the smallest of 48 sections. The last and least he gave to the world with its present title, and he must therefore be regarded as its author.

This and other works of the "great development" class, contain a great extension of the mythological element of Buddhism. Many new Buddhas and Bodhisattwas here appear, distinguished by various high attributes of goodness, knowledge and magical power. To afford room for the display of these attributes new worlds are located at pleasure in the boundless regions of space. But the whole of this imaginative creation was probably intended by the authors to be symbolical. According to the explanation of the *T'ian t'ai* school, and of the esoteric Buddhists, the whole of this fictitious universe was meant to illustrate certain Buddhist dogmas. It was the extreme scepticism of the Buddhist philosophers that paved their way to this mode of teaching their

* F. Burnouf's account of the third Buddhist council held in Cashmere, in his Introduction to the History of Indian Buddhism.

system. In the T'ian t'ai commentary on the Fa hwa king the symbolical method of interpreting this mythological creation of the fancy may be seen exemplified. (v. Fa hwa hwei i.)

Some specimens of this mythology will now be given.

The *Hwa yan king* says that on one occasion Buddha was presiding over an assembly at a place of meeting called Aranyaka in the kingdom of Magadha. He saw approaching a multitude of Bodhisattwas from distant worlds. They asked to be instructed in regard to the lands where the

Buddhas resided. (Fuh ch'ab, 刹, spelt in full

in the old pronunciation ch'a-ta-la, in Sanscrit kṣhētra, *land*.) Buddha accordingly entered on a description of the kingdoms of the Buddhas. To the east, passing worlds equal in number to the dust of ten of these kingdoms, is one termed the golden colored world. The Buddha of "wisdom unmoved" presides there. Wen chu (Mandju-shri) and a crowd of other Bodhisattwas attend his instructions, as he sits on a lion dais surrounded by lotus flowers. To the south, west and north, and to the north-east, south-east, south-west and north-west are other worlds at a distance equally great. Towards the zenith and nadir two other worlds make up the number ten, each having a governing Buddha, and a countless number of Bodhisattwas who perform to him an act of worship and humbly receive his instructions.

The same work also describes the ten worlds that come next to the one one in which we live, on the east, south, west and north, and the other directions as before. Each of them is ruled by a Buddha to whom prayers are to be offered, in which he is to be addressed under ten different names.

The moral import of these worlds and their Buddhas is contained in the names that are given them. These names are formed symmetrically, and carry the reader and the worshipper round a circle of Buddhist ideas. Thus the significations of the appellations given to the Buddhas are such as surpassing wisdom, self-possessed wisdom, Brahminical wisdom, &c. The leading Bodhisattwas receive such denominations as chief in the law, chief in merit, chief in visual power, &c.

It was thus that these Buddhist philosophers employed the imagination as an instrument of moral instruction, just as western authors write a poem or a novel for a similar end. They were men whose minds were cultivated to the utmost subtlety in argument, as the Shastras, works by the same authors and taken up exclusively with philosophical discussions, abundantly shew. They did not therefore believe in the truth of these fanciful creations. Their metaphysical creed would prevent it, and there is not wanting such indirect evidence to the fact as has been already adduced. But what shall be said to the morality of such modes of teaching a religion? These sceptical writers cannot be shielded from the charge of practising a vast and systematic decep-

tion on the common people, in inducing them to regard these imaginary beings with religious reverence. Falshood is involved in the very form of the Buddhist Sutras, for they are attributed unhesitatingly in all their multitudinous variety and voluminous extent to Shakyamuni himself. Ananda, the nephew and favorite disciple of the sage in his declining years, is put forward as the compiler from memory of all these works. The practice of worshipping these new mythological creations was also directly encouraged, and this new idolatry spread with great rapidity throughout the countries where northern Buddhism prevails.

To illustrate these statements more fully, reference must be made to the more popular personages and better known worlds in the new mythology. Among these fabled worlds, located in distant space, the best known is the paradise of Amitabha. In the Wu-liang-sheu-king (Amitabha Sutra), Buddha tells a tale of a king in a former kalpa who left the world, adopted the monkish life, assumed the name *fa ts'ang*, *treasure of the law*, and became, by his rapid growth in knowledge and virtue a Bodhisattwa. To the Buddha who was his teacher, he uttered 48 wishes, having reference to the good he desired to accomplish for all living beings if he should attain the rank of Buddha. Ten Kalpas since, he received that title with the name Amitabha (Om-to-fuh), and now resides in a world far in the west to fulfil his forty eight wishes for the benefit of mankind. Ten million kingdoms of Buddhas separate his world from our own. It is composed of gold, silver, lapis lazuli, coral, amber, a stone called ch'a ku and cornelian. There is there no Sumeru mountain, nor iron mountain girdle, nor prisons for punishment. There is no fear of becoming a hungry ghost or an animal by transmigration, for such modes of life are unknown there. There are all kinds of beautiful flowers which the inhabitants pluck to present as offerings to the thousands and millions of Buddhas that reside in other parts of space. Birds of the most beautiful plumage sing day and night of the five principles of virtue, the five sources of moral power, and the seven steps in knowledge. The listener is so affected by their music that he can think only of Buddha, the law, and the priesthood. The lifetime of this Buddha is without limit, lasting through countless Kalpas and therefore he is called Amitabha (Wu-liang-sheu, *boundless age*.) Two Bodhisattwas reside there, anxious to save a multitude of living beings, who with Amitabha are worshipped assiduously by the northern Buddhists. They are says, the Wu-liang-sheu-king, Kwan-shi-yin and T'ashü-chi. They radiate light over three thousand great worlds. They attained their rank by good deeds performed in our own world, and were rewarded by birth into the western paradise of Amitabha.

The Amitabha Sutra after minutely dilating on this paradise, describes nine other worlds at a corresponding distance from our own, and occupying as in the former case the cardinal points and intermediate positions, with the zenith and nadir. Ach'obhya and other Buddhas rule in the east, numerous as the sands of the Ganges, each proclaiming the doctrine that instructs and saves, to the inhabitants of his own kingdom. A similar

† The dictionary *Yih t'ie king yin i* adds that this word used for land or kingdom, is the etymon of the word Kahatrya, the second of the four castes, to which belong the royal families of India, the Kahatryas being lords of the soil.

account is given of the other worlds and their Buddhas.

The two Sutras already cited together with one called *Kwan-wu-liang-sheu-king* are entirely occupied with Amitabha and his paradise. These three works form the text-books of the Tsing tu school, whose very numerous publications suited to the popular taste, and based on the doctrine of these Sutras, are very widely disseminated among the Chinese people at the present day.

In the last mentioned work, Buddha when seated in the midst of his disciples, is said to have poured forth from his eyebrows a flood of golden light which shone to all the surrounding worlds. This light returning was seen by the assembly to form itself into a golden tower on Buddha's head. It was like the Sumeru mountain and by its splendour many kingdoms of Buddhas were revealed to view. One was constructed of the seven precious stones and metals, another of lotus flowers, another was like the palace of Ishwara, another like a crystal mirror. A disciple, struck by this magnificent display, expressed a desire to be born in the Western heaven, and Buddha told him how he might have his desire gratified. This is an example of the manner in which the inventors of this mythology intended by scenes of vastness and splendour, to affect the reader's or listener's mind. Feelings favourable to the influence of Buddhist ideas were thus to be called into action.

Another of these creations which has gained considerable notoriety is a world in the east ruled by Yo si Fuh (Bhaishadhyaguru Buddha). There intervene between that world and ours, kingdoms of Buddhas to the number of ten times the sands of the Ganges. This personage when he was a Bodhisattawa uttered 12 great wishes for the benefit of living beings, including the removal of various bodily and mental calamities from those who are afflicted with them, and the lengthening of their life. Hence his name "the healing teacher." In attendance on him are two leading Bodhisattwas whose names *jih kwang pian chau*, *yue kwang pian chau*, signify the far-shining light of the sun and of the moon. The world in which he resides is composed of lapis lazuli, its walls and palaces of the seven precious stones and metals, its streets of gold, thus resembling, as is observed

by the author of the *Yo-si-king*, the *Kih-loh-shi-kiai* or paradise of Amitabha. He is worshipped as a deity who removes sufferings and lengthens life, and is in fact the symbol of these ideas. While many of the fabulous beings introduced in the literature of northern Buddhism have no image or shrine in the temples of the present day, *Yo-si-fuh* is one of those who are very seldom omitted in the arrangements of these edifices.

The freedom of imagination in creating new worlds and new deities, in which the authors of this literature indulged, would naturally lead to incongruities. Newly invented worlds would be located in regions already appropriated by previous writers. In the *Fa hwa king*, a circle of eight worlds, with two Buddhas to each, is described. Amitabha and Acl'obhya occur in the west and east respectively, the account agreeing in this respect with that in the Amitabha Sutra, but the other names do not harmonize, so that in several cases new Buddhas are imagined, in regions pre-occupied by those created at an earlier date.

Accounts of many more of these fancied worlds might be collected from other works. For example in the *Pei-hwa-king*, one in the south east with its Buddha, is described with minuteness.

The symbolical character of this mythology is seen very clearly in the attributes of the Bodhisattwas, who play in it such an important part and who are the objects of such extended popular worship in the Buddhist countries of the north. In *Kwan-yin* mercy is symbolized, wisdom in *Wen-chu*, happiness in *P'u-hian*. To the philosophic Buddhists, these personages with Amitabha, *Yo-si-fuh* and the others, are nothing but signs of ideas. The uneducated Buddhists believe in their real existence, but all the evidence goes to shew that they were invented by the former class of Buddhists, and palmed upon the people by them as real beings proper to be worshipped.

A near parallel to this is the setting up of the image of reason to be popularly adored, by the atheists of the first French revolution. If as some think the pantheism of Germany will, according to the common law of progress in human perversity, result in polytheism, we have here an example of the way in which such a new idolatry will probably be introduced.

DESCRIPTION OF THE IDOLS IN BUDDHIST TEMPLES.

The temples of the Buddhists like other Chinese structures look south. Their architecture also is similar. Temples cut in rock like those of the same religion in India and Java are not found. In natural caves however and on hill sides images are sometimes cut from the stone. Temples consist of several halls and chapels called by a common name *tian*. In the entering hall, (Sì 't'ian wang tian) two colossal wooden statues meet the eye on each side. These are the Mahârâdjas, or four great kings of Devas, or Sî ta 't'ian wang.

The Sanscrit names are explained; Vaishrava (Pi sha men) "he who has heard much;" Dhritarashtra (T'i to lo to) "protector of kingdoms;" Virudhaka, (Pi leu le cha) "increased grandeur;" and Virupaksha (Pi lieu pa cha), "large eyes." They are called in Chinese to *wen*, *ch'i koh*, *tseng chang*, and *kwang-muh*.

They govern the continents lying in the direction of the four cardinal points from Mount Sumeru, the supposed centre of the world.

In the Kiu-kwang-ming-king they are described as actively interfering in the affairs of the world. When kings and nations neglect the law of Buddha, they withdraw their protection. They bestow all kinds of happiness on those that honour the *san paw* (three treasures) viz: Buddha, the law, and the priesthood.

Properly they are all warlike, but as seen in temples they are dressed in different modes. He of the south holds a sword. He has a black countenance and ferocious expression. The others have blue, red and white faces. One holds in his hand a guitar (P'i pa) at the sound of which all the world begins to listen, or as some say the camps of his enemies take fire. Another has an umbrella in his hand, at the elevation of which a violent storm of thunder and rain commences, or according to others universal darkness ensues. Another holds in his hand a snake, or some other animal hostile to man, but by his power made submissive and instrumental to the wishes of its conqueror.

Between them and the south wall are sometimes placed two figures in military attire and with fierce countenances called, *heng-ho-rî-tsiang* "the two generals *heng* and *ho*."

In the same building opposite the door is usually placed an image of Maitreya Buddha (Mi-lie-fuh) or the Buddha to come. The Sanscrit name Maitreya means the *merciful one*. He is always represented as very stout, with the breast and upper abdomen exposed to view. His face has a laughing expression.

An image of Kwan-fu-tsî the Chinese deified hero, in his capacity, as protector of the Buddhist religion, is also sometimes placed in this hall on

one side of the north door. Behind Maitreya is the image of *Wei-to* a deva who is stiled *Hu-fah-wei-to* or the Deva who protects the Buddhist religion. He is represented clad in complete armour and holds a sceptre-shaped weapon of assault usually resting on the ground.

The shrine in which these two idols are placed forms a screen to a door behind, which opens into the court of the great hall called *Ta-hiong-pau-tian*. This is appropriated to the images of Shakyamuni Buddha and a select number of his disciples. He is represented in an attitude of contemplation, sitting on a lotus leaf dais. Ananda a young looking figure and Kashiapa an old man are placed on his right and left. On the east and west sides of the hall are arranged 18 figures of Arhans (Lohans). They are represented as possessing various kinds of supernatural power symbolized in some instances by wild animals, crouching submissively beside them. They listen to Buddha, some with thoughtfulness, some with pleasure. Along the north wall, are often to be seen the images of Janteng an ancient Buddha, and of six Bodhisattwas, and disciples of Shakyamuni viz: Kwan-yin, P'u-hian, Shî-chî, Wen-chu, Shariputra and Maudgalyayana. This is the arrangement at the Kwang-fuh-sî the principal monastery in Shanghai. Wen-chu and P'u-hian often take the right and left of the central Buddha. Behind the three central images and looking northwards is usually placed an image of Kwan yin with rock, cloud, and ocean scenery rudely carved in wood and gaudily painted. This Bodhisattwa with Wen-chu and P'u-hian are sometimes placed in front, as at Long-hwa near Shanghai, Kwan-yin occupying the centre, immediately behind Shakyamuni, who then sits alone on his dais in the midst of the hall. This hall, the highest and largest building in the whole establishment, takes its name from one of Buddha's titles *Ta-hiong* or *great hero*, in Sanscrit Virah, with the addition of the word *pau*, *precious*.

The image of Kwan yin has several forms corresponding to the various metamorphoses which he assumes. Two of the commonest are those of the northern and southern sea. In the large cloud and water picture in alto-relievo, of which he so often forms the principal figure, several smaller personages are added to lend variety to the scene. The four kings of Devas are occasionally employed for this purpose and still more frequently a female figure *Long nü*, daughter of the dragon king, and a youth called *Shan tsai* who form interlocutors in some of the Sûtras. Another metamorphosis of Kwan-yin is represented in a female figure, holding in her arms a child. It is in reference to this image

that a parallel has often been instituted between Kwan yin and the Virgin Mary. A stranger who did not take notice of minute peculiarities in dress, would very naturally have the idea of similarity presented to him and mistake the child, which the goddess presents to mothers praying for posterity, for the infant Saviour. It is in part from such resemblances that Huc has adopted the hypothesis that the modern form of Buddhism in Tibet arose from a mixture of Christianity with that religion. Sometimes Kwan yin appears with a thousand hands, symbolizing his desire to save all mankind.

The interval between the hall of the four great kings of the Devas and that of Shakyamuni, is occasionally occupied by another hall. Kwan yin of the southern sea may be seen here pictured with his usual attendants. Behind looking northwards is often found a scene in honour of Ti t'sang Bodhisattwa. He is surrounded with cloud and rock carving, on the abutments of which are seen the ten kings of hell. They all listen to the instructions of this Bodhisattwa, who seeks to save mankind from the punishments over the infliction of which they preside. The Hindoo god Yama (Yan lo wang) is the fifth of them. Sometimes in this intermediate space there is a structure called the hall of the Lohans, where are found on the east and west walls, small carved figures of the 500 Arhans of Buddhist legends. They are placed on the protuberances of a rough alto-relievo scene such as those above described. In other instances this representation of the 500 Arhans is placed over the more powerful and better known 18 Arhans in the hall of Shakyamuni.

In the central hall, representatives of all the four ranks above the range of the metempsychosis are found, as will be seen from the preceding details. Disciples of the lower ranks, who are however delivered from the world of life and death, and are called *Sheng wen*, *listeners*, are represented in Ananda and Kashiapa, the one holding a written scroll emblematic of his great work the compilation of the Sutras, the other resting on a staff, the symbol of his office as successor of Buddha in the patriarchate. They are bare-headed and close shaved. The Arhans (A-lo-han) eighteen in number speak for themselves as to the extraordinary power, knowledge and gratification which they have gained through listening to the teaching of Buddha, by their attitudes as conquerors of evil, and defenders of good, and by the expression of intelligence and pleasure which the artist has attempted to depict on their countenances. The rank about this, that of Bodhisattwa, uniting great knowledge and power with strong desire to save those beings who are still involved in the metempsychosis, is represented in Wen chu and P'u hian wearing crowns gilt and ornamented in the lotus-leaf shape. To the highest rank of all in wisdom and power, that of Buddha, belong Shakyamuni, and his instructor in a former life, Janteng. They have short curly hair formed of shells and painted a dark-blue. Devas sometimes appear there, e.g. Brahma (Fan t'ian) and Shakra (Ti shih) who in some temples make two of six auditors of Buddha, the others being Ananda and Kashiapa, P'u hian and Wen chu.

As the principal hall is appropriated to the four highest classes of beings recognized by Buddhism,

so the hall of the four Diamond kings, or kings of the Devas, contains the images of those beings still involved in the wheel of the metempsychosis so far as they are considered by the Buddhists as proper to be worshipped. Weitō and the four kings with their attendants all belong to the class of Devas or inhabitants of heaven. The presence of Maitreya there may be accounted for by the fact that he as the predicted successor of Shakyamuni in the office of Buddha, now resides in the Tushita paradise, from which at the appointed time he will descend to the earth to assume the duties assigned him. He is not yet therefore exempt from the metempsychosis.

In the monasteries of Ceylon, a small temple termed *Dewāla* is placed before the chief building and dedicated to the worship of the devas, (V. Hardy's *Eastern Monachism*). Thus in both cases the visitor arrives first at the hall where the metempsychosis still prevails, and afterwards passes on to the abode of the Buddhas and Bodhisattwas.

Looking at the arrangements of these two parts of a Buddhist temple from another point of view, the large central hall already described is intended to symbolize Buddha giving his instructions to an assembly of disciples, while the leading idea of the entering hall is the representation of the powerful protection by celestial beings enjoyed by the Buddhist religion and its professors. In some large temples Weitō, and a king of the Devas holding a pagoda in his hand, stand with the usual figures on the right and left of Shakyamuni. Twenty Devas, ten on each side, are also sometimes placed at the south end of the two rows of Arhans that line the eastern and western walls. This accords with the descriptions given in the Sutras of the audience gathered round Buddha on remarkable occasions, when the inhabitants of the various celestial mansions hold a conspicuous position among the crowd of his disciples. The carrying out of this thought is doubtless the prevailing aim in the choice of personages, attitudes, dress and positions, and all is in agreement with the "developed" Sutras or those of the Mahayana class used by the northern Buddhists.

Exceptions to this rule occur. For example figures illustrating the thirty-two points of personal beauty belonging to Buddha are in some temples placed where the Arhans are usually found. So also, in large temples, instead of the two disciples on each side of Julai are two other figures of Buddha, representing the future and the past, as the central one does the present. The three images are much alike and each of them wears the close-fitting scull-cup of painted shells which is always appropriated to Buddha.

Facts of this latter class point to another aim as influencing the arrangement of the figures, that of presenting to the mind of the visitor a picture of the conception of Buddha, in its most expanded form, each image exhibiting a distinct feature of the ideal whole to the contemplation of the worshipper. This principle of arrangement is however followed much less frequently than the former.

The idea of celestial protection as prevailing in the arrangement of the entering hall has already been illustrated in the description of the four kings and of Wei to. It may be further observed that the beings called *K'ia fan* (*Ga lam*) or protectors of the monasteries (*Sangaram*), viz., Kwau-

ti, the god of war and others, are placed here in vacant spaces as in a suitable spot.

The other chapels (tian) or halls are erected on the side of or behind the central structure. They are appropriated to Yo-si-fuh, O-mi-to-fuh, Ti-ts'ang-p'u-sa, and the Ten kings of hell. Other names occur such as the hall of the thousand Buddhas, &c., but these are the most common.

In some instances, as for example in the Kwan-yin-tian, there are two images, one light enough to be carried in a sedan chair for processions, another larger for daily worship. Kwan yin is sometimes represented in eight metamorphoses assumed for the purpose of saving men from eight kinds of suffering. Shipwrecked sailors, in one part of the carving, are seen reaching the shore. In another some traveller escapes from a wild beast. The deliverer Kwan yin stands by. In a scene of this kind the image of this divinity is thus repeated eight times, besides the larger one in the centre. The whole is called Pa-nan-kwan-yin, "the Kwan yin of eight kinds of suffering."

Kwan yin is also occasionally found in a subordinate position as one of the two supporters of Amitabha Buddha (O-mi-to-fuh), Shi-ch'i being the other. They are called together the three sages of the west. O-mi-to is also called Tsih-yin-fuh, or the Buddha who receives suffering mortals to the rest of the western paradise over which he presides and to which he guides them.

The usual right and left supporters of Yo-si-fuh, the Buddha of the east, are Yo-ts'ang-p'u-sah and Yo-wang-p'u-sah. These preside over medicine but the jurisdiction of the Buddha himself is not limited to healing, it includes all kinds of calamity. He is sometimes represented like Shakyamuni with three images, denoting the past, present and future.

Ti-ts'ang is often attended by the ten kings of hell from whose punishments he seeks to save mankind. All of them except Yama, have Chinese names. Some of them point to particular localities, as Pian-ch'eng, or the city of K'ai-fong-fu, Tai-shan a mountain of Shau-tong. Others refer to attributes, as p'ing-teng even, chuan-lun the turner of the wheel (of doctrine). Criminals receiving punishments and attendants are also represented by small earthen or wooden figures. The ten kings all stand, when in the presence of Ti-ts'ang-p'u-sah, but if Tong-ngoh-ti-kiün a Taoist divinity presides they may sit, he being little superior to them in rank. Most of the names of these ten kings are of Chinese origin and not many centuries old.

Ti-ts'ang is represented by the priests as the son of a king of Siam. He has a full round countenance of mild aspect, with a lotus leaf crown, the usual head furniture of a Bodhisattwa.

The figures on his right and left are sometimes Muh-kian-lian and P'ang-kü-si, disciples of Shakyamuni Buddha. Elsewhere Min-kong and Min-si take this position. The former was a

Chinese who gave the land at Kieu-hwa, the hill some miles west of Nanking on which is erected a large monastery in honour of Ti-ts'ang. Min-tai is his son. Two other disciples who act as servants of the Bodhisattwa (si che) are also represented by two other smaller figures.

The idols called P'u sah sit when in their own shrines, but if in the presence of Buddha they stand.

Tauist idols are numerous employed in the Buddhist temples. Kwan-ti, Lung-wang and Hwa-kwang have been formally adopted by the sect as their protecting divinities. Several of a medical character are also extensively made use of, obviously to attract those who in time of sickness seek aid from supernatural sources. Diseases of the eye, ulcers, the small pox, and bodily ailments in general are assigned to the care of various heavenly beings, and the sick in large numbers seek their assistance. He who presides over riches *ts'ai shen*, whose popularity is unrivalled among all the Chinese divinities, has also a shrine bestowed on him. There are also many others such as *san-kwan*, *yuh-ti*, &c., which as properly belonging to Tauism will not be described here.

Celebrated Chinese Buddhists have also images where the arrangements of a temple are complete. That of Bodhidarma (Ta-mo-ts'u-si) is frequently met with in temples where priests of the *tsung men* reside, as also that of the founder of the monastery.

According to the explanations of the philosophic Buddhists, the principle of arrangement and the use of idols at all must be viewed as symbolical, as already remarked. When the worshipper enters he is met with the idea of "protection" from celestial beings. As he advances into the presence of Buddha, he sees in his image "intelligence," the fruit of long and thoughtful contemplation. In the Bodhisattwas are exhibited "knowledge and mercy" combined. In the Arhans, he sees those who have become "venerable" by years, wisdom, and a long course of asceticism. In the Sheng-wen, the bareheaded "disciple," he sees the first step in the path to the Nirvana, the introduction to the other three. When he bows before these images, and makes his offering of incense, candles and gilt paper, this also is a symbol. It only means the reverence with which he receives the instructions of Buddhism.

The common people however, as happens in Christian countries where the worship of images prevails, see in each idol a powerful divinity, and losing sight of the moral and intellectual objects of the system, pray to be freed from sickness, poverty, childlessness, an early death and other dreaded evils. Such a faith in the objects of their idolatry is of course encouraged to the utmost by the priests, whose prosperity depends upon the number of the worshippers.

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NOTICE OF CHI-K'AI AND THE T'IAN-T'AI SCHOOL OF BUDDHISM.

There is no Buddhist establishment better known in China than T'ian-t'ai. It has much natural beauty, but its interest so far as it is historical, centres chiefly round the ancient monk who is the subject of this notice. It had been visited before by Taoist recluses, but it was he that by selecting it for his abode gave it its high reputation as a spot consecrated to the meditative life.

The cluster of hills that compose T'ian-t'ai terminate abruptly to the south-west. Ch'ih-ch'eng* an imposing hill crowned with a pagoda is conspicuous from the time-worn walls of the city of T'ian-t'ai, 180 miles south-east of Hang-chou. This is the southern extremity of the hilly region known by the same name. From a valley on its left flows a mountain stream which increasing in width as it traverses the plain is capable of bearing boats of considerable size when it reaches the busy little city just mentioned. Passing on it bends to the south-east and arriving at T'ai-chou, an important sea-port, pours its waters after a short course, of ten or fifteen miles into the ocean.

It was up one of the feeders of this stream, that near the end of the sixth century, Chi-k'ai wended his way in search of a lonely mountain residence suited to his meditative cast of mind. Leaving the beautiful site where afterwards stood the K'o-t'ing monastery, just below four hills now covered to their summits with rich foliage, he ascended a long and romantic valley. He was travelling in a region threaded by few paths, and in a direction that seemed to lead nowhere but farther away from the habitations of men. In this wilderness of hills and valleys, occupying many square miles, which he now entered, although unknown to the agriculturist, he yet found some few residing whose views of human life were congenial to his own. Local traditions point out where he lived and reflected. An antique mausoleum with a long inscription of the Sui dynasty marks the place where his ashes were deposited. At a little distance from it the Kau-ming monastery comes into view. It is in a deep valley shut all round by wooded heights. The building has an old look, befitting the relics of our hero still preserved there. The visitor will have shown to him a large square silk garment. It is said to have been the cloak worn by Chi-k'ai. It is handsomely embroidered after a pattern evidently very antique. A metal bowl, worn by long use, and capable of holding several meals of rice for an abstemious monk, is another curiosity. These memorials of this early Buddhist will appear however to one who is not a special admirer of the monastic life, secondary in interest to a Sanscrit manuscript which escaped a fire some centuries ago, and is

one of the few remains of that literature still existing in China. The history of the manuscript, its name and contents are unknown to the resident priests.

This monastery is even now difficult of access. But the valley where it stands in Chi-k'ai's time had scarcely ever been visited.† It was filled with forest trees, and thick brushwood, and formed a favorite cover for deer. The wood-cutter and herdsman seldom wandered to this wild spot. An accident led our hero there. On the hill above, Fuh-lung-fung, near where the st'upa (t'ah) that contains his ashes is still standing, he was one day explaining to his disciples the Tsing-ming-king (Sutra of pure name) when a gust of wind blew away the leaves far into the deep hollow below. With his tin-headed staff in his hand to assist him in the search, he set out to recover the fugitive book. After a pursuit of a mile and a half the wind ceased, and the book fell to the ground. He caused a building to be created at the spot, in commemoration of the circumstance, which became one of the twelve establishments that owe their origin to him. It was not however till many years after that the present monastery was erected and its modern name assigned to it. After the Koh-tsing monastery was destroyed by fire the manuscript spoken of above was removed to Kau-ming for greater safety.

After penetrating several miles further to the north-west in this hilly and desolate region, Chi-k'ai arrived‡ at the remarkable rock bridge where the Fang-kwang monastery now stands. The loud roar of the waterfall, and the close set woods on the hills around, the two mountain brooks uniting before they reach the cataract, then passing beneath the natural bridge and down the fall, and thence pursuing their way to the north, united to give this spot an air of grandeur in the hermit's mind. It seemed a home for supernatural beings. It is they that cause the unusual appearances of nature. The Lohans, those exalted disciples of Buddha whose power and knowledge are so great might reside here. In fact a legend on the subject soon grew into public belief, and the music of the Lohans was said to be heard at times a little before dawn by priests lying awake in their cells. A choir of 500 at that silent hour made the woods resound with harmony. Such a colony of Buddha's superhuman disciples served to invest this wild mountainous district with a sacred character. In every monastery a hall devoted to images of the 500 Lohans now exists, and on the side of the natural bridge is a small shrine containing 500 small stone figures which are worshipped by those who venture to cross by the narrow and dangerous path that spans the cataract.

* The "red wall" so called from its colour and precious appearance.

† T'ian-t'ai-shan-chi.

‡ A.D. 575, Biography in T'ian-t'ai-shan-chi.

Our hero continued his wanderings in this elevated region, where the vallies do not sink farther than 1,500 feet above the sea level, and which is by its loneliness well suited for the ascetic. Solitude reigns here for many miles round, in one of the most densely populated provinces of China. He did not take up his abode at one spot exclusively. No fewer than twelve monasteries mark the spots whered he formed a cottage of stoues and straw, or caused a modest building to be erected.

As he approached the peak of Hwa-ting nearly 4,000 feet high, and five miles to the east of the natural bridge, he met on the T'ian-fung ridge an old man who said to him, Sir, if you seek a residence for contemplation, select the place where you meet a rock. The monk soon after encountered a Buddhist from Corea named Pan-shih (rock) who encouraged him to stay there, and give himself up to study. He accordingly constructed a hut there, in which he remained 16 years, and composed a commentary on the book of the Nirvana.

A little farther to the north is Hwa-ting, the highest ground in Cheh-kiang excepting T'ian-muh-shan. The monastery, bearing the same name as the mountain, had already been erected by Teh-shau, a celebrated Buddhist who lived a century anterior to Chi-k'ai. Several hundred monks now belong to the society, a large part of them residing in hermitages on the hill. The monastery is an extensive thatched range of buildings, more comfortable than the bleak huts where out of sight of any human being the more self-denying spend their days and nights chanting in honour of Buddha. Certainly theirs is a gloomy home. A thick mist usually rests on the summit and spreads down the sides of the mountain, enveloping these rude cottages with their visionary inmates; and snow often remains unmelted for many months. It is hard to explain how a people so social as the Chinese, so fond of cities and crowds, and so averse to mountain travelling, can supply hermits to live in residences like these. That Chi-k'ai, the founder of a flourishing sect, a man of deep reflection, and in love with solitude should choose such an abode, is not so surprising as that common Chinese minds without his profound thinking, or his love of wild nature, should still follow his example.

Another spot where Chi-k'ai once resided is Si-tsob at some distance to the west of the rock bridge, and near the Wan-nian monastery. Here he composed his system of doctrine called 止

觀 *Chi-kwan*.

Chi-k'ai had in early life followed the teaching of the school established by Bodhidharma, the Hindoo patriarch who had died in northern China 30 years before. He afterwards became dissatisfied with the 禪門 Shan-men (contemplative school) as that sect is called, not agreeing with its principle that book learning should be discarded, even that which consisted of Buddha's own words, and the heart nurse itself into a state of perfection by rejecting every thing external and giving itself up to an unconscious sleep-like existence.

Chi-k'ai grew tired of this system, and formed the outlines of another, which he taught to multitudes of admiring disciples. He resided at Nan-king the capital of the kingdom (Ch'en dynasty) and maintained a high reputation. When he determined on removing to T'ian-t'ai the emperor forbade him, but allowed him to leave when he saw that his mind was made up. Three times afterwards an imperial message required his attendance at court, but he pleaded indisposition and remained at T'ian-t'ai. He complied on one occasion only, and explained the sacred books of his religion to the emperor and his court. He also made one visit home to Hu-nan, but returned to die at the mountain residence to which he was so much attached. He expired while sitting cross-legged and giving instruction to his followers.

He wrote commentaries on the Fah-hwa-king, Kin-kang-king, and A-mi-ta-king with several original works. These books were in the year A.D. 1024, all included in the Buddhist Tripitaka (collection of sacred writings) of China.

His school continued to flourish for a long period at the Koh-ts'ing and Fuh-lung monasteries.

The Miao fah lian hwa king (Lotus of the good law) was his favorite book. He thus explained its name. "As the lotus grows out of mire and yet preserves its freshness and purity, so the doctrines of this book, the good law, assist men to retain their original nature unsullied and undisturbed amidst the misery and corruption around them." In the course of the book, he added, truth is sometimes taught in abstract, at other times by illustration, sometimes it is explained and elsewhere defended, just as the lotus flower buds, blossoms, fades and falls by a succession of changes and at last produces fruit.

Chi-k'ai divided the teaching of Shakyamuni into five periods, beginning with the Hwa-yan-king and ending with the Fah-hwa-king and the Nirvana. After this classification of the sacred books, he introduced to his followers his own system. To restore man's true moral nature there must be "observation" (觀 *Kwan*, to see) of human actions. In regard to opinions there are three kinds; the true, the common, and the mean. The true is destructive of all methods and doctrines (idealism), the popular brings them into existence, and the mean places them altogether and chooses the middle path. The deceptions that prevent men from perceiving the truth are threefold. Ignorance, the dust of the world, and the activity of the thoughts and senses, these taken in their order, hide from view the beauty of the religious life, prevent moral improvement, and operate against pure mental vacancy. The feeling of Buddha on observing the world in this state was that men's own notions are false and not to be trusted, that in true knowledge there is no distinction of what is myself, and what is not myself, and that the conception of a living personal Buddha should be abandoned. Otherwise men could not return to their true moral nature.

Having proceeded thus far Chi-k'ai developed his threefold system of observation, which as he believes it to be conclusive of controversy and perfectly satisfactory, he called *Chi-kwan* "perfected

observation." This observation is empty, 空 *k'ong*, hypothetical 假 *kia*, or medial 中 *chong*.

For removing the deceptions that blind men's minds, the most successful method is to view all things in vacancy (*k'ong*). For constructing doctrines and institutions, the inventive (*kia*) method is the best. For establishing and confirming man's moral nature, the medial method is the most effective. These three modes of viewing the world are complete in each other and inseparable, resembling the three eyes of the God Maha Ishwara. The vacant mode destroys the illusions of the senses asserting their nothingness, and constructs the virtue of 般若 *Pradjna*

(knowledge). The inventive mode destroys the deluding effects of the dust of the world, and constructs the virtue of rescue (from all errors and evils) 解脫 (*kiai t'oh*). The medial method

destroys the delusion that results from ignorance, and constructs the religious character (*fah shen*). Still fearing lest his followers should be in error as to the method of self-reformation, and fall into one sided views, he formed a series of what he called the six connectives.

1. Reason *Li*, all living beings down to the smallest insects have received a moral nature, have Buddha within them. Constantly resting in this, they attain their perfection, because the gift of reason is equally bestowed.

2. Names and terms. Although reason is the same in all beings, yet in the course of the world they will not come to the knowledge and use of it, and therefore instruction is necessary to produce belief and remove what is false.

3. Observation of human action. Instruction having been imparted and belief produced, the threefold mode of viewing the world, as already explained, must then be employed.

4. Likeness. Perfection itself being difficult to gain, the likeness to it may be reached.

5. The true development of human nature.

6. Confirmation. Ignorance is for ever gone. The mind becomes perfectly intelligent.

Each of these six steps being Buddha, the three embodiments of the religious life are thus completed, viz. embodiment (*shen*) of the law, (*fah*) of recompense, (*pau*) of renovation (*hwa*).§

Chi k'ai divided the Buddhist system according to its characteristics into eight parts *pah kiau*. 1. The compliant. 2. The gradual. 3. The secret. 4. The indeterminate. 5. Collection. 6. Progress. 7. Destruction. 8. Completion. The last four are called Chi k'ai's four modes of contemplation (*Si kwan*).

With regard to collection, the sacred books were embraced in three divisions, *king*, *liuh*, *lun*, or *sutra*, *vinaya*, and *abidharma*. These include under the head of suffering, the 25 classes of beings that inhabit heaven, earth, and hell, also the 88 causes of human delusion, and further 37 steps in self knowledge and improvement. They also embrace the five classes of instructed and en-

lightened beings. (1) the disciple in several subdivisions, (2) the wise, in four grades *Sudawan*, *Sidagam*, *Anagam*, *Arhan*, (3) the perfectly intelligent, (4) the *Bodhisattwa*, (5) the Buddha.

With regard to progress there are ten steps, viz. unproductive knowledge, moral nature awakening, the eight convictions of the true sage, perception, first advances, conquest over the passions, the wrong set right, the *Pratyeka Buddha*, the *Bodhisattwa*, and the Buddha.

In these successive steps of moral improvement there is some resemblance to the common Buddhist view of the material universe. They regard it as divided according to a moral scale into stages accurately definable. The metempsychosis by a rigid law of moral retribution assigns at death the position of every soul in the fifty or sixty grades of being belonging to heaven, earth, and hell. Above these are found the states of Buddha's disciples, and that which is itself called Buddha.

With regard to the excellence termed *distinction*, which is reached by the *Bodhisattwa* only, there are embraced in it ten modes of faith, ten modes of firm adherence, ten modes of action, ten inclinations, ten mental states, together with the highest knowledge in two separate forms.

In reference to the last class, that of *completion*, every thing is viewed as perfect. There are five states which the student may occupy, viz. pleasure, recitation, instructing, putting in practice the ten rules, correct practice of the ten rules.

A series of 25 auxiliaries to knowledge and virtue, and of ten modes of observing the true nature and end of human actions, follow the preceding.||

To give these numerous divisions of Buddhist doctrine more minutely is here unnecessary. So much as is here presented will illustrate the manner in which reflecting Buddhists comment on the doctrines of their religion. It contains a sketch of the opinions of one of the oldest and most influential schools in China, and exhibits the same fondness for a numerical arrangement of propositions ramifying endlessly, which also belongs to other Buddhist schools. This symmetrical classification of doctrines in round numbers pervades the whole Buddhist literature, and suggests a resemblance to the habits of the European schoolmen.

The fundamental subdivision of the T'ian t'ai system into three modes of contemplation, the empty, the inventive, and the medial, originated with Nagakrojan (Lung shu) (B.C. 43) who lived in North Western India when a Greek kingdom existed there. The views which the T'ian t'ai kiau have borrowed from him are contained in the Medial Shastra (*chong lun*) a work in 500 stanzas based on the principles of the *Pradjna Paramita* and translated into Chinese early in the fifth century. This work gave rise to the *Madhyamika* school (the central philosophy) in Tibet. The author says in this work. "The methods and doctrines springing from various causes, I say to be all emptiness (*k'ong*). They may also be called invented (*kia*) names. Further they may be said to contain the meaning of the medial (*chong*) path." Hwei-wen erected a system on this, as the basis, and Chi k'ai following him

§ Chi yueh luh.

|| San kiau shih shuh.

moulded it to its present form as the T'ian-t'ai-kiaou.

The following extract from a commentary on the Fah-hwa-king will illustrate, the way in which the principles of this school are applied in interpreting the sacred books. "All were Arhans, (Lohans) whose defects were obliterated, for whom there was no more suffering, who had attained benefits for themselves, who had broken all ties, and in their hearts possessed peace." This is the text. The commentator says "The word Arhan expresses *rank* and what follows *character*. Arhan is variously explained as the true man, or the extricated man. Some say it contains three meanings, viz. freedom from birth, killer of robbers (being delivered from perceptions and sensations, the robbers of the mind) and deserving honour. This is the sense according to the principles of (1) Collection, and (2) Progress.

But for the two higher principles, (3) Distinction (4) Completion the word implies not only the killing of robbers, but of non-robbers i.e. the Nirvana, which (in the higher region of these two principles) is also deserving of extinction. Freedom from birth expresses their complete rescue from life and death, and that is the meaning of their defects having been obliterated." "Because they can give happiness to all the nine classes of beings, therefore they are said to deserve honour." "By their embodiment of the religious life, they benefit themselves. By their wisdom they obtain deliverance from life and death. By expelling ignorance and evil, they kill robbers."

"Interpreting according to the threefold contemplation, empty, inventive, and medial, the first is exemplified in their wisdom, the second in their expulsion of evil, and the third in their embodiment of the religious life. In the transition from the inventive to the empty, there are also three modifications of the sense, viz. arrival at the central point of contemplation, killing the thieves of ignorance, and keeping the heart from a one-sided position."

"Interpreting according to the contemplation of the heart, following the middle path and taking the correct view, they do not err on the side of the empty or inventive mode of observation. The sorrow of the heart is gone. When a man sees the true moral nature of his mind, that is called the higher state of confirmation. Like a hidden treasure, reserved for myself, is the benefit which the Arhans have obtained."

When Brahma appears before Buddha as a disciple the commentary says "The word Brahma means, *leaving the desires*, abandoning earthly ties, and ascending to the coloured heavens. It is also said to mean *high* and *pure*. This Brahma is one of the wheel-kings of a single generation, who asks instruction of Buddha, which he receives accord-

ing to his wish and capacity. Interpreting the idea of Brahma, according to that method which observes the heart, it means contemplating the removal of all pollutions."¶

These extracts exemplify how the mythological apparatus of the Buddhist Sutras, or sacred books of the first class, is explained away. The whole machinery of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, kings and divinities disappears under this process. Eastern and western Pantheism are alike in this, that they will not be content with an independent self-evolved structure of metaphysical thought, but assuming the critical office aim at the overthrow of all the objects of popular belief. Knowledge, self, the absolute, these are the only existences allowed by this arrogant philosophy to remain in the universe. Even these are made identical, and finally explained into nothing.

While the reflecting Buddhists hold these views they encourage the faith of the vulgar in the Hindoo mythology and the more recent inventions of their own system. Their denial of the reality of worldly phenomena, and of the validity of the information afforded by our senses, has not been a check to popular image worship, but rather promoted it, from the license that it gave them to countenance lying legends and invent new additions *ad libitum* to the Hindoo pantheon.

The special object of the T'ian-t'ai school has been to strike a middle path between the credulous acceptance of the sacred books as literally true, and their entire rejection by extreme idealism. It was thought best to recognize both these modifications of Buddhism as genuine developments of the system, and to add a third reconciling principle which distinguishes the others, compares and combines them, and then chooses the path between them.

In conformity with this view regulations for the practice of his followers were instituted by Ch'i k'ai. 1 Constant sitting to attain the state of 三昧 Samadhi or reverie taught to 文殊

Mandjusri. 2 Constant moving to attain another state of Samadhi taught by Buddha. 3 Partly sitting and partly moving to attain the state of Samadhi taught by him to P'u-hian. 4 Neither sitting nor moving to attain still another form of religious reverie.

The regulations for chanting as followed by this school were elaborated by a priest named Fa chi who lived some centuries after Ch'i k'ai. They are very minute and are intended to produce more reverential feelings in the minds of those engaging in the ceremonial than is common in Buddhist worship.**

¶ Fah-hwa-hwei-i.

** Regulations of the T'ai kiau in the liturgical work called Ta-pei-t'san.

THE BUDDHIST SACRED BOOKS.

The library of the larger Buddhist monasteries consists of a complete collection, presented by some former emperor, of the books of the religion (ts'ang king.) The visitor will see them in eight or ten large book-cases. In many instances they are preserved with great care and are highly valued. Even if worm-eaten and injured by damp, the priests always express unwillingness to part with any portions of them. Though they seldom make use of this library themselves, they consider that it would be an offence against the emperor to allow any of the books it contains to be removed.

The preface to one of the last imperial editions is dated A.D. 1410 in the reign *Yung-loh* of the third emperor of the Ming dynasty. In addition to the erection of the porcelain tower at Nanking, previous to the removal of his residence from that place to Peking, he further signalized his zeal for Buddhism by causing blocks to be cut for the entire series of Buddhist books. They reached the number of 6,771 *kuan* or sections. A little more than three-fourths of this extensive literature consists of translations from Sanscrit. According to a rough calculation the whole work of the Hindoo translators in China, together with that of Hiuan Tsang the traveller, amounts to about seven hundred times the size of the New Testament in Chinese form. In this estimate lost translations, which are numerous, are not included.

One of these works the *Maha Pradjna Paramita* (Ta poh je king) consists of 120 volumes. It is perhaps the most extensive single book ever translated in any age or country, being about eighty times as large as the New Testament. The celebrated Chinese translator Hiuan Tsang was engaged on it four years.

The edition of Buddhist books printed in the reign of Yung-loh is called *Nan-ts'ang* the "Southern collection." There was another made in the time of Wan-lieh in the closing part of the 16th century. The imperial residence having been already removed from Nanking to Peking, this edition was called the *Peh-ts'ang* or "Northern collection."

A new set of blocks was cut at the expense of private persons from this last, by a priest called Tai-peh-ta-si, not many years after. They were placed in the Leng-yan monastery at Kia-hing, near Hang-chou, and still remain there.

In 1723 a former governor of Cheh-keang repaired the blocks, and wrote a preface to a catalogue of these books under the title of *Peh-ts'ang-muh-luh*. It contains a reprint of the imperial preface to the first complete edition dating in the 7th century, (T'ang-chong-tsang). This document alludes to the labours of the successive

translators, and dwells especially on the adventures of Hiuan Ts'ang who had recently returned from his twenty years' travels in India, and had come to be regarded, on account of his successful journey and literary labours, as the most remarkable of all the Chinese Buddhists.

The primary division of the Buddhist books is into three parts *king*, *luh*, *lun* or Sutra, Vinaya, and Abhidharma. The first contains the immediate instructions of Buddha. It details those present as listeners, any remarkable circumstances that occurred, the conversations that took place between Buddha and any of his audience, and the direct instructions that he communicated to them. The Vinaya relates the discipline appointed by Buddha for his followers and the circumstances that led to the establishment of particular rules and observances. The scene, audience and conversations are detailed much in the manner of the Sutras or works of the first class. The word *king* is indeed often applied to works that are placed in the Vinaya division. The third part Abhidharma consists of discussions in many instances by known authors on the Buddhist creed and on heresies. They are not then like the works found in the first and second classes, necessarily spoken, according to Buddhist faith, by Shakyamuni, but include many that were written in the first centuries after his death by the more distinguished of his followers.

After Buddha's entrance into the Nirvana, we are told, his disciples met to agree on the books that should be regarded as the true traditions of their master's instructions. Kashiapa assembled them at the mountain Gi-ja-kuta (Ghrishrakuta). They came there by the exercise of miraculous power. Ananda, who was young, had not yet attained to the rank of Arhan when the meeting began, but just at this time he was raised to the necessary elevation and took his seat with the rest. Kashiapa then said, The Bikshu Ananda (O-nan Pi-k'ieu) has great wisdom. Like a vessel receiving water, he imbibed the doctrine of Buddha, retaining no more and no less than what the teacher uttered. Let him be invited to compile the Sutra Pitaka (collection of the *king* or discourses of Shakyamuni)." The assembly remained silent. Kashiapa then addressed Ananda. "It is for you now to promulgate the eye of the doctrine (fah yan)." Ananda assented and after observing the countenances of the audience, said "Bikshus and all here present. Without Buddha nothing is noble or beautiful, as in the expanse above, the stars cannot spare the moon." He then bowed to the assembly, and ascended the rostrum. He began "thus have I heard, at a certain time, when Buddha was in a certain place, he delivered

such instructions." In each instance Kashiapa asked the Bikshus if such were really the words of Buddha and they all replied. "They were just these words."*

A similar account is retained by the Singhalese of the origin of the Sūtras.† The Vinaya division of the books was, according to their traditions, prepared by Upali, and the Śāstras or Abhidharma by Kashiapa.

So far as this threefold arrangement of the books, the northern and southern Buddhists are at one. But for the literature of the north a farther division must now be noticed. The distinction of Mahayana, (ta sheng), or great development, and Hinayana, (siau sheng) or lesser development, runs through the works of all the three classes above described. The works of the lesser development (or vehicle) there can be little doubt are the original books of Buddha, for their dogmas and legends agree with the religion as it is still professed in Ceylon and by all the southern Buddhists. The Mahayana is on the other hand unknown there. Burnouf attributes the books of the lesser development to the first Buddhist council already described, and those of the greater development to another held a little more than 400 years after Shakyamuni's death. It is his opinion that the Mahayana books were composed in Cashmere, in the reign of Kanishka a king of northern India (Cabul). A council appears to have then been called to decide what books should be canonical, and it was then that these extensive additions to the Tripitaka or three collections were agreed upon. The same learned writer interposes another council 110 years after the first in the reign of Ashoka. This prince from his extensive empire and his patronage of Buddhism is called a wheel-king, i. e. a Buddhist king to whom the world is subject and who causes the wheel of the holy doctrine to be kept turning.

There need be no hesitation in adopting Burnouf's view, for we know the names and many of the writings of influential Buddhists who lived at the time and place indicated, and whose opinions and qualifications were such as to render them fitted for the authorship of the Ta sheng or Mahayana books, and much presumptive evidence of the fact will be found to exist.

Among them were (1) Ma-ming, or Ashwagoshā the 12th patriarch, who wrote *K'i sin lun* the "Śāstra for awakening faith,"‡ (2) Long shu or Nagakroja the 14th patriarch, author of *Vibhasha-lun*, *Chong-lun*, *Ta-chi-tu-lun*, *Pradina-teng-lun*, *Shih-ri-men-lun*, and several other works including the most venerated of all the Buddhist books in China, the *Hwa-yan-king*. (3) T'ian-t'sin or Basubandū. It is said of him that when he first became a monk he was a bitter enemy of the Mahayana books, and destroyed them whenever he had opportunity. By the influence of his elder brother Asengha he was brought to change his views. His remorse was such he would have wrenched out his tongue, but Asengha said to him "as he had formerly used his tongue to revile the great development books, he should now employ it to praise, them. This would be an

expiation for his fault." After this he wrote more than a hundred works, which were placed in the 3d division of the sacred books.§ (4) Wu-cho or Asengha, brother of the last, (5) Hu-fah or Dharmapara "protector of the law." He wrote the Śāstra *Ch'eng-wei-shih-lun*, (6) Maitreya, (7) Deva, (8) Sheng-t'ian. These and one or two more are mentioned among the authors of Śāstras. All these persons are dignified with the name of Bodhisattwa.

The authorship of the *Hwa yan king* may be ascribed to Long shu on the ground that he is said in a Chinese preface, to have discovered it in the "Dragon palace," and first promulgated it as one of the Mahayana Sūtras, or books of the "great vehicle." He could not prefix his name to it as to works of the third division, because it is essential to a Sūtra that it be a discourse of Buddha. In conformity with this principle, the great development Sūtras, or as they are called in Chinese *king*, are by a fiction ascribed to Shakyamuni, though their real authors were, as there is every reason to suppose, the acute-minded Hindoos whose names have just been given.

Two principal divisions of the Buddhist books, in reference to the time of their composition are thus obtained. The former belonging to the fifth century B.C. contain among other things the monastic institutions, the moral code, the ascetic life, the metempsychosis, and the Nirvana, of which the first two are Buddhist, and the latter three common to the native religions of India. The whole is interwoven with the fantastic notions of the Hindoos on geography, astronomy, and supernatural beings.

The second division embraces later developments in metaphysics and cosmogony. In the *Pradina Paramita*, through 120 volumes, the favorite dogma of extreme idealism, the non-existence of mind and matter in all their forms, is reiterated to satiety. In the legends of the eastern and western paradise, that of Aeh'obhya and that of Amitabha, and in the formation of various other vast worlds and powerful divinities, the new mythological tendencies of this system are exhibited. These books must be assigned to about the first century B.C.

By help of the catalogue of Buddhist books published A.D. 730. (*K'ai yuan shih kiau lun*) the earliest and most noted translators may be divided between these two schools. Works of the siau sheng or lesser development, i. e. primitive Buddhism, were introduced by the following persons.

Translator.	Country.	Date A.D.
Kashiapmadanga	Central India	70
Chuh-fah-lan	Central India	70
An-shi-kau	Ansi	147
Chi-yau	India	185
K'ang-meng-t'siang	K'ong ku (Tibet)	194
Dharmati	Ansi	254
Chuh-liuh-yen	India	230
Chi-kian	Masaagatae	250
K'ang-seng-hwei	K'ang ku (Tibet)	250
Fah-kü	India	360
Chuh-dharma-lan		580
Gaudamsenghadēva	Cophene 罽賓	390

* Chi yueh luh. Biography of Kashiapa (Kia sheh).

† Hardy's Eastern Monachism.

‡ Tsing-tu-sheng-hian-luh contains notices of (1) to (4).

§ For the names of several of his works and those of Asengha see *K'ai-yuan-shih-kiau-luh* a catalogue of Buddhist books published in the T'ang dynasty.

Among the translators of the books of the larger development were the following individuals.

Name.	Country.	Date A.D.
An-shi-kau	Ansi 安息	147
Chi-lu-ka-t'san	Massagetae 大月支	147
K'ang-seng-k'ai	India	254
Peh-yan	India	258
Chi-kian	Massagetae	250
Chu-dharmalach'a	Massagetae	313
Malach'a	Udin 于闐	299
Dabadara	Central India	400
Kumaradjiva	India	401
Fah-hian	China	414
Dharmat'san	Central India	433
Gunabadara	Central India	435
Paramoda	Western India, Oujeini	540
Huan-tsang	China	650
Bodhihiuchi	Southern India	705

To assist in numbering and distinguishing the books belonging to the great threefold collection, the characters contained in the 1,000 character classic are made use of.

The first subdivision of the Sutras or King under the heading, 大乘 *ta sheng* "great development," is that of Pradjna 般若 *po-je*.

It contains the work Maha-pradjna paramita in 600 chapters to mark which 60 characters from the Thousand character classic are employed. Eighteen other works are placed in the same subdivision.

These are followed by books containing the legends of Amitabha and Ach'obhya, the western and eastern Buddhas. These with others compose the Pau tsih subdivision. After this comes that called Ta tsih or great collection. Then succeeded those called *Hwayan*, so named from the common book of that title in 80 chapters. The fifth comprises books on the Nirvana. After these five chief subdivisions, are arranged the names of many others whether translated once or oftener. With the preceding they make in all 536 Sutras of the great development class.

Of the smaller development school 228 works

are contained in the collection, the chief of them belonging to the Agama subdivision. There were added in the Song and Yuan dynasties 300 altogether. Their names follow in the catalogue.

Many of these works are very small, ten or more being often placed together under one letter.

Under the denomination Vinaya or Liuh 律 *discipline*, 25 works belong to the great development school, while 59 are assigned to the shiau-sheng department.

Among the works belonging to the third class, abhidharma or lun 論, are 93 of the great development school, and 37 of the lesser. To these 23 were added in the Song and Yuan dynasties.

After this occur works by various western authors in number 97, which do not admit of being classed with those that precede. Many of these consist of liturgical regulations and biographies of Hindoo Buddhists.

At the end of the collection are placed works by Chinese authors in all 196. These consist of commentaries, biographical works, cyclopædias, travels in Buddhist countries, apologetic treatises, liturgical works, and the original works of authors belonging to the various native schools of Buddhism. Of these forty were appended in the Ming dynasty, as in all such cases, by imperial order.

These numbers give a total of about 1,600 separate works of which 1,400 are translations from Sanscrit. Several hundred others are lost.

Many productions of less importance, probably amounting to several hundreds in number, by native authors are commonly read. In an estimate of the extent of Chinese Buddhist literature these should be included. They consist of popular treatises with anecdotes of the power of the Buddhas and Bodhisattwas, and the benefits of chanting the sacred books. Wood cuts are much used in these books illustrative of the Buddhist future state, of Shakyamuni instructing his disciples, and of the Hindoo cosmogony and geography. Descriptions of remarkable monasteries and sacred places, and many works on the various schools of this religion in China, should be added to the list.

THE BUDDHIST MORAL SYSTEM.

The books of primitive Buddhism exhibit a higher moral tone than is found in the larger works, full of metaphysical abstractions, which succeeded them. The Book of 42 Sections translated in the first century, and belonging to the former class, speaks of ten vices and ten virtues as belonging to mankind. The vices are, three of the body, killing, stealing and adultery; four of the lips, slandering, reviling, lying and elegant words (uttered with a vicious intention); three of the mind, jealousy, hatred and folly (ch'i), (the last of which includes) not believing in the honoured three (Buddha, dharma, sanga), and holding erroneous opinions. The opposites of these are the ten virtues.

In the same work Buddha says "that which causes the stupidity and delusion of man is love and the desires" "Man having many faults, if he does not repent, but allows his heart to be at rest, sin will rush upon him like water to the sea. When vice has thus become more powerful, it is still harder than before to abandon it. If a bad man becomes sensible of his faults, abandons them and acts virtuously, his sin will day by day diminish and be destroyed, till he obtains full enlightenment."

In the work Kiau-sheng-fah-su, the three vices of the mind are described as covetousness, hatred, and folly. The ten virtues that correspond to the ten vices, are there stated to be, preserving life, alms giving, a pure and virtuous life (Fan hing), peaceful words, yielding words, truthful words, plain unadorned words, abstinence from quarreling, mercy, and acting from good causes (yin yuen).

Hardy in describing the Buddhism of Ceylon states the four sins of speech to be Lying, Slander, Abuse, and Unprofitable Conversation. The three sins of the mind he states to be Covetousness, Malice and Scepticism.

The disciple of Buddha whether he enters a monastery, or wears the prescribed dress and continues in the family, must pledge himself to the five following things. 1, Not to kill. 2, Not to steal. 3, Not to commit adultery. 4, Not to lie. 5, Not to drink wine. These are called Wu-kiai "the five prohibitions." In Hardy's Manual of Buddhism five evils to be avoided are mentioned, viz., 1, Drinking intoxicating liquors. 2, Gambling. 3, Idleness. 4, Improper association. 5, Frequenting places of amusement.

In the work called Sheng-t'ien-shih-kiai-king, *The book of birth in heaven through keeping the ten prohibitions*, a Deva informs Buddha that he was born in the heaven of the 33 Devas (that of Indra Shakra) as a reward for reverencing the three precious one, (Buddha, the law, and the priest hood), for not inflicting death, or stealing, or

committing adultery, or slandering, or deceiving, or lying, or drinking wine, or eating flesh, or coveting, or holding false opinions.

In the work Kiau-sheng-fah-su the ten prohibitions are stated to be. 1. Killing. 2. Stealing. 3. Adultery. 4. Lying. 5. Selling wine. 6. Speaking of others' faults. 7. Praising one's self and defaming others. 8. Parsimony joined with scoffing. 9. Anger and refusing to be corrected. 10. Reviling the three precious ones.

In the comment on the Fan-kang-king, a work of the great development school in the discipline division, by Chi-hiuh, the ten prohibitions are identified with the ten vices, but in the text the prohibitions are given as in the last quotation.

Other lists of prohibitions might be transcribed amounting to 250 and even higher numbers. For these it will be sufficient to refer to the works already mentioned.

Klaproth having in view these moral precepts, and their effects on the character of nations, speaks of Buddhism as being of all religions next to Christianity in elevating the human race.

He says "The wild nomades of central Asia have been changed by it into amiable and virtuous men, and its beneficent influence has been felt even in northern Siberia."

The beneficent influence of this religion, would have been much greater had it recognized the love and fear of God as the first of all the virtues. Buddhism by ascribing the creation, continuance and destruction of the world to an ever changing fate, avoided the necessity of admitting a supreme God. This was the side the Buddhists took in their controversies with the Brahmins in India.

Atheism is one point in the faith of the southern Buddhists. By the Chinese Buddhists each world is presided over by an individual Buddha, but they do not hold that one supreme spirit rules over the whole collection of worlds. Klaproth affirms that according to the Buddhists and the other Hindoos "the universe is animated by a single spirit, individualized under innumerable forms, by (par) matter which does not exist except in illusion." This spirit however is not God, the universal creator and preserver, and separated from the world by his everlasting personality.

Good has resulted doubtless in many instances from the prominent exhibition made by this system of the virtues and vices enumerated. But much more good would have been done if they had rested on a better basis, and been supported by a different view of the future state. The crime of killing rests chiefly on the doctrine of metempsychosis which ascribes the same immortal soul to animals that it does to man. Faithful Buddhists are told not to kill the least insect, lest in so doing

they should cause death to some deceased relative or ancestor whose soul animates the insect. On this account the corresponding virtue is stated to be *fang sheng* "to save life" constantly applied by the Buddhist priests and common people of China to the preservation of the lives of animals. The monks are vegetarians for the same reasons. They abstain from flesh because they will not share in the slaughter of living beings. They also construct reservoirs of water near the monasteries, in which fish, snakes, tortoises and small shell fish, brought by worshippers of Buddha, are placed to preserve them from death. Goats, and other land animals are also given over sometimes to the care of the monks, and it is a custom in some monasteries as at T'ien-t'ung, near Ningpo, to feed a bird with a few grains of rice just before the morning meal has commenced. When the priest appears at the door, the little bird which is watching in the neighbourhood, and knows how to act on the occasion, flies to receive the gift.

In the Buddhist account of human sins and duties, no obligation is included except the duty of lessening the sum of human misery and promoting happiness. This accords with the following anecdote related of Shakyamuni in his youth. His father, remembering the forewarning of a hermit, that the prince his son would wish to abandon the world, erected for him three palaces where every thing fascinating was placed to keep him from such a purpose. The son of a Deva came down to praise the beauty of the gardens and groves.

But the prince then ten years old wished to go out, and see the city. The king sent him with a wise minister to attend him. A Deva appeared at one of the city gates transformed into an old man resting on a staff. At another gate, a Deva appeared as a sick person in pain and helpless. At another gate he saw a corpse attacked by ravens, also a Deva. The prince asked in each case the reason of what he saw. The wise counselor told him, these sufferings came from the natural state of the world and could not be avoided. People must grow old, must suffer from sickness, and must die. The prince was not satisfied, and the next day seeing a Deva dressed as a monk, he dismounted from his horse and asked him who he was. The reply was "A Shamen* who has left the world. The prince asked him why he had left the world. He said, because he saw men exposed to the evils of birth, old age, sickness and death, he therefore left the world to seek truth, and save living beings. The disguised Deva then ascended into the air, and disappeared.

At nineteen assisted by the Devas, Shakyamuni is said to have gone through the air on horseback 250 miles to Baga, a mountain belonging to the Himalayas. Here he lived as a hermit for six years, and became prepared for the office he was to assume.

According to the view thus presented of the great object of Buddha's teaching, it is to deliver men from suffering. This is done by persuading them to enter on the monastic or hermit

life, and act in obedience to the directions of Buddha. This system looks on mankind as involved in misery rather than guilt. The ten vices are rather to be regarded as faults into which men fall from delusion and ignorance, than positive sins. The common people in China, whose phraseology is extensively infected with Buddhist ideas, see in every attack of sickness, and in other misfortunes a close connection with sin (*tsui*). They hold that sin is the cause of suffering. Yet they do not mean by this, wilful sin, but some improper act done unconsciously, or in childhood, as treading on an insect, wasting rice-crumbs, or misusing paper that has the native characters upon it. Or they refer the calamity to the sins of a former life. Hence they regard themselves as more to be pitied than blamed for the *tsui* or sin of which their ill fortune gives evidence.

This is an example of the mode in which the better tendencies of the Buddhist system, are neutralised by its omissions. Its moral precepts, good as they most of them are, would have more power, and the true character of sin be more felt by the people, if the authority of God were recognized as the great reason for acting well, the source of moral obligation.

The question that has been raised by European moralists, as to whether man has from his natural constitution an inborn moral sense is decided by the Buddhists, though without holding a controversy on the subject, in the affirmative. They may be said to appeal to a natural conscience, when they teach that all men have within them a good moral nature, and that this principle of good is only prevented from making men virtuous and happy, by contact with the world and the delusions of the senses. This is similar to the Confucian doctrine that all men are born good, and it is only by falling into evil habits subsequently, that they become vicious. Most systems of morals indeed,† in words or by implication admit the existence of conscience, because all men possess it and cannot be made to understand moral distinctions without it. The existence of a system of virtues and vices shows the operation of conscience in the maker of it, as the use of that system in moral instruction involves an appeal to conscience in the disciple. The identification of conscience, however, with natural goodness, by the Confucianists and the Buddhists, obscures its true character as the judge between right and wrong. And to tell men that they are naturally good is not only assuming, in compliment to human nature, a fact that should be proved, but it is also likely to induce those who are thus taught, to look leniently on their own vices as originating solely in the influences of the outside world. The feebleness of the Buddhist appeal to conscience as the source of moral obligation, is further increased by its assigning the same originally good nature to each member of the animal creation, that it does to man.

The motives to well-doing drawn from a future state of retribution in this system are derived from the Hindoo popular account of heaven and hell. The six life-paths into which living beings can

* In Sanscrit *Shramana*, but according to the commentator on the Chinese Life of Buddha, *Shakamananga*, meaning "diligence and cessation."

† Paley and those who side with him, who have attempted to construct a moral system without a natural sense of right and wrong in man, must be excepted.

be born are 1, Devas (gods); 2, Men; 3, Asuras (monsters); 4, Hell (Naraka); 5, Hungry ghosts; 6, Animals. The first three are assigned to the good; the latter three to the wicked. The moral action is called yin (cause), and its recompense kwo (fruit). All beings whether virtuous or vicious continue to be re-born in one of these six states, until saved by the teaching of Buddha.

Buddha said "To leave the three evil states is difficult. When the state of man has been attained, to leave the female sex and be born in the male, is difficult. To have the senses and mind and body all sound is hard. When this is attained to be born in Central India is hard." He continues to say that to meet Buddha and be instructed, to be born in the time of a good king, to be born in the family of a Bodhisattwa, and to believe with the heart in the three honoured ones, are all difficult.

Buddha said† in a discourse delivered in the heaven of Indra Shakra, that whatever good man or woman heard the name of Ti-t'sang Bodhisattwa and in consequence performed an act of praise or worship, or repeated that Bodhisattwa's name, or made an offering to him, or drew a picture of him, such a person would certainly be born in the heaven of Indra Shakra.

The same Bodhisattwa tells the mother of Buddha who resides in the paradise just mentioned, that disobedience to parents with slaying and wounding are punished with an abode in the place of suffering called Wu-kien-ti-yuh. Slandering the three precious ones, or wounding the person of Buddha, or dishonouring the sacred books, or breaking the vows, or stealing from a monk are punished in a similar way. Their punishment will last for ten millions of millions of Kalpas. Then their sin being compensated for by sufficient suffering they will be released.

"If a woman with an ugly countenance and sickly constitution prays to this Bodhisattwa, she will for a million Kalpas be born with a beautiful countenance." If any men or women perform music before the image of the same deity, sing and offer incense, they shall have hundreds and thousand of spirits to protect them day and night, so that no unpleasant sound may enter their ears. Any one who slanders or ridicules a worshipper of this Bodhisattwa will be transported to the Avichi Naraka (O-pi-ti-yuh) till the end of this Kalpa. He will then be born a wandering hungry ghost, and after a thousand Kalpas become an animal. After a thousand Kalpas more he will again become a man.

Such are a few specimens of the doctrine of retribution as taught to the popular mind. It is easy to see that such sensual conceptions of the future existence of man, must degrade the common notions of the people on duty and virtue. The objects for which the common people in China worship in the Buddhist temples, are almost all of a very inferior nature. Religious worship, which ought to concern the recovery of man to pure virtue, and the restoration of direct communication with God by the forgiveness of sin, is changed into an instrument for acquiring various kinds of material happiness.

The opinion the Buddhists hold on the forgive-

ness of sin, is that it can be attained by repentance, and meritorious actions. A definite amount of gifts and worship will gain the removal of a corresponding amount of sin and its attendant suffering. Thus a filial daughter by a certain number of days spent in worshipping a Bodhisattwa, or a Buddha, can obtain the rescue of a mother from hell.

In the popular view of the future state, the Hindoo king of death, Yama (yen lo), holds a high place as the administrator of the punishments of hell. Nine others are joined with him of Chinese origin. They are called the Ten Kings. The wicked at death are conducted to them to receive judgment.

The decree by which men are born into the six states of the metempsychosis, is merely that of fate, expressed in the words *yin-kwo* cause and effect, or employing one factor only, *yin-yuen*, causation or fate (karma). Good actions are also sometimes called *yin-yuen*, because they ultimately bring happiness to the doer.

The motive to a good life, drawn from heavenly happiness, cannot be considered a strong one, when the Devas and their felicity are systematically depreciated as they are in Buddhism. The Devas (or popular Hindoo gods, in Chinese *t'ien*) are all mortal and limited in power. The state of man may be so elevated as to approach to that of the paradise of the Devas. Some men attain to nearly the same power as the gods, e. g. Krishna. Southey in the *Curse of Kehama* has made that personage, although a man, a terror to the kings of the Devas, and such a representation is in accordance with Hindoo notions. So in Chinese Buddhist temples the visitor sees the highest of celestial beings listening humbly to Buddha.

It may be said that it is not correct to institute or imply a parallel between God, as he is in the view of the Christian, and the Hindoo deities. It may be said that a parallel between God and Buddha would be more just. But Buddha is a world-born man, who washes away his sins like others by penances, offerings, and the teaching of some enlightened instructor. He is not said to create the universe, nor to act as the judge of mankind. He is simply a teacher of the most exalted kind, who by superior knowledge passes out of the metempsychosis and gradually attains the Nirvana. His attitude towards his disciples is simply that, of an instructor not an authoritative superior. The tie by which the disciple is attached to him, is that of voluntary not compulsory obedience.

In fact the character ascribed to Buddha is rather that of a Saviour than that of God. The object of his life and teaching is to rescue living beings from their misery. While such is the character of Buddha as he is described in books, he is as an object of popular worship, like the great Bodhisattwas, simply regarded as a powerful divinity.

A brief notice will here be taken of the ethical views of some of the Chinese sects. The Tsingtu school substitutes a paradise of purely Buddhist invention, for that of Hindoo mythology. It makes birth in the Western heaven, the abode of Amitabha Buddha, the reward of virtue. The description of this paradise consists entirely of things pleasing to the senses. It is popularly

† *Vide* Ti-t'sang-king.

regarded as real, but the founder of the Yün-tsi school in his commentary on the Amitabha Sutra[§] explains it as figurative. According to this explanation, the western heaven means the moral nature, confirmed, pure and at rest. Amitabha means the mind clear and enlightened. The rows of trees mean the mind cultivating the virtues. The lotus flower means the mind pure and enlightened. The music means the harmony of virtues in the mind. The flowers mean the mind opening to consciousness and intelligence. The beautiful birds mean the mind becoming changed and renovated.

It is evident that on adopting this mode of commenting on the fable of the Western heaven it cannot any longer be honestly held out as a future state of reward, to attract men to good actions.

The object of this figurative interpretation of the western paradise of Amitabha, was doubtless, to redeem the T'ing-tu school from the discredit into which it had fallen, by abandoning the Nirvana in favour of a sensual heaven. The original inventors of the fiction must also have had such a notion of it as that here given, while they intended it to be accepted as real by the ignorant and uninquiring.

In the contemplative school, founded by Bodhidharma, the distinction of vice and virtue is lost. To the mind that is given up to its own abstract meditations, the outer world becomes obliterated. A person who attends simply to his own heart may revile Buddha without sin for nothing is sin to him. He does not make offerings or pray. All actions are the same to him. This system however is not in opposition to ethical distinctions. It only aims to enter a higher sphere. It seeks to attain a sort of Nirvana even in the present life.

In the books of this school as in others where the unreality of all sensible phenomena is maintained, virtue and vice occupy an inferior position. These notions only come into existence through the imperfection of the present state. They disappear altogether when an escape from it is effected, by admission into the higher region of pure enlightenment. Virtue and vice, life and death, happiness and misery the antithetical states originated in the world of delusions to which we belong, are all condemned together as constituting a

lower state of existence. All beings should strive to be freed from them, and to rise by Buddha's teaching, to that perfection where every such diversity, moral or physical, will be lost in unity. The Nirvana does not admit any such distinctions as those just mentioned. It is absolute and pure intelligence, without anything definite attached to it, whether good or evil, pain or pleasure. Thus there is no place for ethics, except in the lower modes of life.

It is common for intelligent priests in China of the contemplative school, to defend their system of idolatry, by saying that they do not worship images themselves. They are intended for the ignorant who cannot comprehend the deeper principles of their religion. Religion being purely a matter of the heart, offerings and prostrations are really unnecessary. This exemplifies how what is regarded as a highly virtuous action in the common people, ceases to be so in the case of one who, as he thinks, has made some progress towards the state of Buddha. According to this view the consistent Buddhist will offer worship to no being whatever. He simply aims to raise himself above all the common feelings of human life.

We cannot wonder that the Buddhist system of ethics having such deficiencies and such faults as have been pointed out, has failed to produce high morality among its votaries. The mass of the people have gained from it the notion of a future retribution, but what is the use of this when the promised state beyond death consists merely of clumsy fiction? The incontinence, administered by a moral fate, has only provided them with a convenient means for charging their sinfulness and their misfortunes on a former life. What virtue the people have among them is due to the Confucian system. Buddhism has added to it only idolatry and a false view of the future state, but has not contributed to make the people more virtuous.

Klaproth complains of "a worthy and learned English missionary" (Dr. Marshman of Serampore) for saying "Unhappily for mankind, Buddhism was now fitted to spread its baneful influence to any extent."

These modes of expression are not however by any means too strong to describe the effects of this religion in China. So far as the subject now under discussion is concerned, it has done it may be a little good, but immensely more harm.

§ O-mi-ta-king-su-t'sau by Lien-si-ta-shi.

THE VISIONS OF HUNG-SIU-TSHUEN, AND ORIGIN OF THE KWANG-SI INSURRECTION;

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1. GENEALOGY OF THE HUNG FAMILY.

—The Hung family trace the pedigree of their ancestors back to the time of the Sung dynasty, and the reign of the two Emperors Hwui-tsung and Kin-tsung, about the beginning of the twelfth century. These two Emperors were taken captive by the northern barbarians, the people of Kin, and carried away to their country. At this period one Hung-hau was Minister of State, and actuated by feelings of duty and compassion, with but one companion to share his dangers, he resolved to visit the Kin country, in order to offer his services to his unfortunate master. Exposed to the severe cold in those northern regions, and being driven out without relief into the uninhabited forests, they soon found that their provisions and clothing were insufficient to keep them both alive, upon which Hung's companion magnanimously proposed to sacrifice his own life in order to save Hung, and gave him his own food and raiment, to enable him to continue his wandering, while he himself was left to perish in the forest. Hung was nevertheless soon reduced to extreme distress, and had only the roots of wild herbs wherewith to support his life. The Kin people were astonished to find him after some time still alive, and permitted him to return to his native country.

Hung-hau had three sons, Hung-tsun, Hung-mai, and Hung-kwah. The first of these was appointed Minister of State, as his father had been; the two others were members of the Han-lin college. Hung-tsun's son Hung-Phuh, also attained to this distinction, the highest literary rank in China, and at that time there were more than eighty individuals of the Hung family at the Imperial court. From Hung-Phuh to Hung-Nien-kiu-lang were fifteen generations. The latter lived in the department of Chau-chau in the eastern part of Kwang-tung province, but having to suffer insult and persecution from some of his relatives, he removed farther north, to Kia-jing-chau. His descendants afterwards gradually spread in the province of Kwang-tung, and number at the present time about twenty thousand individuals. Among them there always have been found men of literary attainments and renown. From the above Hung-Nien-kiu-lang to Hung-Kung were eleven generations. The latter had four sons, Hung-Jin-king, Hung-Jin-lun, Hun-Jin-shing, and Hung-Jin-wui. Of these Jin-lun and Jin-wui first removed to the district of Hwa-hien, to the northward of the city of Canton, where they settled as farmers, and afterwards brought their parents and brothers to the same

place. The descendants of Hung-Kung now amount to about five hundred persons. From one of the above-named four brothers, Jin-lun, descends Hung-Siu-tshuen in the fourth generation, and from another brother Jin-wui, his friend Hung-Jin, also in the fourth generation, from whom the statements composing this narrative have been obtained.

In China, where the security of a family depends on the influence and number of its members, all descendants from one ancestral head consider themselves nearly related, and as belonging to one family, mutually bound to protect and assist each other. All of the same generation are called brothers and sisters, those of the former generation are called uncles and aunts, and intermarrying between parties of the same surname or clan is strictly forbidden. Thus Hung-Siu-tshuen, the subject of the following pages, and Hung-Jin, the informant respecting him, are in China considered as much more nearly related than persons under similar circumstances in a western country would be. Hung-Siu-tshuen's father Hung-Jang, had three sons and two daughters by his first wife of the Choo family; by his second wife of the Li family, who is still alive, he had no issue. Siu-tshuen was the fourth of the children, and only a sister was younger than himself. Siu-tshuen by his wife of the Lai family has three children, the elder girl about fifteen, the younger about ten, and a son five years of age. Several of Siu-tshuen's nearest ancestors were generally known and renowned for their integrity of character, and attained a venerable old age. Hung-Jin-lun, his great-grandfather's father, was a man of remarkable benevolence, who extended his care to all the members of the clan, and died at ninety-six years of age. The son of Jin-lun attained an age of more than ninety years, and his grandson, the grandfather of Siu-tshuen, was about eighty when he died. Siu-tshuen's father was a venerable old man with a long beard, honest and straightforward, and was appointed by the clan to take charge of the ancestral fields, the produce of which is the property of the whole clan, and the spending of the revenue derived from which is reserved for extraordinary occurrences, when the in-

terest of all is concerned. He was also appointed headman or elder of his native village, in which capacity he had not only to settle disputes among the inhabitants of his own village, but also to arrange the terms of any agreement with the surrounding villages. In China, where the distance to the district town, or nearest mandarin office, is often very great, perhaps twenty or thirty miles, and where a lawsuit generally results in a mere spending of large sums of money to the benefit of the mandarins and their servants, the method of settling any disputes between themselves by means of appointed, or generally acknowledged, headmen, is in most instances resorted to, and very often war between the different villages is resolved upon, carried on for months, and peace finally concluded, without any interference on the side of the mandarins, who at the present time have lost a great part of their influence among the native population.

2. HUNG'S BIRTHPLACE AND CHILDHOOD.—The native place of Hung-Siu-tshuen is a small village in the Hwa-hien district. Its distance from the city of Canton is about thirty English miles, and the country in this direction forms an extensive plain; it is covered with paddy fields, and interspersed with numerous villages. The White-cloud Mountains near Canton may upon a clear day be seen from thence. Siu-tshuen's ancestors having moved hither from Kia-jing-chau, and speaking the Kia-jing-chau dialect, their descendants, and all other Chinese, who have moved down to settle in the southern part of the Kwang-tung province, are by the aborigines, or Punti people, known under the name of Hakkas (Khekkia), or settlers. The Chinese adhere strictly to the customs of their forefathers; they spend their whole lives in an unceasing toil for procuring a bare support, and seem by habit almost unable to appreciate those comforts of life which are deemed indispensable by western nations. In such a Hakka village, we only find what is useful and necessary, without any thought of comfort or luxury. A description of the native village of Siu-tshuen may serve as a pattern for numerous others. The front part of the houses faces the south to admit the light, and to re-

ceive the refreshing south-west breeze during the summer months, and also to avoid the cold north wind during the winter season. Upon entering through the front door, there is an open space about ten or twelve feet square, on the sides of which are the cooking and bathing rooms, and right opposite the door is the large room or hall of the house, which is quite open in front, to admit the light and air. On both sides are private apartments of the several branches of the family, who possess one common room for assembling in. The houses consist of only one story; the ground is made hard by a mixture of moistened sand and lime, being beaten quite smooth on the surface; the walls are made of the same materials, but with a greater proportion of clay. The roof is simply formed by spars and laths, upon which the tiles are thickly laid, first in rows with the concave side upwards, and above them a second row with the concave side downwards, by which means the water is kept from penetrating into the house below.

The whole population of Hung's native village only amounts to about four hundred people, the most part of whom belong to the Hung family. There are only half-a-dozen houses in the front, but behind are two other rows of houses with narrow lanes leading to them, and in the third row on the west side we find the humble dwelling of Hung's parents. Before the village in front of the houses is a large pool of muddy water, where all the dirt and refuse of the village is carried down by the rain, and which forms a rich supply of water for manuring purposes, though the smell thereof is offensive to persons unaccustomed to Chinese agricultural economy. Upon the left hand from the village, and on the side of this pool, is situated the schoolhouse, where every boy may study the same Chinese classics as are studied everywhere and by every student in the whole country, with the hope ultimately of rising from his present humble station to the highest dignities in the Empire.

In this village, in the year 1813, Hung-Siu-tshuen was born, and received upon his birth the name, "Brilliant fire;" afterwards upon attaining the age of manhood, another name was given him, mark-

ing his relation to the Hung family; and subsequently he himself adopted Siu-tshuen, "Elegant and Perfect," as his literary name. The two elder brothers of Siu-tshuen assisted their father in cultivating their paddy-fields, and a few simple vegetables, which supplied their principal nourishment. The family was in a humble position, possessing only one or two buffaloes, besides some pigs, dogs, and poultry, which are generally included in a Chinese farming establishment. The young Siu-tshuen soon developed an extraordinary capacity for study, and was sent to school when seven years of age. In the course of five or six years, he had already committed to memory and studied the Four Books, the five Classics, the Koo-wun and the Hau-king; afterwards he read for himself the History of China, and the more extraordinary books of Chinese literature, all of which he very easily understood at the first perusal. He soon gained the favour of his teachers as well as of his own family relations, who felt proud of his talents, and surely hoped that he would in course of time attain the degree of a Tsin-tzu, or even become a member of the Han-lin college, from which the highest officers are selected by the Emperor, and thus by his high station reflect a lustre upon his whole family. Several of his teachers would not receive any pay for instructing him, and though some of the schools he visited were at a great distance, and the circumstances of his family not very good, yet, in order that he might continue his studies, they rejoiced to bring him provisions, and several of his relatives shared their clothing with him, for the same purpose. His old father, in talking with his friends, was particularly fond of dwelling upon the subject of the talents of his youngest son. His face brightened whenever he heard any one speak in his son's praise, and this was inducement enough for him to invite the speaker to the family hall, to partake of a cup of tea or a bowl of rice, and quietly continue this his favorite topic of discourse.

When Siu-tshuen was about sixteen years of age, the poverty of his family did not permit him to continue his studies, but like the other youths of the village, who were no students, he assisted in the

field labour, or led the oxen to graze upon the mountains, a common occupation in China for those who, either by their age or by their youth, are unable to perform heavy manual labour. Still it was regretted by all, that Siu-tshuen's studies should thus be discontinued; and in the following year a friend of the same age as himself invited him to become associated with him as a fellow-student for one year, hoping to derive benefit from a companion of so much talent. After the expiration of this period, his relatives and friends regretted that his talents should be wasted upon mere manual labour in the fields, and they therefore engaged him as teacher in their own village, whereby an opportunity was given him quietly to continue his literary pursuits, and develop his character. The yearly income of a Chinese schoolmaster depends upon the number of boys who attend his school. The usual number is between ten and twenty; a smaller number than ten would be insufficient for his support, and to more than twenty he could not give proper attention, as he has to teach every boy separately, and hear him repeat his lessons by heart, after he has committed them to memory. Every boy is bound to supply his teacher with the following articles annually:—Rice 50 lbs., for extra provisions 300 cash, lamp-oil 1 catty ($1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.), lard 1 catty, salt 1 catty, tea 1 catty, and, besides, a sum of from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 dollars, according to the age and ability of the boy. In the district of Hwa-hien, the school studies are continued throughout the whole year, with only about one month's intermission at the New Year. At this time the teacher's engagement terminates, a new engagement must be made, and a change of teachers often follows.

3. HUNG'S LITERARY CAREER, SICKNESS, AND VISIONS.—At an early period, when he was only about sixteen years of age, Hung commenced to visit the public examinations at Canton, with the hope to realize the high expectations entertained in his family respecting his literary abilities. There are in China four literary degrees, which can be attained by every one who at the examination distinguishes himself by superior talent, elegance of composition, and fine handwriting. The

first or lowest degree is called Siu-tshai, the second Keu-jin, the third Tsin-szu, and the fourth or highest Han-lin. In order to attain to the first of these degrees, every student must pass three different examinations, namely, first, the examination of the District, called Hien-khau; then the examination of the Department called the Fuh-khau; and finally, the decisive examination before the Imperial Examiner, called the 'Thau-khau. At the examination of the district, by the Magistrate of Hwa-hien, there are collected about 500 students every time, being all candidates aspiring to gain the first literary degree of Siu-tshai. Every candidate must state his own name, and the names of his ancestors during three previous generations, and besides procure the evidence of a graduate in the district, that he really does belong to its jurisdiction, and is entitled to the right of attending the examination. When the names have been duly registered, every candidate receives a roll of white paper, marked with his number, upon which he has to write his essays. Upon the first day two passages from the Four Books are selected as themes for the essays, and one arbitrary theme for a piece of poetry. Afterwards all these essays are examined, and arranged according to their merits. All the names of candidates are arranged accordingly in ten circles every circle containing fifty names. After an interval of three or four days, the same process is repeated, until the candidates have been collected, and have written their essays and pieces of poetry seven different times—the three first times two essays and one verse, but the last four times only one essay and one verse every day. Finally, he whose name during the course of the seven trials stood highest upon the circle board, is selected as the head of the District examinations. It is however often the case, that upon the first and following trials, essays are thrown out as too bad in composition and handwriting, and the names left out, so that the number decreases after every new trial, and at the last trial only fifteen to twenty names remain upon the board. The second examination in the city of the department is very much like the first in the district town. At the third examination, when

the names of the graduates are selected by the Imperial Examiner, all the candidates from all the District towns of the Department assemble together, and this time the examination lasts only one day. A certain number of graduates is appointed, according to the population of the several districts, from eight to twenty-four individuals from every district, making in the fourteen Districts of Canton above two hundred graduates. Those appointed to the degree of *Siu-tshai*, must upon the following day stand a new trial, to ascertain if their talent be of a real nature, and that no deception was practised upon the day of the examination. The *Siu-tshais* of the different departments afterwards repair to the provincial city, and in this province, seventy two of them are promoted to the second degree of *Keu-jin*. The *Keu-jins* of the eighteen provinces in their turn, repair to the capital of the Empire, and about one hundred and twenty or thirty are promoted to the third degree of *Tsin-szu*. All *Tsin-szus* repair for further promotion to the Imperial Palace, when, upon examination in the presence of the Emperor, forty or fifty of their number are appointed Members of the Hanlin College. All graduates are obliged regularly to attend at future examinations, until they are sixty years of age, on pain of losing their degree.

Siu-tshuen's name was always among the first upon the board at the District Examinations, yet he never succeeded in attaining the degree of *Siu-tshai*. In the year 1836,* when he was twenty-three years of age, he again visited Canton, to be presented at the public examination. Just before the office of the Superintendent of Finances, he found a man dressed according to the custom of the Ming dynasty, in a coat with wide sleeves, and his hair tied in a knot upon his head. The man was unacquainted with the Chinese vernacular tongue, and employed a native as interpreter. A number of people kept gathering round the stranger, who used to tell them the fulfilment of their wishes, even without waiting for a question from their side. *Siu-tshuen* approached the man, intending to ask if he

should attain a literary degree, but the man prevented him by saying,—“You will attain the highest rank, but do not be grieved, for grief will make you sick. I congratulate your virtuous father.” On the following day he again met with two men in the *Liung-tsang* street.* One of these men had in his possession a parcel of books consisting of nine small volumes, being a complete set of a work entitled “*Keuen shi leang yen*,” or “Good words for exhorting the age;” the whole of which he gave *Hung-Siu-tshuen*, who, on his return from the examination, brought them home, and after a superficial glance at their contents, placed them in his book-case, without at the time considering them to be of any particular importance. The following year, 1837, he again attended the public examination at the provincial city of *Kwang-tung*. In the commencement his name was placed high upon the board, but afterwards it was again put lower. Deeply grieved and discontented, he was obliged once more to return home without his hopes being realized, and at the same time feeling very ill, he engaged a sedan-chair with two stout men, who carried him to his native village, where he arrived on the first day of the third Chinese month in a very feeble state, and was for some time confined to his bed. During this period he had a succession of dreams or visions. He first saw a great number of people, bidding him welcome to their number, and thought this dream was to signify that he should soon die, and go into the presence of *Yen-lo-wang*, the Chinese King of Hades. He therefore called his parents and other relatives to assemble at his bedside, and addressed them in the following terms:—“My days are counted, and my life will soon be closed. O my parents! how badly have I returned the favour of your love to me! I shall never attain a name that may reflect its lustre upon you.” After he had uttered these words, during which time his two elder brothers had supported him in a sitting posture upon his bed, he shut his eyes and lost all strength and com-

† *Siu-tshuen* supposed these two men to have been the same whom he saw the previous day, and who had told him the future; but in all probability his memory was here mistaken, which however was very excusable, as seven years had passed between his first getting the books and his studying their contents carefully.

* It may also have been some time before that period.

mand over his body. All present thought he was going to die, and his two brothers placed him quietly down upon the bed. Siu-tshuen became for some time unconscious of what was going on around him; his outward senses were inactive, and his body appeared as dead, lying upon the bed; but his soul was acted upon by a peculiar energy, so that he not only experienced things of a very extraordinary nature, but afterwards also retained in memory what had occurred to him. At first when his eyes were closed, he saw a dragon, a tiger, and a cock entering his room, and soon after he observed a great number of men, playing upon musical instruments, approaching with a beautiful sedan chair, in which they invited him to be seated, and then carried him away. Siu-tshuen felt greatly astonished at the honour and distinction bestowed upon him, and knew not what to think thereof. They soon arrived at a beautiful and luminous place, where on both sides were assembled a multitude of fine men and women, who saluted him with expressions of great joy. As he left the sedan, an old woman took him down to a river and said,—“Thou dirty man, why hast thou kept company with yonder people, and defiled thyself? I must now wash thee clean.” After the washing was performed, Siu-tshuen, in company with a great number of old virtuous and venerable men, among whom he remarked many of the ancient sages, entered a large building where they opened his body with a knife, took out his heart and other parts, and put in their place others new and of a red colour. Instantly when this was done, the wound closed, and he could see no trace of the incision which had been made. Upon the walls surrounding this place, Siu-tshuen remarked a number of Tablets with inscriptions exhorting to virtue, which he one by one examined. Afterwards they entered another large hall the beauty and splendour of which were beyond description. A man, venerable in years, with golden beard and dressed in a black robe, was sitting in an imposing attitude upon the highest place. As soon as he observed Siu-tshuen, he began to shed tears, and said,—“All human beings in the whole world are produced and sustained by me; they eat my food

and wear my clothing, but not a single one among them has a heart to remember and venerate me; what is however still worse than that, they take of my gifts, and therewith worship demons; they purposely rebel against me, and arouse my anger. Do thou not imitate them.” Thereupon he gave Siu-tshuen a sword, commanding him to exterminate the demons, but to spare his brothers and sisters; a seal by which he would overcome the evil spirits; and also a yellow fruit to eat, which Siu-tshuen found sweet to the taste. When he had received the ensigns of royalty from the hand of the old man, he instantly commenced to exhort those collected in the hall to return to their duties toward the venerable old man upon the high seat. Some replied to his exhortations, saying, “We have indeed forgotten our duties toward the venerable.” Others said, “Why should we venerate him? let us only be merry, and drink together with our friends.” Siu-tshuen then, because of the hardness of their hearts, continued his admonitions with tears. The old man said to him, “Take courage and do the work; I will assist thee in every difficulty.” Shortly after this he turned to the assemblage of the old and virtuous saying, Siu-tshuen is competent to this charge;” and thereupon he led Siu-tshuen out, told him to look down from above, and said, “Behold the people upon this earth! hundredfold is the perverseness of their hearts. Siu-tshuen looked and saw such a degree of depravity and vice, that his eyes could not endure the sight, nor his mouth express their deeds. He then awoke from his trance, but still being under its influence, he felt the very hairs of his head raise themselves, and suddenly, seized by a violent anger, forgetting his feeble state, put on his clothes, left his bedroom, went into the presence of his father, and making a low bow said, “The venerable old man above has commanded that all men shall turn to me, and all treasures shall flow to me.” When his father saw him come out, and heard him speak in this manner, he did not know what to think, feeling at the same time both joy and fear. The sickness and visions of Siu-tshuen continued about forty days, and in these visions he often met with a man of middle age, whom

he called his elder brother, who instructed him how to act, accompanied him upon his wanderings to the uttermost regions in search of evil spirits, and assisted him in slaying and exterminating them. Siu-tshuen also heard the venerable old man with the black robe reprove Confucius for having omitted in his books clearly to expound the true doctrine. Confucius seemed much ashamed, and confessed his guilt. Siu-tshuen, during his sickness, often, as his mind was wandering, used to run about his room, leaping and fighting like a soldier engaged in battle. His constant cry was, "Tsan jau, tsan jau, tsan ah, tsan ah,"—"Slay the demons! slay the demons! slay, slay; there is one and there is another many many cannot withstand one single blow of my sword." His father felt very anxious about the state of his mind, and ascribed their present misfortune to the fault of the Geomancer in selecting an unlucky spot of ground for the burial of their forefathers. He invited therefore magicians, who by their secret art should drive away evil spirits; but Siu-tshuen said, "How could theseimps dare to oppose me? I must slay them, I must slay them! Many many cannot resist me." As in his imagination he pursued the Demons, they seemed to undergo various changes and transformations—one time flying as birds, and another time appearing as lions. In case he was not able to overcome them, he held out his seal against them, at the sight of which they immediately fled away. He imagined himself pursuing them to the most remote places under heaven, and every where he made war with and destroyed them. Whenever he succeeded, he laughed joyfully and said, "They can't withstand me." He also constantly used to sing one passage of an old song,— "The virtuous swain he travels over rivers and seas; he saves many friends and he kills his enemies." During his exhortations he often burst into tears, saying,— "You have no hearts to venerate the old father, but you are on good terms with the impish fiends; indeed, indeed, you have no hearts, no conscience more." Siu-tshuen's two brothers constantly kept his door shut, and watched him, to prevent him from running out of the house. After he had fatigued himself by fighting,

jumping about, singing, and exhorting, he lay down again upon his bed. When he was asleep, many persons used to come and look at him, and he was soon known in the whole district as the madman. He often said, that he was duly appointed Emperor of China, and was highly gratified when any one called him by that name; but if any one called him mad, he used to laugh at him and to reply, "You are indeed mad yourself, and do you call me mad? When men of bad character came to see him, he often rebuked them and called them demons. All the day long he used to sing, weep, exhort, reprove by turns, and in full earnest. During his sickness he composed the following piece of poetry :—

My hand now holds both in heaven and earth
the power to punish and kill—

To slay the depraved, and spare the upright;
to relieve the people's distress.

My eyes survey from the North to the South
beyond the rivers and mountains;

My voice is heard from the East to the West to
the tracts of the sun and the moon.

The Dragon expands his claws, as if the road
in the clouds were too narrow;

And when he ascends, why should he fear the
bent of the milky way?

Then tempest and thunder as music attend, and
the foaming waves are excited,

The flying Dragon the Yik-king describes, dwells
surely in Heaven above.

One morning very early when Siu-tshuen was about to leave his bed, he heard the birds of the spring singing in the trees which surrounded the village, and instantly he recited the following Ode :—

The Birds in their flight all turn to the light,
In this resembling me;

For I'm now a King, and every thing
At will to do I'm free.

As the sun to the sight, my body shines bright—
Calamities are gone;

The high Dragon and the Tiger band
Are helping me each one.

Siu-tshuen's relatives asked the advice of several physicians, who tried to cure his disease by the aid of medicines, but without success. One day his father noticed a slip of paper put into a crack of the doorpost, upon which were written the following characters in red,— "The noble principles of the heavenly King, the Sovereign King Tshuen." He took the paper and shewed it to the other

members of the family, who however could not understand the meaning of the seven characters. From this time Siu-tshuen gradually regained his health. Many of his friends and relatives now visited him, desirous to hear from his own mouth what he had experienced during his disease, and Siu-tshuen related to them without reserve all that he could remember of his extraordinary visions. His friends and relatives only replied, that the whole was very strange indeed, without thinking at the time that there was any reality in the matter.

4. SIU-TSHUEN'S CHANGE—READING OF THE TRACTS—BAPTISM.—With the return of health, Siu-tshuen's whole person became gradually changed both in character and appearance. He was careful in his conduct, friendly and open in his demeanour, his body increased in height and size, his pace became firm and imposing, his views enlarged and liberal. His friend describes him as being, at a later period, a rather tall man, with oval face and fair complexion, high nose, small round ears, his voice clear and sonorous—when laughing, the whole house resounded; his hair black, his beard long and sandy, his strength of body extraordinary, his power of understanding rare. Persons of vicious habits fled from his presence, but the honest sought his company. He now again attended the public examination at Canton, and was also, as before, several years engaged as teacher of a school about eight miles from his native place. As a schoolmaster he was rather severe, and kept his pupils in strict order; he was however very friendly to those whose character he approved of, and in confidential conversation he occasionally disclosed the thoughts of his heart, whereby it was evident, that the impression which his former sickness and visions had made upon his mind had not been effaced.

In the year 1843, he had a school in a village called "Water-lily," about ten miles from his native place, being engaged as teacher by the Li family. In the 5th month, his cousin Li, whilst looking into his bookcase, happened to take out from among his books the work entitled "Good Words for exhorting the Age," and asked Siu-tshuen what these books contained. Siu-tshuen answered, that he did not

know their contents; that the books had been presented to him when he once attended the examination at Canton. Li asked his permission to take the books home and read them at his leisure, which Siu-tshuen readily granted.

Whilst the cousin of Siu-tshuen is looking over the nine little volumes of "Good Words for exhorting the Age," which were destined to exercise a great influence upon Siu-tshuen's mind and actions, it may not be out of the way for us also to have a glance at their contents. The author of the "Keuen-she-leang-yen," or "Good Words exhorting the Age," calls himself "Hioh-shen," or "Student of Virtue." The name however by which he is commonly called is Liang Afah, known as one of Dr. Milne's Chinese converts. Whilst he was engaged at Malacca as a type-cutter, he had daily opportunities to hear Dr. Milne expound the Scriptures, by means of which his heart was gained to the service of the true God by faith in Jesus Christ. In describing his own conversion, Liang introduces also several conversations between himself and Dr. Milne, whose explanation of the merits of Christ and the rite of baptism deserve particular notice. Liang says,—

"Upon every Sabbath day, when no work was performed, I used to read the Holy Scriptures. If I did not understand a passage, I went to ask Dr. Milne, who was very willing to explain the meaning to me. I therefore asked Dr. Milne about the atonement of Christ, and how He could save men. Dr. Milne said that all the men of the world had left the worship of the only true God, and fallen into idolatry; had transgressed the righteous law of God, and deserved eternal damnation. But God, the Creator of all men, not willing to destroy the whole race, according to his great mercy, caused his holy son Jesus to leave his glorious place in heaven, descend into the world and become a man, conceived by the power of the Holy Spirit, and born of the Virgin. Jesus taught men to know and worship the one Lord and Creator of the universe, and to desist from idolatry. He taught men the value of their never-dying souls, and the importance of preparing for a future judgment; that he came into the world to suffer and die in order to atone for the sins of men; that every one who now believes in the atonement of Jesus and is baptized, may receive the forgiveness of all sins and be saved; but that every sinner who does not believe, will suffer the eternal punishment of hell."

Liang thereupon asked Dr. Milne the meaning of Baptism. Dr. Milne said,—

"The rite of Baptism consists in sprinkling a little pure water upon the head or the body of a person. The inner or spiritual meaning of it is to wash a person clean from the pollution of his sins, that by the Holy Spirit his heart may be changed and cause him from the time of his having been baptized to love the good and hate the evil, to change his former life, and become a new man." . . .

Liang, upon retiring to his little room, thought in himself, "I am a sinner; if I do not rely upon the atoning merits of Jesus, how can I pray to God freely to forgive my sins?" . . . Liang then made up his mind to become a Christian, and applied for baptism. Dr. Milne said,—

"If you with all your heart repent of your sins, believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and act according to his doctrine; if you have resolved not to worship any idols, but only to adore the great Lord and Creator of the Universe; and to desist from all depravity, wickedness, deceit, and lying,—then you may be admitted to baptism, but not otherwise."

Liang-Afah then declared himself quite willing to act according to the instruction of Dr. Milne, and was baptized by him. He describes the ceremony of his own baptism in the following way:—Dr. Milne having again asked him several questions, read some verses of the Scriptures, and explained their meaning. He then kneeled with Liang in prayer, imploring the grace and mercy of God. The prayer being concluded, he took a little pure water with his hand, and applied it to Liang's head. This ceremony was followed by another prayer, and the convert asked Dr. Milne what special mark those had who believed in Jesus, Dr. Milne said,—"The special mark of true believers is—to do good with all their heart." Liang then returned to his little room, and as he sat there alone, musing upon what had taken place, he felt a secret joy in his heart, because he had received the pardon of God for all his great sins. He then took the name of "Student of Virtue," and continuing in prayer and the reading of the Holy Scriptures, gradually experienced a change of mind and heart. He not only desisted from evil practices, but even evil thoughts after some time became less frequent. He not only himself abandoned the worship of idols, but he pitied the stupidity of others who engaged therein, and desired to exhort them to throw away the idols, repent of their

sins, and worship the only true God. Two years afterwards, in the year 1819, he returned to China, and having instructed his wife, and finding her willing to receive the religion of Jesus, he acted according to circumstances and baptized her. Subsequently he and his wife took their infant son to Dr. Morrison, requesting baptism for him also. In the course of a few years, Dr. Morrison, finding Liang sincere in his desire to propagate the gospel among his countrymen, ordained him to the office of Evangelist, and gave him the right hand of fellowship, telling him to make known the religion of Jesus far and wide. According to a report from Dr. Morrison, dated September 4th, 1832, Liang-Afah had, during the course of that year, printed nine Tracts of about fifty pages each, composed by himself, and interspersed with passages of Sacred Scripture. They were revised by Dr. Morrison in manuscript, and afterwards printed at Malacca. The general title is "Keuen-shi-liang-yen," or "Good Words exhorting the Age."*

These books contain a good number of whole chapters of the Bible according to the translation of Dr. Morrison, many essays upon important subjects from single texts, and sundry miscellaneous statements founded on Scripture.

Siu-tshuen's cousin Li, after having read the books, returned them to him, and said that their contents were very extraordinary, and differed greatly from Chinese books. Siu-tshuen then took the books and commenced reading them closely and carefully. He was greatly astonished to find in these books the key to his own visions, which he had had during his sickness six years before; he found their contents to correspond in a remarkable manner with what he had seen and heard at that time. He now understood the venerable old one who sat upon the highest place and whom all men ought to worship, to be God the heavenly Father; and the man of middle age, who had instructed him and assisted him in exterminating the demons, to be Jesus the Saviour of the world. The demons were the idols, his brothers and sisters were the men in the world. Siu-tshuen felt as if

* The nine volumes have often been bound up as four.

awaking from a long dream. He rejoiced to have found in reality a way to heaven, and sure hope of everlasting life and happiness. Learning from the book the necessity of being baptized, Siu-tshuen and Li now, according to the manner described in the books, and as far as they understood the rite, administered baptism to themselves. They prayed to God, and promised not to worship evil spirits, not to practise evil things, but to keep the heavenly commands; they then poured water upon their heads, saying, "Purification from all former sins, putting off the old, and regeneration." When this was done, they felt their hearts overflowing with joy, and Siu-tshuen composed the following Ode upon repentance:—

When our transgressions high as heaven rise,
How well to trust in Jesus' full atonement;
We follow not the Demons, we obey
The holy precepts, worshipping alone
One God, and thus we cultivate our hearts.
The heavenly glories open to our view,
And every being ought to seek thereafter.
I much deplore the miseries of Hell.
O turn ye to the fruits of true repentance!
Let not your hearts be led by worldly customs.

They thereupon cast away their idols, and removed the tablet of Confucius, which is generally found in the schools, and worshiped by the teacher as well as by the pupils.

5. FURTHER STUDY OF THE TRACTS—PREACHING—AND ADVERSITIES.—On the tenth day of the sixth month, Siu-tshuen returned from Water-lily, and first visited a friend named P'hang, in whose village he had several years been engaged as teacher. Siu-tshuen's heart was full of his new discovery; he spoke with such a flow of language about his visions, and the books received from heaven, that his friend P'hang really thought he had got a new attack of his former sickness, and ordered a trustworthy man to see him home in safety. During their walk of about eight miles, Siu-tshuen spoke about the folly and sinfulness of idolatry, and about the duty of worshipping the true God. His companion listened for a while, and then said, "Why—all that you say is only the truth. Mr. P'hang told me that your mind was again deranged, and requested me to see you home, lest you might upon your way fall into the water and be drowned." Upon his return home,

Siu-tshuen soon converted to his views two intimate friends, named Fung Yun-san and Hung-Jin. He first baptized them in a school, where Fung Yun-san was teacher; but afterwards they all three went down to a rivulet in the neighbourhood, to have a complete cleansing. Siu-tshuen thereupon removed the idols from the school-rooms of his two converts, and composed the following Ode to awaken the minds of men:—

Besides the God of Heaven there is no other God:
Why do the foolish men take falsehood to be truth?
Since their primeval heart is altogether lost,
How can they now escape defilement from the dust?

Hung-Jin wrote a reply according to the Chinese manner, finishing with the same words,—

The mighty heavenly Father, He is the one true God.
Idols are made of wood, or moulded from the clod.
We trust that Jesus came, to save us who were lost,
That we may soon escape defilement from the dust.

While at home, Siu-tshuen and his two friends attentively studied the books, which Siu-tshuen found to correspond in a striking manner with his former visions; and this remarkable coincidence convinced him fully as to their truth, and that he was appointed by God to restore the world, that is, China, to the worship of the true God,—

"These books," said he, "are certainly sent purposely by heaven to me, to confirm the truth of my former experiences; if I had received the books without having gone through the sickness, I should not have dared to believe in them, and on my own account to oppose the customs of the whole world; if I had merely been sick but not also received the books, I should have had no further evidence as to the truth of my visions, which might also have been considered as mere productions of a diseased imagination."

Then he raised his voice, and spoke in a bold manner,—

"I have received the immediate command from God in his presence; the will of Heaven rests with me. Although thereby I should meet with calamity, difficulties, and suffering, yet I am resolved to act. By disobeying the heavenly command, I would only rouse the anger of God; and are not these books the foundation of all the true doctrines contained in other books?"

Under this conviction, Siu-tshuen, when preaching the new doctrine to others, made use of his own visions and the books, as reciprocally evidencing the truth of each other. He revered the books highly, and if any one wished to read them, he urgently told them not to alter or mark

them in any manner, "because," said he, "it is written therein (Ps. 33-4) Jehovah's word is correct."

One day he visited a Siu-tshai of the name of Wun, with whom he spoke about the books, and the doctrine they contained. Wun would not believe his statements, and said, "Give me the books, and I will correct them for you, and bring you back from your errors." These words greatly offended Siu-tshuen, and though the Siu-tshai had killed a fowl for his entertainment, he left the house without partaking of it.

The books contained many portions of the Holy Scriptures which, though translated certainly in a faithful manner, yet had so much of foreign idiom, and were so often without any introduction and comments, that Siu-tshuen and his friends, left wholly to themselves, of course made many mistakes as to the real meaning. They found for instance in these chapters many pronouns, "I, we, you, he," and so on, introduced. These they were at a loss how to apply, and when they asked Siu-tshuen to whom these pronouns referred, he kept silence, but his friends clearly understood that he often applied the pronoun "you" or "he" to himself when the meaning suited his views, as he considered the whole of these tracts specially written for him and given him from heaven. Often when he observed the word *Tshuen* (*whole, all, complete*) he thought his own name was referred to. He liked exceedingly the 19th and 33d Psalms, which he and Hung-Jin used to recite in a loud voice. The third verse he would understand, "Their voice is gone out to the whole world (country of *Tshuen*;)") the ninth and tenth verses he would read, instead of "altogether righteous," *Tshuen* is righteous, more to be desired than gold." The twelfth verse again he would read, "Who can understand, so as *Tshuen*, his errors," and so on.

Reading the description of the flood, the destruction of Sodom, and the judgment, they were filled with awe, not knowing if perhaps these dreadful calamities were still to be expected. Particularly Siu-tshuen commenced to be very careful in his conduct, and evinced a great deal of earnestness and sincerity in his

addresses to others. From these tracts he learned, "that 'virtuous men from the West, by the command of God and constrained by the love of Him, had travelled to the province of Kwang-tung, not fearing the dangers of a sea-voyage of several myriads of miles, in order to preach the gospel in China; that they had gone to the expense of several myriads of cash in order to study the Chinese language, and afterwards translate the Holy Scriptures into Chinese; that their sole object was to save the Chinese people from the sinful practice of idolatry, that they might obtain forgiveness of sins and life everlasting. . . . He further read,—

"It is therefore highly desirable that the man (or men) of the great and glorious Middle Kingdom who sees these books should not vainly boast of his own country being the land of true principles of propriety and fine literature, but with a humble mind put aside his own prejudices, and the thought of from what country they are derived, and consider that the God of Heaven created us to be men, and every one who is a man ought to know the saving doctrines of the Holy Scriptures."

Soon after the above statement, it is said (from 1 Cor. i.),—

"See to your calling, that among you are not many wise after the flesh, not many mighty or noble; but that God hath chosen the foolish to confound the wise, the weak to confound the mighty, the base and despised by the world, and which are nothing, to bring to naught those that are."

In the Chinese language, it is often impossible to know if a word is to be taken in the singular or plural number; it is therefore easy to conceive how Siu-tshuen could apply to himself personally such expressions as really referred to all persons or Christians.

On the 15th of the sixth month, he returned to his school in Water-lily, and upon leaving he directed Hung-Jin to study the doctrine attentively and preach the same to Siu-tshuen's and his own family and relatives. Siu-tshuen's parents and brothers with their wives and children, were soon converted from idolatry and afterwards received baptism. Among their other relatives, several sincerely believed; others were convinced of the truth, but feared the mockery of the people. Some said, "Such mad and foolish things ought not to be believed;" others had to suffer rebuke from their own parents because of their faith. Hung-Jin's elder brother

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struck the former with a stick, tore his coat, and drove him out of the house, for having removed the tablet of Confucius from his school-room, whereby he had caused all the boys to leave the school. Hung-Jin merely replied, "Am I not the teacher? How is Confucius able to teach, after being dead so long? why do you force me to worship him?" In the meantime Siu-tshuen and his friend Li at Water-lily continued their own studies of the books. Being however left to their own judgment as to the meaning, they were unable to distinguish between heavenly and earthly, spiritual and material matters. They no doubt supposed the promised possession of the heavenly kingdom referred to China, and that the inheritance of God's chosen race, applied to the Chinese and Hung-Siu-tshuen. They ordered two swords to be made, seven Chinese pounds in weight, (about 9 lb. English), and three Chinese feet long, one sword for Siu-tshuen, and one for Li. Upon the blade were engraved three characters, "Demon-exterminating sword." They now prayed God to bless them and give success, whereupon both sang together:—

With the three-foot sword in our hand,
Do we quiet the sea and the land.
Surrounded by ocean, all forming one clan,
Dwells man in harmonious union.
We seize all the Demons, and shut them up
In the cords of the earth,
We gather the traitors, and let them fall
In the heavenly net.
All the four parts of the world
Depend on the sovereign pole.
The sun, the moon, and the stars
Join in the chorus of triumph.
The tigers roar, the dragon sings,
The world is full of light.
When over all great peace prevails,
O! what a state of bliss.

them to possess poetical talent, and requested them to write some songs or odes, praising the merits of the idols. Both of them refused to do so, which rather irritated the old men, who now themselves wrote a stanza in order to reprove the young men for their obstinacy in not complying with their request, thinking their conduct to be the result of evil instigations of other young men, their words were,—

We, stupid, old, are useless now,
We thought the young might help us,
But find to-day, that we and they
Have no relation more.
A man may be of talents great,
Still comes their use from his own will.
By listening to much evil talk
You stick to private views.

Siu-tshuen wrote back the following verses in reply:—

Not because of evil saying,
Did we disobey your orders,
We but honour God's commandments—
Act according to his precepts.
Heaven's and perdition's way
Must be rigidly distinguished.
We dare not in thoughtless manner
Hurry through the present life.

After exchanging a few more verses, the matter terminated in a friendly way. The elders were obliged to acknowledge that Siu-tshuen and Hung-Jin were in the right, but afraid of the public opinion, they dared not to avow their conviction. From that time, however, they never asked the assistance of the younger Hungs in their idolatrous practices.

As Siu-tshuen and his few followers had renounced idolatry, and removed the tablet of Confucius from their school-rooms, they were in the present year left without employment. Being at the same time very poor, they formed the plan to leave their native place, influenced by the words of Scripture, "A prophet is not without honour, save in his own country, and in his own house." They resolved to travel to another province, to visit the villages and towns as ink and pencil-venders, and preach the true doctrine, while they hoped to support themselves by the small profits of their sales. Siu-tshuen knew that Hung-Jin had been beaten by his elder brother, and had still to suffer much derision for having abandoned ido-

6. SIU-TSHUEN AND YUN-SAN LEAVE THEIR HOME AND VISIT THE MIAU-TSZE TRIBES—SUCCESS OF THEIR PREACHING IN KWANG-SI.—In the year 1844, during the first month, the elders of Hung's native village made a long procession with lanterns, according to Chinese customs, at "the Feast of Lanterns," which is an occasion of great mirth and pomp. They called Siu-tshuen and Hung-jin, knowing

latry, and wished to take him, though nine years younger than himself, as a companion upon the way. The relatives of Hung-Jin would however not allow his departure, he being then only twenty-two years of age. Siu-tshuen, Yun-san, and two others friends, then left their native villages, intending visit to the independent tribes of Miao-tsze. They soon came to the district of "Clear-far," where they converted several members of the Li family to the new doctrine, and administered baptism to those who believed. Hung-Jin, who had been left behind, was afterwards engaged as teacher in Clear-far for several years, and baptized during that period from fifty to sixty individuals. Siu-tshuen and his friends continued their journey, everywhere preaching the new doctrine, teaching men to worship the one God Jehovah, who sent his Son to atone for the sins of the world, and in every place they found some willing to accept their words. In the third month they reached the borders of the Miao-tsze tribes. The two other friends having already got tired of journeying and returned to Hwa-hien, Siu-tshuen and Yun-san continued their wanderings alone among the wild tracts and desolate mountains of the Miao-tsze. After four days they were fortunate enough to fall in with a Chinese schoolmaster, of the surname Kiang, who kept a Chinese school among the independent tribes. He entertained them in a liberal manner, and believed in the doctrine which they made known to him. But as they were totally unacquainted with the vernacular of the Miao-tsze, they only left with him a few written tracts for distribution among the people. They again left the house of Kiang, who gave them a little money to enable them to continue their journey, and now purposed to visit some of Siu-tshuen's relatives in Kwang-si; but neither of them was acquainted with the way. They found very few villages, only now and then a tea-shed, where they could get a few sugar-cakes and tea to mitigate their hunger. Finally, after twenty days' fatiguing walk over steep and rugged mountains, they arrived at "Valley-home" where Siu-tshuen's cousin Wang lived; and now they returned thanks to God, who had protected them

during their perilous journey from all kinds of dangers.

In the 5th month they arrived at the house of Wang. Here they met with two relatives of the Hung clan, who the year before had visited Hwa-hien, and been baptized by Siu-tshuen. Wang informed Siu-tshuen that his son Wang-ngi had been put in prison, upon a false accusation by a third party, and asked his advice and assistance in the matter. But Siu-tshuen and Yun-san in the first place taught them to worship God and believe in Jesus, and spoke with such force of persuasion and eloquence, that the hearers not only accepted the truth, but were inclined to believe that Siu-tshuen and Yun-san had come down from heaven, to preach the true doctrine to them. Above one hundred individuals received baptism. Siu-tshuen now also tried his influence on behalf of the son of his cousin, and wrote a petition to the officials. In less than a fortnight, the young man was released from prison and restored to his family. The consequence of this was, that many more believed in the truth of the doctrine taught by Siu-tshuen, and the young Wang-ngi became a zealous follower. Having remained in the house of Wang until the tenth month, Siu-tshuen at last thought of the difficulty for his cousin to support so many guests. He therefore ordered Yun-san and two others of the Hung family to return to Kwang-tung, while he himself purposed to remain for some time longer. The two relatives accordingly returned to Hwa-hien, but Fung-Yun-san, whose mind was wholly bent upon preaching, during the way resolved not to return, but to remain in Kwang-si. In the neighbourhood of Tsin-chau he met with some workmen whom he knew, and accompanied them to "Thistle-mountain," where he assisted them in their work to carry earth. At the same time he preached to them the truth, and exhorted them to abstain from idolatry, to worship the only true God, and believe in Jesus, whereby they would gain the everlasting happiness of heaven. About ten of the workmen took his words to their hearts, and informed their employer Tsen about the arrival of Yun-san, stating that he was an honest man, of extraordinary talents. Tsen, after

speaking with Yun-san, and asking some questions relative to his former life and occupation, engaged him as teacher in his school, and was soon after himself baptized by him. Yun-san remained in the neighbourhood of Thistle-mountain several years, and preached with great zeal and success, so that a large number of persons, whole families of various surnames and clans, were baptized. They formed congregations among themselves, gathering together for religious worship, and became soon extensively known under the name of "The congregation of the worshippers of God."

7. SIU-TSHUEN'S RETURN HOME—HE AND HUNG-JIN VISIT CANTON—SECOND TOUR TO KWANG-SI—INCREASE OF THE CONGREGATION—FORM OF WORSHIP, BAPTISM, &c.,—DESTRUCTION OF IDOLS—YUN-SAN'S IMPRISONMENT—RETURN TO KWANG-SI.—Siu-tshuen in the meantime supposed that Yun-san together with the two friends of the Hung family had returned to Kwang-tung, and after having remained another month with his cousin Wang, he also returned to Hwa-hien, where he hoped to find Yun-san. His disappointment was very great when he learned that he had not returned, and he had great difficulty to appease the minds of his friend's mother and wife, who surely expected to hear from Siu-tshuen some certain news about him, and were highly displeased that he, who had taken Yun-san as a companion upon so perilous a journey, had returned without him, and even without any knowledge of his present circumstances.

The two following years, 1845 and 1846, Siu-tshuen remained at home, and was teacher of a school as formerly. During this time he wrote several essays, discourses, and odes upon religious subjects, viz: "An Ode of the Hundred Correct Things," "An Essay on the Origin of Virtue for the awakening of the Age," "Further Exhortations for awakening of the Age," "Alter the corrupt and turn to the correct;" to all of which he, however, afterwards made considerable additions, and most of which are contained in the "Imperial declaration of Thai-p'ing," afterwards printed at Nanking.

Siu-tshuen continued to preach in his native village and its neighbourhood, and to baptize those who professed to believe in the doctrine of God and Jesus. He often met with Hung-Jin, who was still a teacher in Clear-far, and who out of weakness had been induced to follow the advice of some friends and permit the schoolboys to venerate Confucius, though he did not do it himself. Siu-tshuen disclosed to him the secret thoughts of his heart, and his hatred against the Manchoo people, saying,—

"God has divided the kingdoms of the world, and made the Ocean to be a boundary for them, just as a father divides his states among his sons; every one of whom ought to reverence the will of his father, and quietly manage his own property. Why should now these Manchos forcibly enter China, and rob their brothers of their estate?"

At a later period he said,—

"If God will help me to recover our estate, I ought to teach all nations to hold every one its own possessions, without injuring or robbing one another; we will have intercourse in communicating true principles and wisdom to each other, and receive each other with propriety and politeness; we will serve together one common heavenly Father, and honour together the doctrines of one common heavenly brother, the Saviour of the world; this has been the wish of my heart since the time when my soul was taken up to heaven."

About this time he had a dream that a red sun was put into his hand; and when he awoke, he made the following verses:

Now that five hundred years have passed*
The true sun moves in sight;
And how should these poor glow-worms dare
To rival it in light?
On its suspense in heaven's arch
All vapors disappear,
And as it shines, demons and imps
Are hidden out of fear.
The North and South, the East and West,
To it their homage pay,
And hosts of the barbarian tribes
Are yielding to its sway.
The stars by its great splendor in
Obscurity are hurled;
And solely its pure brilliant rays
Illuminate the world.

In the latter part of the year 1846, a

* Mencius, who flourished about three hundred years before the Christian era, says,—"In the course of five hundred years a King will arise, a man of universal fame." From Choo-hung-woo, the founder of the Ming dynasty, until now, it is just about five hundred years.

person of the name Moo, upon his return from Canton, informed the Hungs in Hwa-hien, that a foreign Missionary Lo-hau (Roberts) was preaching the true doctrine in that city. As, however, both Siu-tshuen and Hung-Jin were engaged with teaching in their schools, they could not at that time visit Canton, but in the year following, they made up their minds to go there. In the meantime Choo-thau-hing, the first assistant of the Rev. I. J. Roberts had been informed by the above-named Moo about Siu-tshuen's former experiences, and wrote a letter to the latter of about the following contents:—

"Having heard from Moo-li-pau that you, honoured brother, about ten years ago received a book, the contents of which agree with the doctrine preached in our chapel here, we the Missionary and the brethren will rejoice if you would come hither and assist us by preaching in the chapel.† This is our sincere wish."

Upon receipt of the above letter, Siu-tshuen and Hung-Jin went to Canton, to study the doctrine with Mr. Roberts. They were received in a friendly manner, and soon after met with other Missionaries, who also were glad to see them. Having continued their studies about a month, Mr. Roberts sent two of his assistants, Choo and Tsen, with the Hungs to their native place. Here they preached a few days and then returned to Canton, but Hung-Jin, who was well aware that two other assistants of the name Wang, also engaged by Mr. Roberts, were making intrigues to prevent new brethren from being employed, for fear of losing their own situations, did not again go to Canton, but remained at home and studied medicine. Siu-tshuen again went to Canton in the company of the two assistants of the foreign Missionary, and continued his studies for some time. The two assistants, Wang-ai and Wang-khien, probably fearing that Siu-tshuen, with his superior talent, would also after his baptism be employed by Mr. Roberts, and they themselves lose their position, now planned an intrigue to get rid of him, and prevent his being baptized, in which they succeeded. Pretending to be interested in his welfare, they advised him to speak to Mr. Roberts before his

baptism, and get the promise from him of a certain sum of money per month for his support, whereby he would be enabled to continue his studies, and remain in Canton, after he had received baptism. Siu-tshuen being very poor, considered their advice reasonable, and acted thereupon. Upon his arrival at Canton, he had frankly and openly presented to Mr. Roberts an account of his former life, his visions, his sickness, his preaching, and religious compositions; he now in the same open manner asked Mr. Roberts to support him after his baptism in order to enable him to continue his studies with the other assistants. We are not aware that Mr. Roberts at that time paid much attention to the written account or papers presented to him by Hung, nor does it seem that he placed any confidence in his statements, or understood his real character; but hearing him, like so many other Chinese candidates for baptism, enter upon the subject of future support, Mr. Roberts was displeased, and postponed his baptism until some future uncertain period.‡

† Some may be of opinion that the above statement respecting the native assistants of another Missionary, could well have been omitted. But far from throwing any blame upon Mr. Roberts, it seems to me that common justice to him as well as to Hung-Siu-tshuen requires me to state the probable cause why the latter, after so long a preparation, was refused Christian baptism. Mr. Roberts, in his report printed in *The Chinese and General Missionary Gleaner* in October, 1852, says,—

"Some time in 1846, or the year following, two Chinese gentlemen came to my house in Canton, professing a desire to be taught the Christian religion. One of them soon returned home, but the other continued with us two months or more, during which time he studied the Scriptures and received instruction, whilst he maintained a blameless deportment. This one seems to have been Hung-Sew-tsuen, the chief of the insurrection, and the person whose narrative is above given, was perhaps the gentleman who accompanied him, but who subsequently returned home. When the chief (as we suppose him to have been) first came to us, he presented a paper written by himself, giving a minute account of having received the book 'Good Words exhorting the Age,' of which his friend speaks in his narrative, of his having been taken sick, during which he imagined that he saw a vision, the details of which he gave, and which he said confirmed him in the belief of what he read in the book. In giving the account of his vision, he related some things, which I confess I was at a loss, and still am, to know where he got them, without a more extensive knowledge of the Scriptures. He requested to be baptized, but he left for Kwang-si before we were fully satisfied of his fitness; but what had become of him I knew not until now."

In full agreement with these words of Mr. Roberts, the informant, who visited Canton with Hung-Siu-tshuen, explains the cause why Mr. Roberts, after giving such a good testimonial respecting Siu-tshuen's deportment and knowledge of the Scriptures, still was not fully satisfied of his fitness for baptism.

† The invitations to preach must be considered as a mere Chinese expression of politeness.

Siu-tshuen felt rather disappointed at this result of his request, and discovered, too late, that he had fallen into the snare laid for him by the two Wang. Being unable to support himself in Canton, and not knowing when he might be admitted to baptism, he resolved to leave and go to Kwang-si without waiting for baptism from the hands of the foreign Missionary. Choo-thau-hing advised him to return home if he would not remain in Canton, but finding him decided in his mind, he gave him a hundred cash, and sent a letter to Hung-Jin in Hwa-hien, informing him and other relatives of Hung-Siu-tshuen, that the latter had left Canton and gone to Kwang-si in search of his friend Fung-Yun-san.

In the sixth month of 1847, Siu-tshuen started upon his second tour to Kwang-si. As he had only one hundred cash in his pocket, he could not go by the passage-boat, but went on foot and carried his own baggage. When he came to Moitszu-sin he unfortunately fell into the hands of robbers, who deprived him of his bundle of clothes, and thereby also of the last means to continue his journey. As long as he had a few articles of wearing apparel left, he could, after the Chinese manner, pawn or sell them, and thus be enabled to proceed, but without money and without clothes he was reduced to extreme distress. He wrote a petition to the Prefect of Shau-king. This official replied, that Moitszu-sin did not belong to his jurisdiction but to that of Teh-king; he however gave Siu-tshuen a small sum of 400 cash, pitying his misfortune. Siu-tshuen was now placed in a very difficult position; he was without friends, and without means either to advance or to return. He had nothing left but his past experience and his future prospects, which however under present circumstances appeared very much darkened and impossible to realize.

As he was thus standing on the way, pondering upon his own sad condition, he was observed by a man, who cheered him up with the words, "A broken cord of course is mended with a line, and when the boat comes to the bank, they way opens again." Siu-tshuen thought in himself, "These words are correct, and correspond with the true doctrine; and,

leaving future difficulties to the care of the future, he took his place in a passage-boat and continued his journey to Kwang-si. The Chinese generally take three meals a day, but Siu-tshuen, afraid to incur a heavy debt to the Captain, allowed himself only one meal every day, which cost him about twopence. Among his fellow passengers, he remarked three men of literary attainments, who soon opened a conversation with him saying,—

"Sir, by your noble countenance it is easy to perceive that you are a man of talent; but as you, without being sick, still abstain from eating, we must conclude that you are in distress."

Siu-tshuen then told them how he had been robbed on his way, and had almost no money to continue his journey. They asked him what was the object of his going to Kwang-si. He told them, that he went there in order to preach the doctrine of the true God. They also inquired into his circumstances and the nature of the doctrine he was teaching, and Siu-tshuen during the seven days which they spent together in the boat made known to them as he found opportunity the truths of Christianity. When they arrived at Kwang-si, these men said to him,—

"You ought not to be discouraged; in travelling you must be prepared for everything, even to be robbed. We have told the Captain not to demand any passage-money from you, and here (presenting him a string with six hundred cash (about 2 shillings,) we have collected a small sum for you, to enable you to proceed on your journey."

In this manner Siu-tshuen finally reached the Kwei district and Valley-home, where his cousin Wang lived. Among his first questions was, if they had any news about Fung-Yun-san, and he was now informed that Yun-san had for the past two years been engaged in teaching at Thistle Mount, and that a great number of people had been converted to the worship of God by his instrumentality. Siu-tshuen lost no time in visiting the new congregation at that place, and rejoiced upon his arrival not only to see Yun-san again, but to meet with many new believers, and to preach the truth of God in the midst of them.

The worshippers of God at Thistle-mount in Kwang-si soon counted above

two thousand adherents, and their number daily increased. Among them we find the names Loo-Shing-sze, Loo-Liuh, Tsen-A-sun, Shih-Tah-khai, Yang-Siu-tshin, Siau-Chau-kwui, and others. The wife of this Siau, named Yang-Yun-kiau, stated that in the year "Ting-yew," 1837, during a very severe sickness, when she lay as dead upon her bed, her soul ascended to heaven, and she heard an old man say to her, "After ten years a man will come from the east and teach thee to worship God; obey him willingly." She was eminent among the female God worshippers, who used to say as a proverb, "Men ought to study Fung-Yun-san, and women the conduct of Yang-Yun-kiau." From Thistle-mountain the new doctrine rapidly spread, and was promulgated widely in several departments and districts in the province of Kwang-si, as for instance the departments of Siang-chau, Tsin-chau, and Yuh-chau, with many of their districts, as Phing-nan, Woo-siuen, Kwei, Poh-peh, &c., men of great influence and graduates of the first and second degrees, with great numbers of their clans, joined the congregation. Among the former may be mentioned Wui-Ching with a large number of his clan, and Hoo, a keu-jin, with many of his adherents.

All who joined the congregation, threw away their idols, and worshipped the true God. It is difficult to give a faithful account of their form of worship, when they met together for devotion; for several alterations were introduced from time to time in consequence of growing knowledge and experience. Accommodations to existing Chinese customs may have been introduced in the beginning, which were afterwards corrected; and it is very probable that the present form of worship at Nanking is not altogether like that which was first established among the worshippers of God at Thistle-mountain in Kwang-si.

At the commencement, Siu-tshuen had only vague notions concerning the true manner of religious service. When he had taken away his own idols, he placed the written name of God in their stead, and even used incense-sticks and gold paper as a part of the service. But in a few months he found that this was wrong, and abolished it. His step-mother de-

clared, however, that it was a great pity that he had taken away the name of God from the wall, for during that time they had been able to add a few fields to their estate, which she considered as a special blessing and sign of divine favor. When the congregation in Kwang-si assembled together for religious worship, males and females had their seats separated from each other. It was customary to praise God by the singing of a hymn. An address was delivered either upon the mercy of God, or the merits of Christ, and the people were exhorted to repent of their sins, to abstain from idolatry, and to serve God with sincerity of heart. When any professed to believe in the doctrine, and expressed their desire to be admitted members of the congregation, the rite of baptism was performed in the following manner, without reference to any longer or shorter term of preparation or previous instruction. Two burning lamps and three cups of tea were placed upon a table, probably to suit the sensual apprehension of the Chinese. A written confession of sins, containing the names of the different candidates for baptism, was repeated by them, and afterwards burnt, whereby the presenting of the same to God was to be expressed. The question was then asked, if they promised, "Not to worship evil spirits, not to practise evil things, but to keep the heavenly commandments." After this confession, they knelt down, and from a large basin of clear water, a cupful was poured over the head of every one with the words, "Purification from all former sins, putting off the old, and regeneration." Upon rising again, they used to drink of the tea, and generally each one washed his chest and region of the heart with water to signify the inner cleansing of their hearts. It was also customary to perform private ablutions in the rivers, accompanied by confession of sins and prayer for forgiveness. Those who had been baptized now received the different forms of prayer to be used morning and evening, or before their meals. Most of these forms of prayer are now printed at Nanking in the Book of Religious Precepts, with some alterations or additions. Upon celebration of festivals, as for instance at a marriage, a burial, or at the New

Year, animals were offered in sacrifice, and afterwards consumed by those present.*

When they engaged in prayer, they used to kneel down all in one direction towards the open side of the house from which the light entered, and closing their eyes, one spoke the prayer in the name of the whole assembly.

At that time there was in Kwang-si province, in the department Siang, an idol of great renown named *Kan-wang-ye*, "the King-kan;" whose power was universally acknowledged. The God-worshippers inquired into the history of this famous idol, and received the following information from the people:—

"Kan was formerly an inhabitant of the department of Siang. He had during his life the greatest reliance in the wind and water art or geomancy. A geomancer once selected for him a very auspicious place of interment, but at the same time declared, that by a bloody burial great prosperity would result to his family. Hereupon he went home, killed his own mother, and buried her as the first person upon the indicated spot; thus to insure a permanent felicity to himself and to his descendants. He also forced his elder sister to have intercourse with a profligate wretch; he was particularly fond of listening to obscene songs, which are very prevalent in Kwang-si, and consist in couplets sung alternately by males and females, whereby even among wholly unacquainted persons an illicit familiarity is frequently introduced. The demon of the idol Kan-wang once possessed a young lad, and made him run up to the sedan-chair of the district magistrate, stop its bearers, and in the name of the idol, demand a Dragon robe from the Mandarin, which the latter dared not to refuse. The temple wardens were afraid to sleep in the temple, and morning and evening, when they entered to light the lamps and burn incense, they beat the gong or large copper-plate, to prevent Kan-wang's appearing to them. If any one dared to speak against the idol, he was sure to be seized with bowel complaint, and thus forced to acknowledge the universally admitted power of Kan-wang."

When Siu-tshuen heard this report, his anger was aroused, and he said, "This kind of demons I used to exterminate, when my soul was wandering in heaven." He then took Fung-Yun-san, Wang-Ngi, and Hang-E with him, and they started together to visit the temple of Kan-Wang-ye. In two days they came to the place, and really found the aspect of the idol

dreadful and imposing. Siu-tshuen however took a stick, and struck the wooden image of the idol whilst enumerating the tenfold transgressions and sins of Kan,—

"First sin, to kill his mother; second sin contempt of God; third sin, to frighten the hearts of the sons and daughters of God; fourth sin, to covet the food of the children of God; fifth sin, to force his sister to have intercourse with a profligate wretch; sixth sin, to like obscene songs between males and females; seventh sin, arrogantly to exalt himself; eighth sin, to extort money from the people; ninth sin, to demand a Dragon robe from the Mandarin; tenth sin, to continue his mischief as a demon. Because of these tenfold sins he deserves to be destroyed."

Thereupon he dashed the image to pieces, tore its beautiful garments, and broke the censers and sacrificial vessels. He also wrote an Imperial declaration in verse,—

I rebuke the demon Kan-wang by my
pencil's quick decree,
He deserves annihilation and must no
more spared be.
Mother-slayer, law-transgressor, wilt
thou also God deceive?
As thou didst with many people, make
them in thy power believe,
Curs'd to hell and struck by lightning,
burn and vanish into smoke.
With thy horrid stinking body, dost
thou want a Dragon cloak?

As soon as this deed was known in the neighbourhood, the people of the district offered a reward of one hundred dollars for the apprehension of the perpetrators. The demon, however, again possessed a young boy, and said, "These men are sincere, you are not able to hurt them, you must only repair my image again, and then it will be all right." After this the people withdrew their proclamation. This event served to advance the reputation of Siu-tshuen, and the number of his followers rapidly increased. Soon after he was informed about another temple of great celebrity, called "The temple of six caverns." This temple derived its origin from a male and a female, who had met together, and by the one commencing to sing a licentious couplet, to which the other responded, had indulged in illicit intercourse for several days, after which they were found dead. The people said that these two had found the true principles, and erected a temple in their memory, where divine honours were paid to their images. Siu-tshuen, finding that the

* It is to be hoped, that these and others rites inconsistent with the pure Christian worship of God, and which Hung-Siu-tshuen introduced or connived at, either from misunderstanding the truth, or to comply with long established customs of the Chinese, which he found it difficult at once to abolish may gradually be corrected.

moral feeling of the Kwang-si population was far below that of the brutes, wrote a verse, reproving their utter contempt of all morality, saying that these two demons ought to be exterminated; that the whole population had turned brutes, and upon all mountains were heard profligate songs, responded to by males and females; that they professed to have found the true principles, when in fact they had destroyed them. Licentious females were called mistresses of the house. God would not suffer such conduct, but bring upon them sudden judgment from on high. Because of these verses the people were irritated against Siu-tshuen, and wished that the idols might display their power in killing him, but after some time the white ants came into the temple of six caverns and destroyed the building as well as the wooden images.

The brethren of the new congregation in Kwang-si afterwards demolished a great number of images, whereby the population was incensed against them. A very rich graduate Wang, lodged an accusation at the office of the Magistrate of the Pingnan-hien against them, to the effect, that they, under the pretext of worshipping God, destroyed the temples and altars, but in fact they were rebels. The District Magistrate then seized Fung Yun-san and Lu-liuh, to be examined in the presence of Wang, and because the latter had offered bribes to the mandarin, the two former were committed to jail. Hung-Siu-tshuen now thought with himself, "If we, because of the true doctrine, suffer such persecution, what may be the design of God in this?" At that time he expressed his feelings in the following Ode upon Hope:—

When shall I meet again with faithful brethren,
And preach the word along the Ocean's strand?
When find again true sympathy and virtue,
And joyful tones mingle without restraint?
Alas! for noble courage and for honest hearts,
With whom I would restore to peace the Universe!
Alas! from all the quarters of the earth
What men shall stand by me?
The dragon clouds and Tiger winds assemble;
When shall the hour of congregation come?
The heavenly law is not to blame.
Has God no more compassion?
Oh for one mind from first to last!
What day shall we triumphantly ascend?

Upon consideration of the present difficulties, Siu-tshuen remembered that the

Governor of the Two Kwang Provinces, Kiyng, had gained permission from the Emperor for Chinese as well as foreigners to profess Christianity, and after further consultation with the brethren at Thistle Mount, he took his departure to Kwangtung with the intention to present a petition to the governor on behalf of his friends, who suffered imprisonment because of their religious persuasion. Upon his arrival at Canton, he learned from Choo-thau-hing, that the Governor Kiyng, only ten days before, had left for the capital Peking.

In the meantime, the brethren in Kwang-si willingly collected some hundred strings of cash for the liberation of their friends, and delivered a written apology for their doctrine, together with the Ten Commandments, for the inspection of the mandarin. This official was now persuaded that the worshippers of God were no criminals, and wished to release the prisoners, but the graduate Wang made a new accusation before the Prefect of the Department. The Prefect however refused to take up the matter, and referred the cause to the District Magistrate again. The latter had during the interval received three petitions in poetry from Fung-Yun-san; the first stating the malignancy of his accuser Wang, the second explaining his own innocence, and the third proving the duty of all to worship God. Loo-liuh had already died from the effects of the confinement in jail, and the Magistrate now sent two policemen to convey Fung-Yun-san to his native place in Kwangtung, there to be placed at liberty upon proper security. During the way, Fung-Yun-san in his usual manner spoke with great eloquence and in persuasive language about the true doctrine, they had not walked many miles before the two policemen were won as converts. They not only agreed instantly to set him at liberty, but declared themselves willing to abandon their own station, and follow Fung to the congregation at Thistle Mount, where he soon after introduced them as candidates for baptism. The brethren rejoiced to see him again, sacrificed horses and oxen, and gave thanks to God for his liberation.

When Yun-san heard that Siu-tshuen had gone to Kwangtung on his behalf,

he also repaired thither, but on his arrival he found that Siu-tshuen had already left on his return to Kwang-si. When Siu-tshuen came to Thistle Mount, he was informed that Yun-san had been released from prison and gone to Kwang-tung, wherefore he again went back to Hwa-hien. Here in the tenth month of the year 1848, Siu-tshuen and Yun-san met with each other. Previous to the arrival of Siu-tshuen, his old father Hung-yang had departed this life, aged seventy-three. He had for a long time abstained from idolatry, and received baptism. Upon his death-bed he admonished his children saying, "I am now ascending to heaven; after my decease you must not call any Buddhist priests, or perform any heathen ceremonies, but merely worship God, and pray to him." Siu-tshuen was now thirty-five years of age. He had for some time let his hair and beard grow long. When people asked him the reason why he had done so, he replied, that he knew beforehand the death of his father. It is a Chinese custom not to shave during the period of mourning for one's parents and nearer relatives.

8. HUNG'S CHARACTER, CONVERSATION, AND DISCOURSES.—From his youth, Hung-Siu-tshuen was generally liked by all, because of his open and straightforward character. He was gay and friendly, but not dissolute. Being superior in talent to most of his fellow-students, he often used to make sport of them, and caused them to feel his sharp wit; but still his friends were fond of listening to his remarks, as they generally contained true and noble ideas, and acknowledged his superior intellect. After his sickness in the year 1837, his whole person became changed, his manners noble and dignified. He sat erect upon the chair, his hands placed upon his knees, and both his feet resting a little apart, but never crossed upon the ground, without leaning backwards or to either side; and though sitting for hours, he never appeared fatigued. He did not look aslant or backwards; his pace in walking was dignified, neither quick nor slow; he now spoke less and laughed seldom. Many who observed him, ridiculed his manners, finding his deportment strange and curious. Af-

ter he had begun to worship God, he was very strict in regard to his own conduct. In his words he was often severe, and easily offended others. He liked to sit down and talk with honest and sincere men, though they were ever so poor and of low estate, but he could not bear with the profligate, even if they were ever so rich and high in station. In his native village, two men who were discovered to have committed adultery, so much dreaded the severe censure of Siu-tshuen, that they absented themselves for several years. A man of bad character, named Moo, had been appointed inspector of the ground by ten different villages. This man gradually commenced to flatter the rich, oppress the poor, and beat the villagers. Upon Siu-tshuen's return from Kwang-si, several accusations were made against this man, to which all gave unanimous evidence, desiring to have him punished for his misconduct. The next day Siu-tshuen ordered the gong to be struck, and assembled from eighty to ninety families. Moo also appeared, made a humble confession of his guilt, and asked forgiveness, which the assembled villagers were willing to grant, believing his repentance to be sincere. But Siu-tshuen said, "Yesterday I yielded to the wishes of men, but to-day I follow the rule of heaven." Hereupon he deposed Moo from his office, and appointed Kiang-a-si to be inspector of the ground. Moo dared not to oppose this decision, or think of revenging himself, but he even sent the usual presents of honour and respect to Hung. Among his own clansmen, Siu-tshuen introduced the use of nine wooden rods for chastizing evil doers, and upon each rod the five punishable offences were written,—

- 1, Beat the adulterers.
- 2, Beat the female seducers.
- 3, Beat the disobedient to parents.
- 4, Beat thieves, robbers, and gamblers.
- 5, Beat all vagabonds plotting evil.

These rods were given to the headmen of the families, but afterwards when Siu-tshuen had left for Kwang-si, an uncle of his collected the rods and threw them into the river, saying, "Why should we be subject to his rule?" During his stay at Hwa-hien, he was generally respected and feared by all males as well as females,

who however felt often rather uneasy at his severe admonitions.

When he met with relatives or neighbours, he often exposed and blamed their sinful conduct, and exhorted them to believe in the true doctrine. Though he did not separate himself from his former friends and relatives, yet they could not feel so intimate with him as before. Often when he came home from a visit to such friends, who would not yield to his exhortations and believe in his doctrines, he used to say,—

"Those who believe not in the true doctrine of God and Jesus, though they be old acquaintances, are still no friends of mine, but they are demons. On the other hand, all who believe in the doctrine of God and Jesus, are true brethren of Heaven and true friends. If they do not believe my words, every one must go his own way; I cannot bring them into heaven, and they shall not draw me to hell. If my own parents, my wife and children, do not believe, I cannot feel united with them, how much less with other friends! Only the heavenly friendship is true, all other is false. A short happiness is not a real one; only eternal happiness can be called real. What others gain, they cannot impart to me; and what I gain, I cannot share with them. I only desire that very many may enter into heaven, and grieve that they should go to hell. Therefore I cannot withhold preaching to them the true doctrine."

In his discourses, Siu-tshuen shewed from the classical books what was true and wrong in the Chinese philosophy, and exhorted every one to receive the true. He endeavoured to rouse people from their lethargy and religious indifference, by holding forth to them the sure hope of everlasting happiness. He had favorite stanzas or expressions, which he often repeated in order to impress them upon the memory of the hearers; for instance,—

"Believe, in God, and in the end be blessed.
Trust not in God, and be at last distressed."

"Brethren be of good cheer, God has the rule of all,

With faithful hearts and deeds in proof you rise to heaven's hall."

"Keep the holy commandments, worship the true God, and then at the hour of departing, heaven will be easily ascended."

"Cleave to worldly customs, believe in devils, And ultimately hell cannot be avoided."

"Those who believe in God, are the sons and daughters of God; wheresoever they come, they come from heaven, wheresoever they go, they go to heaven."

"Those who worship demons, are the slaves of the demons; at the time of their birth by the devil led astray, at the time of their death by him carried away."

Siu-tshuen often used to praise the doctrines of Christianity, but, added he,—

"Too much patience and humility do not suit our present times, for therewith it would be impossible to manage this perverted generation."

If any one disputed with him, he often became excited, and said,—

"This man has lost his conscience, he forgets the great mercies of God, transgresses the holy commandments, and despises the merits of Christ. I really exert myself to teach and instruct you carefully, and you treat the matter frivolously. You are indeed of mean descent, you are really seduced by the devil; this is in fact to have happiness, but not be willing to enjoy the same."

He also said,—

"The scholars of these days do not distinguish between the true and the false, between the correct and the corrupt. Fortune-telling, physiognomy, geomancy, and other secret arts, are considered as true, though they are indeed only so many different means of support to those who practise them. The more intelligent scholars dare not confess the truth, although they know it, the less informed are unable to discern the same. Themselves blind and perverted, they teach a corrupt doctrine; the whole world lies entangled in the net of the devil. They cannot rid themselves from vain desire after riches and honours. They seek a short happiness, as if it were everlasting. They strive for the things of the world and forget the heavenly objects. But in seeking after happiness, they take the devil into their house. They think of heaven, and go down to hell. They wish for peace, but they get no peace. They desire bliss but attain no bliss. Such is this self-sufficient, self-conceited, and haughty generation, which only covets riches and honours. They think that the idols assist them in attaining such happiness, or that heaven is favouring them; and they do not know that heaven often bestows riches and prosperity even upon the wicked, but that the holy ones are perfected by much sorrow and tribulation."

"Heavenly Father, high and supreme, the God of all nations,

Who sustains the whole human race with infinite bounty:

In six days thou createdst the world with mountains and waters.

Spendest thy gifts upon men to enjoy in brotherly union.

Father thou art near related to us; thou expeldest the demons,

Gavest thy holy commands to instruct an ignorant people.

After thou Jesus hadst sent to give his life as a ransom,

Thou didst command Siu-tshuen to proclaim the truth of this doctrine."

9. LAST TOUR TO KWANG-SI—STATE OF THE CONGREGATION—YANG-SIU-TSHIN—AND SIAU-CHAU-KWUI.—The native village of Fung Yung-san is only a

mile and a-half northward from that of Hung-Siu-tshuen. As the country there is hilly, and affords pasture to the cattle, the villagers of many surrounding hamlets used to lead their cattle thither. Siu-tshuen while at home, often assisted his elder brothers by leading their buffaloes to the mountains. Here he met with Fung Yun-san and others of his intimate friends, when they made an appointment, upon what hill they would assemble the following day. Siu-tshuen here used to converse with his followers and friends about the congregation at Kwang-si. He also occasionally read some portion of the Old or New Testament, which he had received during his stay at Canton. He exhorted to faith in the true religion, and many of the young boys, who led their oxen to the common pasture, gathered around him and Yun-san, and listened with interest to their instruction.

Siu-tshuen and Yun-san remained at home until the fifth month of the year 1849, when their friends at Clearfar made a collection of money, to enable them to make another tour to Kwang-si. They then started on their last tour to Kwang-si, and left their native district, little thinking that they were going to leave it for several years, yea perhaps for ever. In the tenth month of the same year, on the ninth day, at the rising of the sun, the first son of Hung-Siu-tshuen was born. Just at the same time, thousands of birds, as large as ravens and as small as magpies, made their appearance. They continued long hovering about in the air, and finally settled in the trees behind the dwelling of Siu-tshuen. These birds remained in the neighbourhood of the village about one month, to the astonishment of the people, who said that the crowd of birds came to do homage to the new born King. When Hung-jin knew that the wife of Siu-tshuen had been delivered of a male child, he despatched a messenger with a letter to Kwang-si, informing Siu-tshuen of this happy event.

Siu-tshuen and Yun-san upon their arrival at Thistle Mount were received with exultation by the brethren. They now learned, that, during their absence in Kwang-tung, some very remarkable occurrences had taken place in the congregation of the God-worshippers, which had

brought disorder and dissension among the brethren. It sometimes happened that while they were kneeling down engaged in prayer, the one or the other of those present was seized by a sudden fit, so that he fell down to the ground, and his whole body was covered with perspiration. In such a state of ecstasy, moved by the spirit, he uttered words of exhortation, reproof, prophecy, &c. Often the words were unintelligible, and generally delivered in rhythm. The brethren had noted down in a book the more remarkable of these sayings, and delivered them to the inspection of Hung-Siu-tshuen. The latter now judged the spirits according to the truth of the doctrine, and declared that the words of these moved were partly true and partly false. Thus confirming the already expressed opinion of Yang-Siu-tshin, that they were "partly from God and partly from the devil."

The most remarkable of those whom Hung-Siu-tshuen acknowledged as true, were the words of Yang-Siu-tshin, and Siau-Chau-kwei. Yang was originally a very poor man, but he joined the congregation with much earnestness and sincerity. Whilst there, he suddenly for a period of two months lost his power of speech to the astonishment of the brethren, who considered this to be an evil omen; but afterwards he again recovered the use of his tongue, and more frequently than any other was subject to fits of ecstasy, when he spoke in the name of God the Father, and in a solemn and awe-inspiring manner reproved the sins of the others, often pointing out individuals, and exposing their evil actions. He also exhorted to virtue, and foretold future events, or commanded what they ought to do. His words generally made a deep impression upon the assembly. Siau-chau-kwei spoke in the name of Jesus, and his words were milder than those of Yang. One of the Wang clan had spoken against the doctrine of Jesus, and led many astray, but he was excluded from the congregation, and his words declared false, being spoken under the influence of a corrupt spirit.

It appears also, that many sick persons had been cured in a wonderful manner by prayer to God, and Yang was said to possess the gift to cure sicknesses by

intercession for the sick. From the description it would almost seem as if Yang had willingly submitted and prayed to have the sickness of the other conferred upon himself, and that he for a short while had borne his sufferings, whereby he redeemed the disease of the other, and was afterwards himself released from the consequences of his own intercession.* Upon the decease of Yang-Kin-siu, it is reported that they heard a heavenly music from above, and that the curtains of his bed kept moving for two hours after his spirit had departed, though there was no current of air entering the room. Siu-tshuen introduced a strict order among his followers, and though Fung-Yun-san was originally the founder of the congregation, yet every one acknowledged the superiority of Hung, and no one was so able as he to exercise authority, and carry into effect a rigid discipline among so many different sorts of people. He interdicted the use of opium, and also it is said of common tobacco and ardent spirits. Respecting the opium, he made a stanza, saying,—

The Opium pipe is like a gun, wherewith you wound yourself.

How many heroes are stretched dying upon their pillows!

As to wine prepared from rice, he said, that converting rice into intoxicating drink, was to rob the people of their wholesome and necessary food, and afterwards give it to them in a form not only useless, but injurious. Siu-tshuen, who formerly was able to stand a good quantity of rice wine, afterwards for a long time limited his own use to three small cups, out of consideration for the company. He still used this restriction while at home, but it is probable that he wholly desisted from its use, when he afterwards came to Kwang-si, if the report be true, that he demanded total abstinence from his followers.

It does not appear that Siu-tshuen knew the full import of the Sabbath, though he considered it as a day of special devotion and thanksgiving to God, who in six days had created the world, and upon that day rested from his work. There is no men-

tion made of the Lord's Supper having been celebrated in the congregation of God-worshippers in Kwang-si.

In the fifth month of the following year (1850), Siu-tshuen sent Kiang-Liung-chong with two other brethren, one of the Wang and one of the Hsu-clan, with letters to Hwa-hien, and called his whole family to join him in Kwang-si. The reason for this was, as he stated, that God had given him the following revelation:—

"In the 30th year of Tau-kwang (1850), will I send down calamities; those of you who remain steadfast in faith, shall be saved, but the unbelievers shall be visited by pestilence. After the eighth month, the land will be left uncultivated, and houses without inhabitants; therefore call thou thy own family and relatives hither."

At this time, Siu-tshuen's mother, wife and children, brothers and their families, all his nearest relatives with their children, went to Kwang-si and joined him there. After the death of the Emperor Tau-kwang in 1850, several districts in Kwang-si were really visited by a pestilential disease, whereby Siu-tshuen's adherents greatly increased in number as many thought they evaded contagion merely by joining the congregation of the God-worshippers.

10. DISTURBANCES IN KWANG-SI—WAR BETWEEN THE PUNTIS AND HAK-KAS—THE GOD-WORSHIPPERS INVOLVED IN THE POLITICAL TROUBLES—CAUSE, COMMENCEMENT, AND SUCCESS, OF THE INSURRECTION—SIU-TSHUEN AND THE TRIAD SOCIETY.—The inaccessible mountains of the Kwang-si province have long served as a place of resort for outlaws and banditti, who from these hiding-places went forth to plunder the unsuspecting travellers, and commit depredations on the neighbouring villages. The number of these outlaws has during the course of the last few years been increasing. They formed regular bands of robbers, and their boldness went so far, that they commenced openly to attack hamlets, larger villages, and market towns. The soldiers sent by the government officials to seize and disperse the banditti, had often hard work to perform. Yet in most instances they were successful, though the bands of robbers dispersed in one place gathered again in another. The most of these robbers

* Yang-Siu-tshin is also known under the name of Ho-nae teacher, which is derived from dividing the character of his name Siu into two Ho-nae, and does not seem to have any particular meaning.

were men from Kwang-tung and bordering provinces, who are by the aborigines of Kwang-si called Khih-kias, (strangers or settlers,) because they had immigrated and settled in Kwang-si, among the Punti or original inhabitants. The Khih-kia or Hakka villages are very numerous in Kwang-si, though in general not so large and opulent as those of the Punti. A feeling of enmity had long existed between the two classes, and every new incident only served to augment the hatred. At that time a very rich Hakka of the surname Wun had taken a girl as his concubine, who had been promised in marriage to a Punti man, and having agreed to settle the matter with her parents by paying a large sum of money, he peremptorily refused to give her up to the Punti claimant. At the office of the District Magistrate, numerous petitions and accusations were daily lodged against the Hakka population, so that the Mandarins were unable to settle all their disputes. It seems even probable that the Mandarins would evade the trouble, and if the report be true, they gave the advice to the Punti population to enforce their own right against the Hakkas. However this be, the result was, that soon after, a civil war commenced between the Puntis and Hakkas of the Kwei District, in which gradually a number of villages were involved. The fighting began on the 28th of the eighth month (September 1850,) and during the first days the Hakkas had the advantage, no doubt because they were more accustomed to such a manner of life, and probably counted robbers by profession among their number. Gradually, however, the Puntis grew bolder and more experienced, and as their number was considerably larger, they defeated the Hakkas, and burnt their houses, so that these had no resting-place to which they could resort. In this distress they sought refuge among the worshippers of God, who at that time lived dispersed in several districts, in congregations counting from one to three hundred individuals. They willingly submitted to any form of worship in order to escape from their enemies, and received the necessary supplies, which they were now destitute of.

Up to this period the worshippers of God had not stood in any connection whatever with the robbers or outlaws of the province. The Mandarin soldiers, upon their excursions in search of the robbers, never interfered with the members of the congregations, or suspected the brethren to have any other but religious motives for their assembling together. But now, when not only from the distressed villages, but also from the bands of robbers dispersed by the Mandarin soldiers large flock of people, old and young, men and women, with their children and their property, joined the congregations, matters could no longer go on as before. A rupture and collision with the Mandarins became inevitable. Siu-tshuen's discerning eye had foreseen all this; his prediction had now been fulfilled; he had formed his plans, he was prepared to take the consequences, and only awaited the proper moment to take a decided step. About this time, he composed an Ode alluding to the state of the country, wherein his own intentions are clearly expressed:—

“When in the present time (disturbances abound,
And bands of robbers are) like gathering vapors
 found,
We know that heaven means to raise a valiant
 hand
(To rescue the oppressed and save our native land.)
China was once subdued, but it shall no more fall.
God ought to be adored, and ultimately shall
The founder of the Ming in song disclose his
 mind.
The Emperor of Han drank to the furious wind,
From olden times all deeds by energy were done.
Dark vapours disappear on rising of the sun.”

In this Ode, Siu-tshuen alludes to the frequent bands of robbers rising suddenly and gathering like vapours round the mountains in the different districts. He expresses his intention to permit them to fight and tear up each other, until finally, when they were fatigued and weakened, he would rise in the field and easily become the sole master. Such was the plan expressed by the founder of the Ming dynasty, Choo-hung-woo, in his song about the aster to which he compared himself. The aster begins to blossom in the 9th month, when the season of most other flowers has passed away, thus, as it were, waiting quietly until all other flowers had exhausted their strength, contending to excel each other; then the aster un-

folds its beauty, and displaying its armour of golden yellow, remains alone master of the field. The first Emperor of the Han dynasty, Lew-pang, compared the furious wind and flying clouds to valiant warriors, rushing on in victorious progress, carrying all before them; and displaying a table with wine, he saluted them as they passed quickly over his head.

The Siu-tshai (graduate) Wang, who already has been mentioned in these pages as an enemy of the new doctrine, and as the accuser of its adherents, again used his influence and money to injure one of the brethren. Wang-ngi had by his rash and imprudent conduct in destroying the idols belonging to other people, brought down upon himself the resentment of the populace, and was again accused before the Magistrate. This official however refused to take up the matter, and dismissed the parties. When the young Wang-ngi came out to the street, he commenced a quarrel with the two plaintiffs, and in an insolent manner demanded a large sum of money from them, without which the matter would not be settled. Just at this moment the graduate Wang happened to pass, and inquired what was the matter. The two plaintiffs explained to him, that the Magistrate would not take up their cause, and commit Wang-ngi. Then the graduate Wang replied, "I will take care that this fellow is put in prison," and ordered Wang-ngi again to be brought to the office of the Magistrate. He then wrote an accusation accompanied with considerable bribes, which had the effect, that Wang-ngi was put into prison, and gradually killed by want and ill-treatment.

The first instance when members belonging to the congregation of God-worshippers were involved in conflict with the populace, seems to have occurred at a place called Goldfield. Some persons belonging to a large Punti village had seized and led away a buffalo, being the property of a God-worshipper. The brethren were highly incensed at such an outrage, and demanded back the buffalo. As this was not instantly complied with, they also seized one or more cows belonging to the other and stronger party. At last an exchange of the animals was agreed to, and the emissaries met and

arranged the affairs; but just as they were returning, some of the Puntis, relying on their larger number, fired upon the Hakkas. These, in their turn, attacked the Puntis, and chased them back to their own village. The Punti people considered this unexpected defeat as an expression of the displeasure of their gods, and therefore arranged a feast with theatrical performances in honour of their idols, who occupied the first seat among the spectators. But even during the very performance a sudden dread of the God-worshippers came upon the whole assembly, and frightened by a false alarm, they several times rushed out from the place as if their enemies had been advancing. The God-worshippers, the most of whom were Hakkas, were bold and brave, used to labour and fatigue, wherefore with a small number they dared to attack the much larger Punti force, and were often victorious, though their opponents had the assistance of the soldiers. It appears that because of the many Hakkas joining the congregations these were gradually involved in the disturbances, and they were not only accused of interfering with the religious worship of others, and destroying the idols, but also of favouring the outlaws, and secretly fostering rebellious intentions against the Government. Siu-tshuen and Yun-san at this period had left Thistle-mountain, and lived concealed at a place called "Vast-change-hills," in the house of a friend. This place was surrounded by high mountains, leaving only a narrow passage to the country outside. The Mandarins, whose suspicions were aroused, got notice of the residence of Hung and Fung, and sent a body of soldiers to watch the entrance to the hills. Though Siu-tshuen and Yun-san had only a small number of adherents at that place, the soldiers were afraid to enter; but to prevent those inside from sallying out and escaping, they, according to Chinese custom, covered the pass with short sharp wooden stakes stuck into the ground. Siu-tshuen and Yun-san were thus shut up among the mountains and unable to escape from the soldiers, who watched the entrance of the pass. Their great enterprise, to liberate China from the yoke of a foreign power and convert it to the worship of the true God, was

nearly going to be stifled in the very beginning. At this critical moment, it is reported, that Yang-Siu-tshin, in a state of ecstasy, revealed to the brethren of Thistle-mountain the impending danger of their beloved chiefs, and exhorted them to hasten to their rescue. A considerable body of men belonging to the congregations now drew together, and marched against the soldiers, who watched the pass of the Vast-change-hills. The soldiers were easily beaten, the entrance cleared from the wooden stakes, and Siu-tshuen and Yun-san carried in triumph from their place of seclusion.

Siu-tshuen now sent messages to all the congregations in the different districts to assemble in one place. Already for some time previous to this, the worshippers of God had felt the necessity of uniting together for common defence against their enemies; they had commenced to convert their property of fields and houses into money; and to deliver the proceeds thereof into the general treasury, from which all shared alike, every one receiving his food and clothing from this fund. The circumstance that they shared all in common greatly added to their numbers, and thus they were prepared to abandon their homes at a moment's warning. That moment had now arrived. Anxious about their own safety and that of their families, they flocked to the banner of Hung-Siu-tshuen, whom they believed appointed by heaven to be their chief. Old and young, rich and poor, men of influence and education, graduates of the first and second degrees, with their families and adherents, all gathered round the chiefs. Wei-ching alone brought with him about one thousand individuals of his clan. Siu-tshuen took possession of the opulent market town where the above-mentioned graduate Wang resided, whose rich stores of provisions and pawnshops filled with clothes quite suited the wants of the distressed Hakkas. This town was surrounded by a broad river, protecting them from sudden attacks. Here Siu-tshuen encamped and fortified the place, and before the Mandarin soldiers had arrived, his position was already too strong for them. The Imperial soldiers pitched their camp at a respectable distance from the market town, and both parties carried

on hostilities by firing at each other over the river, which however no one ventured to cross. From this place Siu-tshuen again sent Kiang-Liang-chong, who used to travel as a physician carrying his box of medicines with him, and called the remaining relatives of the two clans, Hung and Fung, to join him in Kwang-si; but before they could reach the spot, Siu-tshuen found it necessary from want of provisions to move his camp to another place. This he did secretly, crossed the river, and marched away in good order without the knowledge of the Imperialists, who still supposed him to be in the town. He had taken some women belonging to the town, and upon leaving, he shut them up in a house near the river side, and ordered them to beat the drums the whole day long, thus to make the enemy believe that he was still keeping the place. The Imperialists, as soon as they discovered his movements, sent light troops in pursuit, but they, venturing too near the rear of Siu-tshuen's army, were in their turn pursued by his men, and a great number of them slaughtered. The Imperialists now commenced to vent their rage on the deserted market town, took possession of it by storm, burnt between one and two thousand shops, and plundered what they could get at. They also seized and killed numbers of the inhabitants on the slightest supposition that they were God-worshippers, or friendly disposed towards that body. Many of these unhappy victims evinced great self-possession, and resignation to their fate. One named Tsen said to the soldiers, "Why do you delay? If you are to kill me, then do so,—I fear not to die." He with many others refused to kneel down, and received the death-blow in an upright posture. These cruelties greatly incensed the populace, and many, who otherwise would have remained quietly at home, desirous to worship God without taking part in the insurrection, were thus forced to leave their homes, and join the army of Hung-Siu-tshuen. The latter had now taken possession of and pitched his camp at a large village called Thai-tsun, where he found abundant provisions for his numerous followers. The reason why Siu-tshuen took this large village was as follows: A rebel chief named Chin-a-kwei, who

for a long time previous had disturbed the country, finally expressed himself willing to unite his forces with those of Hung-Siu-tshuen. However, before this was effected, during the time that the latter had possession of the large market town mentioned above, the former made an excursion to the West, when he was taken captive by the people of Thai-tsun and delivered to the Mandarins, who rewarded the deed with a golden button. Siu-tshuen took the village to revenge the death of Chin-a-kwei.

During the time that Siu-tshuen was encamped at the above village, two female rebel chiefs of great valor, named Kew-urh and Szu-san, each one bringing about two thousand followers, joined the army of the God-worshippers, and were received upon submitting to the authority of Hung and the rules of the congregation. Siu-tshuen passed these two female chiefs with their followers at a distance from the main body of his army, serving as outposts one on each side. About the same period eight different rebel chiefs belonging to the San-hoh-hwui or Triad Society, intimated to Siu-tshuen their wish to join his army with their respective bands. Siu-tshuen granted their request, but under condition that they would conform to the worship of the true God. The eight chiefs declared themselves willing to do so, and sent their tribute of oxen, pigs, and rice, &c. Siu-tshuen now despatched sixteen of the brethren belonging to the congregation, two to each chief, in order to impart to them and their followers some knowledge of the true religion, before they had taken the definite step of joining him. When this preparatory instruction had been received, the chiefs dismissed their tutors with a liberal sum of money, as a reward for their trouble, and soon after they with all their followers joined the army of Hung-Siu-tshuen. It now occurred that fifteen of the teachers who had been sent out to the chiefs, in accordance with the laws of the congregation, gave their money which they had received into the common treasury, but one of them kept the money for himself, without saying a word. This same individual had several times before by his misconduct made himself amenable to punishment, and had only been spared in

consideration of his eloquence and talent for preaching. He had in the first instance not fully abstained from the use of opium, but to procure the drug, he had sold some rattan-bucklers belonging to the army; another time he got excited with wine, and had injured some of the brethren. As soon as his concealment of the money was proved, Siu-tshuen and the man's own relatives, who were present in the army, decided to have him punished according to the full rigour of the law, and ordered him to be decapitated as a warning to all. When the chiefs of the Triad Society saw that one of those who had just before been despatched as a teacher to them was now killed for a comparatively small offence, they felt very uncomfortable, and said,—

"Your laws seem to be rather too strict; we shall perhaps find it difficult to keep them, and upon any small transgression you would perhaps kill us also."

Thereupon "Fall large head," "Great carp fish," and five other chiefs, with their men, departed and afterwards surrendered to the Imperialists, turning their arms against the insurgents. Lo-thai-kang alone remained with Siu-tshuen, because he liked the discipline of his army, and the doctrine which they had adopted as a rule of their conduct. It is said that six of the above chiefs of the Triad Society ultimately fell into the hands of the insurgents while fighting against them, and were killed. Siu-tshuen had formerly expressed his opinion of the Triad Society in about the following language:—

"Though I never entered the Triad Society, I have often heard it said that their object is to subvert the Tsing and restore the Ming dynasty. Such an expression was very proper in the time of Khang-hi, when this society was at first formed, but now after the lapse of two hundred years, we may still speak of subverting the Tsing, but we cannot properly speak of restoring the Ming. At all events, when our native mountains and rivers are recovered, a new dynasty must be established. How could we at present arouse the energies of men by speaking of restoring the Ming dynasty? There are several evil practices connected with the Triad Society, which I detest; if any new member enter the society, he must worship the devil, and utter thirty-six oaths; a sword is placed upon his neck, and he is forced to contribute money for the use of the society. Their real object has now turned very mean and unworthy. If we preach the true doctrine, and rely upon the powerful help of God, a few of us will equal a multitude of others. I do not even think that Sun-pin, Woo-

khi, Hung-ming, and others famous in history for their military skill and tactics, are deserving much estimation how much less these bands of the Triad Society."

Siu-tshuen afterwards ordered his followers not to receive any Triad men among their number, but such as were willing to abandon their former practices, and to receive instruction in the true doctrine.

In the autumn of the same year (1851,) he again raised his camp, and marched upon the city of Yung-ngan in the eastern part of Kwang-si, which he entered, taking possession of the treasury and public granaries. It is reported that this city was taken in the following manner: The insurgents advanced quickly to the walls, which are not very high, and by throwing an immense quantity of lighted fire-crackers into the town, the continued explosion of which brought confusion among the soldiers within and caused them to retreat, they easily succeeded in scaling the walls and entering the city.

Hung-Siu-tshuen was here unanimously declared Emperor of the new dynasty called T'hae-ping T'heen-kwoh "Great tranquillity, Heaven's Kingdom." The latter two characters "Kingdom of Heaven," seem according to their meaning to refer to China, but judging from their position they may also be the designation of the new Emperor, who selected this term from the Holy Scriptures. Siu-tshuen is said to have offered the highest dignity to each one of the other four chiefs, Fung Yun-san, Yang-Siu-tshin, Siau-Chau-kwui, and Wai-ching, and only after they had declined the acceptance, and declared their full submission to his authority, he accepted the reign, and appointed them Kings of the four Quarters.* From this place he sent Ling-Shih-pah with a force into Kwang-tung, who however soon after was defeated by the Mandarin troops at Lo-king, and his forces dispersed, most of them returning to Yung-ngan.

* It may be proper here to state the opinion of the informant and his friends regarding T'heen-teh, the supposed chief of the Chinese Insurrection. They fully believe that T'heen-teh is no other person than Hung-Siu-tshuen, and explain the origin of this term in the following way:—Hung-Siu-tshuen was either called T'hai-ping-wang from the new Dynasty commencing with him, or T'heen-khoh-wang from his other designation. Most of the Hakkas pronounce the word Kwoh as Kweh or Kwet, and consequently Hung-Siu-tshuen was among them called T'heen-kweh-wang. People at some distance

We have now followed Hung-Siu-tshuen in his remarkable career from the time that he, desponding and sick, was carried home from the examination at Canton, until the period when, at the head of a numerous army of faithful and enthusiastic adherents, he had possessed himself of the city of Yung-ngan, and was by his followers declared Emperor of China. The farther course of the insurgent army through the different provinces of Kwang-si, Hu-nan, Hu-peh, Kiang-si, Ngan-hwui, and Kiang-su, where the old capital of the Empire, Nanking, was taken by them on the 19th of March, 1853, is already known to the public. From the books published at Nanking by the insurgents, we find that Hung-Siu-tshuen is now called T'hai-ping-wang, or King of Great Peace; Fung-Yun-san is called Southern King; Yang-Siu-tshin the Eastern King; Siau-Chau-kwui the Western King; Wai-ching the Northern King; and Shih-ta-khai the Assistant King; we also find Lo-thai-kang to be Commander of the Forces at Chin-kiang. A strong division of the insurgent army during the same year made further progress through the provinces of Ho-nan, Shan-si, and Chih-li, where they encamped and took winter quarters at Tuh-liu, only seventy English miles from Peking, the capital of the Empire. That they have been able to hold this their position for so long a time, proves the great weakness of the Imperial Government. In the opening of the spring the fate of Peking will probably be decided. The insurgents seem to have two principal objects in view; namely, to subvert the Tsing dynasty, abolish idolatry, and to establish the T'hai-ping dynasty with the worship of the true God. But taking Nanking and fortifying their position there, they have commenced the foundation of a new dynasty, but the existence of the T'hai-ping can only be acknow-

on hearing the name T'heen-kwet, being unacquainted with the dialect and the proper characters, changed the sound T'heen-kweh into T'heen-teh. "Heavenly virtue," a term more fluent and familiar to them. In such manner T'heen-kweh-wang became extensively known in China and abroad under the name of T'heen-teh-wang and many were led to suppose that he was a person different from T'hai-ping-wang or Hung-Siu-tshuen. This would agree with the statement made by some of the Insurgents in Nanking in April last year, that T'heen-teh was a name applied to their chief only by "outside people."

ledged upon the ceasing of the Tsing dynasty. This will in a great measure be effected by the fall of the Manchoo capital, by which the power of the Imperial Government will be crushed, and the last feeble tie between this government and the Chinese people severed.

11. PERSECUTION IN KWANG-TUNG—IMPRISONMENT OF FUNG-YUN-SAN'S FAMILY—DEFEAT AT PADDY-HILL—HUNG-JIN'S ESCAPE.—It has been stated above, that Hung-Siu-tshuen, while he was encamped at the market town in Kwang-si in 1851, sent messages to the relatives and adherents of himself and Fung-Yun-san to join his army in Kwang-si. The year before, when Siu-tshuen had called his own nearer relatives, Hung-Jin had been detained from going with them by his friends at Clear-far; he was still engaged as a teacher. This time, 1851, he started on the journey with about fifty friends and relatives of the two chiefs. Upon their arrival at Tsin-chau, they heard that the worshippers of God had raised their camp and marched away, and that the Mandarins were seizing and cruelly murdering all connected with the God-worshippers. Hung-Jin now ordered forty and odd of his friends to return to Kwang-tung, while he with three of the party endeavoured to penetrate deeper into the country, and if possible reach the army of the God-worshippers. Fearing to fall into the hands of the Mandarins, who had ordered a severe seizure of all vagrants and suspected persons, Hung-Jin changed his family name to that of Heu, and found himself under necessity to desist from the attempt to reach his friends in Kwang-si. Upon his journey home, he met with several persons, who were really of the Heu clan. One rich man of this name entertained him for a whole month at his house, and when Hung left, gave him eight strings of cash, forty pounds of rice, and five pounds of pork, under the impression that he was assisting a poor distressed scholar of his own clan. When Hung reached Hwahien, the fact of Siu-tshuen and Yun-san having raised an insurrection in Kwang-si was already known to the Mandarins of this province. A police force had arrived at the place, seized people, demo-

lished the ancestral tombs, and were extorting money from the inhabitants. Hung-Jin not being safe at home, went to live with his friends at Clear-far. Fung-Yun-san's uncle, mother, younger brother, and youngest son, were taken and put in prison. His wife and two other sons succeeded in escaping, and found refuge with their friends in other districts. They thus also came to Clear-far, and after consulting their friends, who willingly made a collection for their traveling expenses, the eldest son with the nephew of Yun-san, again in company with Hung-Jin, set out for Kwang-si. Here they found the vigilance and rigid inquiries of the Mandarins still more severe than the time before, and once more they were obliged to return to Kwang-tung. In the meantime Yun-san's wife lived concealed at Paddy-hill until her hiding-place was made known to the policeman by a man of the name Wang, who told them where he had seen her. She tried again to flee, but the Mandarin servants being close upon her, she was obliged to hide herself in a small house on the way-side, entreating the inmates not to reveal her presence to her pursuers. This they promised, and she had nearly escaped from the hands of the Mandarins, but unfortunately a beggar woman had seen her enter the house, and upon receiving a few dollars from the policeman, she pointed it out to them. The fugitive was then taken and brought to Canton, where she with other members of Yun-san's family still remain in prison. The uncle is however reported to have died there. The eldest son, with his cousin and Hung-Jin, again attempted to enter Kwang-si, but could not succeed. Many of their friends in Kwang-tung, incensed at the extortion and severe oppression of the Mandarins, were ready to oppose the policemen, and liberate Fung-Yun-san's family, but some of the principal leaders being of a different opinion, the matter was dropped for that time. In the beginning of 1852, Kiang-Liung-chong, the usual messenger of Hung-Siu-tshuen to his relatives in Kwang-tung, again arrived with letters calling all the faithful adherents of the several clans to join his army in Kwang-si at the city of Yung-ngan. The Mandarins seemed to be aware of and

dread the growing power of the insurgents. They in a great measure relaxed their severity in persecuting the kindred of the two chiefs, and they even released from prison an old uncle of Siu-tshuen, about seventy-two years of age. The adherents of Siu-tshuen well knew that they had no mercy to expect from the side of the Government, and thinking the present moment favourable to act, upon the advice of Kiang in accordance with the letter received from Hung-Siu-tshuen, they resolved to gather all their friends together, and fixed upon Paddy-hill as the place of assemblage. It appears that Kiang-Liung-chong who had been witness to the continued success of the insurgents in Kwang-si, had grown too bold and careless. He expected the same result here in Kwang-tung, without similar means and resources, and acted without precaution, thus involving himself and friends in grievous disasters. Before the day appointed for general meeting had arrived, along with "Heaven Cock," "Cap Right High," and others of their kindred clans, in all about two hundred men, wholly unaccustomed to fighting, he raised the standard of insurrection, with the motto, "In obedience of Heaven." As soon as this was done, their act was reported to the district magistrate by people on the spot, and a considerable force of soldiers was sent against them. The insurgents went boldly to the fight, but being few and inexperienced, they were soon thrown into disorder. Kiang-Liung-chong with about six others, fell during the action, a considerable number were taken captive by the troops, and the rest dispersed. "All is lost!" cried Cap, who still fought bravely at the side of Heaven Cock, and taking advantage of a thick fog descending from the mountains, they made their escape into the woods. Here they met with Fung-A-shu, the nephew of Yun-san, and a few others of their friends. They were now obliged to leave their native district, and seek refuge among their friends, or try to get their support in some manner far away from the place of their nativity. The village of Paddy-hill was burnt to the ground, the fields confiscated, and made the property of the Mandarins.

Hung-Jin with about a dozen men ar-

rived at Paddy-hill just after the defeat, without knowing anything about this accident. He and all his companions were taken by the people of the neighbourhood, and with their arms tied behind, they were shut up in a house to be afterwards delivered over to the Mandarins and beheaded. The prisoners murmured against Hung-Jin, who had brought upon them this calamity by exhorting them to join him in an undertaking, the result of which was quite the contrary to their expectation. Hung-Jin, lively and enthusiastic, desirous to lead his friends to honour and to glory, now sat down in the midst of them in deep sorrow and despair, and would gladly have given his own life to save those whom he had brought with him into distress. Feeling the cord where-with his hands were tied together give way a little, after some effort he got them free, and proceeded to unloose those of his friends who were accessible, and succeeded in liberating six of his companions from their bonds. After it had become dark, they opened the door, and in the rainy night hastened away to the mountains. Hung-Jin, whose liveliest hopes so suddenly had been frustrated, who had drawn upon himself the hatred and revenge of the relatives of so many involved in the present disaster, who had no place of refuge left to himself, now felt his own guilt and despair too hard to bear. He therefore unloosed his girdle and was going to strangle himself, when one of the fugitives came up to him. Hung said, "Try to escape and save your life, I will put an end to my existence in this place." The other then seized his hand, and drew him forward, exhorting him to continue his flight in company with him, which he did. The next day, when Hung awoke from a short rest in the bush, he missed his companion. He now prayed to God the heavenly Father to spare his life and protect him amidst so many dangers. During the day time he lay concealed in the bush, and during the night he went on. Once the people in search of fugitives passed very close by him, without observing him. Finally, after having passed four days and four nights without any food in the mountains, he in a very exhausted state arrived at the house of some near relatives. Here he was concealed

six days in a mountain cavern, and afterwards his relatives gave him some money, with which he went on board a passage-boat to go to another district, and seek refuge with more distant relatives of the Hung clan. But even among these, new trials awaited him; for also from their place a few of the Hung clan had gone to Paddy-hill, whose further fate was unknown. Some of the relatives of those missing were now inclined to revenge the supposed death of their brethren, and deliver Hung-Jin to the Mandarins, but an old venerable headman took him under his protection, saying that it would be very wrong to injure Hung, when they knew nothing certain about their relatives, who, even if they had met with misfortune, had gone willingly of their own accord, without being deceived or enticed by any one. Hereupon he gave one of his grandsons to Hung-Jin as a guide, and this young man, being a Christian convert, conducted him to Hongkong in the end of April, 1852, and introduced him to me. I was astonished to hear a person from the interior of China speak with such interest of, and display so much acquaintance with, the Christian religion. I liked to listen to his animated narratives, about Hung-Siu-tshuen, Fung-Yun-san, and their followers, though at the time I could form no clear conception of the whole matter, which then was little known and still less believed. He wrote a few sheets of paper, containing a short account of Hung-Siu-tshuen and himself, which I put into my desk, until I should have further evidence as to their contents. I expected that Hung-Jin, who wished to study the Christian doctrine and be baptized, would remain for some time at Hongkong; but upon my return from a tour of a few weeks to the mainland, he had departed, as he had no means of support in this place.

After the defeat at Paddy-hill, A-fong, the eldest son of Fung-Yun-san, went to Canton and took service with a blacksmith. The latter was, however, a very bad character, and having had share in a robbery and open assault, he was with

several other miscreants seized by the Mandarins. Here he endeavoured to effect his own release by promising to deliver into the hands of the Mandarins the eldest son of Fung-Yun-san. A-fong was thus discovered, and brought before the officials, where he however denied being the son of the rebel chief. The Mandarin then ordered him to be brought into the presence of his mother, when the tears of both sufficiently proved the truth of their near relationship. A-fong still shares the captivity of his mother and other relatives at Canton. The blacksmith was beheaded with the other criminals. The second son of Fung-Yun-san followed his cousin Fung-A-shu. They had to go through many difficulties, until finally they both found an opportunity to embark with the Rev. I. J. Roberts for Shanghai in the month of July, 1853. It is supposed that about forty of Hung's clan were put to death on or after the above occurrence; and that about seventy others have been transported to other distant provinces. It is, however, difficult to know the exact number, and still more so to know the exact fate of every one separately.

In November 1853, Hung-Jin, who up to that time had been engaged as schoolmaster at some place in the interior, again visited me. He was still very desirous to be baptized, and seemed to be sincere in his wish to serve God. He declared himself willing to leave all matters in the hands of Him, who worketh all things after the council of His own will, and to seek above all the kingdom of God and His righteousness. Hung-Jin, with three of his friends from Clear-far, have since been baptized, and are still studying the Holy Scriptures, with the hope in the Providence of God, hereafter to be enabled to instruct their countrymen in the way of salvation. The utter distress of the informant, his friends and their families, decided me for the publication of this little volume; and it may add to the satisfaction of the readers to know, that while they are promoting the sale of the book, they are also relieving the distress of many who form the subjects of its pages.

A VISIT TO FOO-CHOO-FOO AND THE SURROUNDING COUNTRY.

STARTING from Woosung on the 16th of February, bound to Foo-choo-foo, we met with nothing requiring to be recorded, until the 20th, when we anchored one mile S.W. of the Island of "Matsou" in 15 fathoms of water, the wind having entirely failed us; and it being advisable to avoid drifting to the Southward of the entrance of the River. As this is the natural anchorage in making the river Min in the N.E. Monsoon, it may be well to make a few general remarks on a place which must ere long become much frequented. We landed at a sandy beach, slightly raised above which there is a considerable fishing village, the houses of which are built of the granitic boulders, separated by the elements from the rocks of which the island is composed, made to adhere by means of a mixture of sand and clay, and roofed with single tiles, each one maintained in situ by a stone placed on it.

On ascending the highest peak, a height of about 800 feet, a similar sandy bay and village may be seen on the Northern end of the island.

The cultivation consists of numerous reclaimed patches on which wheat in a very unhealthy condition could only be said to exist, some few beans and a stunted and miserable species of Brassica were also noticed. The greater portion of the surface was covered with coarse tussoc, but the *viola odorata*, and a crimson *azalia* were found in blossom.

On the beach several species of *Murex*, *Purpura*, *Trochus*, *Mytilus* and other shells were picked up; and on the summit of the peak itself several specimens of *Eburna*, *Ranella* and *Coronula* were found. Fish is abundant and several very fine rock cod were purchased from the villagers. This situation is well adapted for sea bathing and might be formed in summer into the nucleus of missionary labour, as the natives were very civil and importunate in their requests for European medicine. Fresh water of a superior quality descends from the heights to within a few yards of the landing place. The

boats used by the villagers are wedge-shaped with the sharp end forward and are easily propelled by means of mat sails.

At 2 P.M. on the 21st a slight breeze sprang up from N.E. which presently increased to a smart gale. We now got underweigh and ran down until the "Sea dog" bore E. by N., and steered in for "Round Island," which we kept bearing West until "Rees' Rock" bore W.N.W.; then steered for Rees' Rock with the last-mentioned bearing, until we shoaled the water to three fathoms and a quarter; and then hauled up for "Sharp Peak Point;" thus coming in to the Southward of the "Knoll," which is a more simple and safer plan than the one marked out on the charts, where it is directed to keep "Rees, Rock" on with "Square Peak Point;" a thing utterly impossible in a foggy day, such as we met with. When "Sharp Peak Point" bore North we steered West, until "Woga Fort" bore N.W., for which we steered. Being flood tide we crossed the bar with not less than four fathoms of water. From "Woga Fort" we steered to "Temple Point" where we took a Pilot, ran through the "Kinpai Pass," passed "Wedge Island" and anchored just outside of the "Mingan Pass," where the Opium ships lay, about 7 P.M.

On entering the river Min, the scenery at once struck us, as surpassing in grandeur every thing we had previously seen in China; peaks beyond peaks of the most varied outline, set forth in their most picturesque and attractive forms, by the lights and shadows, cast by the heavy passing clouds, every here and there revealing deep and lengthened gorges of beautiful scenery, formed a sight altogether new to men from the flat but fertile valley of the Yang-tsze-kiang.

The "Woga Fort" scarcely deserves its high sounding appellation, although a dilapidated fort is situated on the summit of a hill, itself more worthy of notice. At "Temple Point" there is a joss-house peeping prettily out from a clump of trees on a point jutting out into the river.

Passing further on the "Kinpai Pass," which is not more than the fifth of a mile across, is a magnificent piece of scenery. Here forts have been built and are apparently maintained in good order by the Chinese; above them the hills rise abruptly in all their vastness and grandeur. In the hands of any European power such a position would render the river impassable to an enemy. Along the sides of the hills the paddy fields rise one above the other in regular terraces, and to them the mountain rills are conveyed. It was here at the "Kinpai Pass" that the American ship *Oriental* was subsequently lost. Her loss satisfactorily proved the advisability of waiting for a fair wind to go through this pass, and we believe that vessels will seldom require to wait more than one or two days for the purpose. The pass is so very narrow that the tide rushes out diverging towards two rocks which are situated on either hand a little outside, and in avoiding the one, a ship is very apt to get on the opposite, unless she has a fair wind. The keel of the *Oriental* caught on the one as she was backing and filling out, and the tide swept her bow down on the rock and bilged her. In 20 minutes there were nine feet water in her hold and alongside 25 fathoms. With a fair wind or a steamer there can be no danger.

Looking back towards the "Kinpai Pass" the entrance appears completely closed and a ship seems as if sailing surrounded by an amphitheatre of hills. After passing "Wedge Island" the scenery becomes somewhat tamer.

We got underweigh next morning at early day and steered through the "Mingan Pass," leaving on our left hand a considerable town of that name, which is prettily situated in a hollow among the hills, and presently came in sight of "Lo-sing-tah" or Pagoda Island. This is the usual anchorage and a large fleet might be moored in this situation, but it is somewhat exposed and inconvenient for loading. It is therefore much better to proceed a little further up the river, although the navigation is somewhat intricate for a large clipper-ship. With a vessel that answers her helm readily and with a steady breeze to round "Pagoda Point," it is only necessary to hug the

shore closely to avoid a bank on the opposite side, passing as close as possible, without touching, a rock which is little more than awash at high water and close to the shore, being separated from it however by water 40 fathoms deep, running with great velocity. A few cables length above this is the best anchorage which is known by a small stone joss-house about eight feet square, which commonly goes by the name of "Brown's House." Here we brought up and made a running moor with 30 fathoms on each cable and although not a cable length from the shore were perfectly protected by the high hills from any fear of gales.

At noon we started in a sampan for the town of Foo-choo-foo—a distance of scarcely nine miles—which nevertheless took us four hours to accomplish. These boats are very uncomfortable and seem to be a cross between a Whampoa sampan and the usual boat employed in Shanghai for going off to the ships, the bow however being more elongated than in either. They are steered by a long oar and propelled either by a sail, wider at its head than at its foot, or by oars worked by the crew standing up and pushing them, the steersman having one to work as well as his steer-oar. While under sail these boats are decidedly dangerous, being easily capsized by sudden puffs of wind coming over the hills.

Between "Pagoda Island" and the town the scenery becomes much tamer, and though only an undulating country in some places is still beautiful. On arriving near the city the hills rise into view, but the first object discernible is the American flag waving from a hill to the south-west of the river on which the only American firm is located. On approaching nearer some fifty junks are seen, hiding in part the celebrated bridge of which we shall have more to say hereafter. Around these junks numerous boats of all descriptions are crowded, from the little floating box of the beggar to the gorgeous flower-boat or still larger salt-boat—but numerous as they are their number does not satisfy the expectation of one accustomed to the large floating population of Chinese rivers. Pulling up beyond the bridge, we landed at the suburb on the south bank of the river, a

densely peopled quarter containing one long street running parallel to the river, intersected at right angles with numerous steep lanes. This quarter is certainly wet and dirty and deserves no praise. Following one of these lanes which lead up to some hills varying from 100 to 200 feet high on which several missionaries have built houses we ascended one known to Europeans as the "Mount of Olives" (from the numerous fine olive trees which grow on its summit,) embowered among which stands the bungalow in which we were invited to take up our quarters. From this situation one of the most magnificent views that can well be imagined is obtainable. Looking in a northerly direction the back-ground is formed by hills about 3,000 feet high partly hid in the mist, at their base a range of low hills surmounted by joss-houses and surrounded by an innumerable mass of buildings peering out from among noble trees, and surrounded by a wall to be traced at intervals of its undulations; the valley intersected by a mighty river, the high road for the commerce of nearly a million of inhabitants, crossed by a bridge of world-wide celebrity, which connects the suburbs on the southern side of the town with a thickly inhabited island, and thence with those on the south bank of the "Min"; the banyan and leeches trees, with the stately firs and the rich olive trees of the fore-ground; the hum of voices with all the various and indescribable sounds proceeding from a vast mass of people closely congregated together, the shrieks of the numerous kites overhead and unmusical and shrill barking of the dogs; the whole viewed as it was by us for the first time about sunset, cannot fail to leave a deep impression upon the most unromantic mind.

Next day we started on a trip up the river.

A Bridge of solid piers and granite slabs forming 27 arches spans the river about five miles above the one mentioned yesterday. Here the country again puts on a wilder appearance, the hills arise more abruptly than in the valley near the town, and shortly slope down to the edges of the river itself, the path being cut in some places out of the solid rock. The hills in the neighbourhood appear to be

composed to a great extent of masses of quartz imbedded in disintegrated granite; they are every where cut through by deep gullies formed by descending torrents after the heavy rains, and we were informed by an old Californian that these gullies resembled in every particular those in which gold is usually found even to its accompanying black sand. In consequence of their geological formation these hills are rather barren, although dotted all over with handsome tombs, of the usual Omega shape prepared from artificial stone composed of the disintegrated granite and chunam, which appears to be very durable and certainly produces a fine effect. Numerous trees of the "*Pinus Sinensis*" and "*Cunninghamia lanceolata*" species to the height of upwards of sixty feet are interspersed among those tombs. The view a little below the bridge, if care is taken to get exactly in the right position, is very fine: the bridge itself forms the foreground, bounded at either extremity by a fine grove of Leeches and Orange trees, the river in the centre of the picture, and the hills in the distance sloping towards one another in apparently interminable perspective, fill up the background. Continuing our course for two miles further up the river, we came to the point of junction of its two branches, which inclose the island on which we live; and reunite at "Lo-sing-tah." Following the South branch in its downward course for three or four miles there is a very charming prospect presented to the spectator, of which a joss-house surrounded, as usual with the noble banyan trees, jutting out into the river forms the central object, backed by magnificent hills, with the river in the foreground edged by groves of the Leeches and Orange and intersected by banks of yellow sand shining in the setting sun. Unfortunately this view is at a considerable distance from our dwelling and we were obliged reluctantly to hurry home.

The Monastery of "Coo-shan" next claimed our attention which is situated on the side of a hill, one of the range which rises from the plain about three miles E.S.E. from the bridge. Availing ourselves of the tide we soon reached the starting point. We had now to walk

along the edge of paddy fields, for some five hundred yards, to the commencement of the ascent, where a handsome gateway is erected. We left this at 11 A.M. by a road which ascends between rather stunted Fir trees, and is more or less regularly paved, either in the form of steps or sloping plains as far as the Monastery. On the way up to this, the most celebrated monastic establishment, in this part of the country, the pilgrim is provided with three resting places, the respective heights of which we measured with the Aneroid—as follows:

1st Resting place attained at 11.13 A.M.	519 feet
2nd " " " at 11.20 A.M.	890 feet
3rd " " " at 11.34 A.M.	1,112 feet.

The Monastery itself was estimated at 1,432 feet above the level of the sea.

We shall not describe minutely this building having already fully portrayed those at Tien-tung and Poo-too which it resembles but in a much less pretending style. It is built on the usual plan of all Buddhist temples and has only the advantage of being kept in good repair to recommend it. As in all these monasteries, so also here there are certain sights pointed out to the visitor. These need not detain us. The most remarkable deserves notice only from the gross and barefaced imposition practised on the ignorant by its means; it is called a relict of Buddha, but is in reality a very good specimen of the fossil tooth of the Mastodon. The priests however make a great display in showing it and ignorant as they are may possibly go the length of believing in the genuineness of the relict.

The other memorabilia consist of a bell of considerable size and good tone which is struck once every minute; of a recluse who is said to have been shut up in a cell for five years contemplating the mysteries of buddhism, and who is fed through a small window, but who came there and contrary to what we had been led to believe conversed with us, and appeared to us by far the best looking in the establishment; of certain *lulus naturæ*, and of a pond in which some large fish apparently of the pike species answer to the call of the priests to be fed with bread.

To an admirer of scenery many of the gorges in the side of the mountain present subjects of much greater interest than

those generally pointed out by the priests. One of the most beautiful is along a path winding in a South-east direction which leads to a spring flowing out of a stone lion's head. This path presents many beautiful glimpses of scenery and traverses several wild ravines, it terminates on the very verge of a precipice, overlooking which a sort of temple has been erected to the founder of the Monastery, whose effigy carved on a slab of black marble surmounts the altar. It would have been scarcely possible to have selected a more beautiful or wilder spot for such a purpose, and it is evidently a favorite resort of both priests and pilgrims, for whose convenience seats have been erected.

Leaving the monastery the ascent becomes much more difficult and the face of the mountain more barren, the noble firs which surround the buildings are no longer met with, and a few azalias alone diversify the dullness of the coarse grass. The soil is very sandy, consisting of decomposed granite, in which vegetation does not thrive, although an attempt at cultivation has been made the greater part of the way up. The peak itself is about 2,700 feet from the level of the sea, at the summit of which we arrived, after great exertion, at 1 P.M., or two hours after starting. The view from here is undeniably fine, but it is doubtful whether it repays one for the trouble of the ascent; everything looks so diminutive. The bridge at Foo-choo is seen, but the city itself is invisible; the mountains behind, rising the one above the other, in endless and diversified peaks, form a magnificent back ground, the island partly around which we went yesterday may be traced throughout, Pagoda island and our vessel at Brown's house were distinctly seen, and the river, intersected with innumerable mud banks, filled up the interval on the Western and Southern sides. A heavy mist past over the mountain and shut out our view in the opposite direction, where the peaks of the "Pih-ling" range tower one above the other.

On the summit of the peak a cairn has been erected, and already attains a height of nearly 8 feet, formed as we were told by every European visitor adding one stone.

After returning to the Monastery, where our servants had prepared our repast in the Central Hall and enjoying the scenery

until nearly sunset, we retraced our steps and arrived at Foo-choo at 7 P.M.

In order to visit the city of Foo-choo-foo, which is situated about 3 miles inland, on the North bank of the River, we were obliged to cross the celebrated "Wan-show" bridge, which merits particular notice. From the Southern suburb to the Island of "Chang-chow" nine arches span the river, a distance of 330 feet, leaving a clear granite passage 12 feet in width. The piers are of solid granite masonry remarkably well built; granite slabs connect the one with the other, granite parapets completing the structure. No boats are allowed to pass under this portion of the bridge, death being awarded to those who infringe this regulation. The breadth of the Island, on which the two principal European Mercantile firms have their hong, and on which there is not one inch of unoccupied ground, is 750 feet, and is traversed by one main street, which in point of width and cleanness will bear comparison with any in Shanghai. From this island to the suburb of "Nantae," the main portion of the bridge, 1,300 feet long, extends. It closely resembles that part already described, but is or rather was originally 14 feet wide, and it is to be regretted that numerous sheds for shops have been permitted to be erected on it, leaving a passage for the immense traffic that crosses it of no more than 8 feet. This is still further diminished by a stand of chairs for hire, which here, as at the various gates and in other portions of the town, recall to the traveller the cab stands of Europe. The flood tide seldom extends above the bridge, while after the freshets the ebb rushes down with fearful rapidity, and in certain seasons, the waters are so increased in volume, as to cover even the top of the bridge, when a visit to the city is far from safe.

The suburb of "Nantae" consists of two portions; the first on the Northern bank of the Min contains the principal pack-houses, and is indeed the place where all the trade of the town is carried on. Here Europeans have their godowns to which the tea is brought, and from which it is shipped off in boats to the anchorage. The second part of the suburb is little more than a double row of shops and

houses extending up to the South gate of the Town, a distance of nearly three miles. Some part of it appears to be very thriving and contains good shops. About the centre are a number of tea-shops, with a carved granite triumphal arch: to this point the principal officials come to welcome, and swell the train of, any great mandarin who may be visiting the town, —the inferior officers go two or three miles further.

The walls of Foo-choo-foo are about 30 feet high and kept in better repair than any we have observed elsewhere in China, the lower 20 feet being of granite. Their circumference is about eight miles and they are provided with seven gates of the usual double form surmounted by watch-towers three stories high.

The Population of the city itself is variously estimated at from 400 to 800 thousand inhabitants; the opinion of the oldest residents would place it at the lower figure. The streets are in many places good, much wider than in other Chinese towns we have visited, and deserving notice for their superior cleanliness; one in particular attracted our attention on this account; it runs in an almost direct line from the South gate to the Treasury, a distance of at least a mile; throughout the greater portion of its length it is fully thirty feet wide and no doubt was originally entirely so, but there is a mania to encroach on the thoroughfare, first by sign boards, then by stalls, and ultimately by those of a more permanent kind; and this I understand has been the case with the majority of the Foo-choo streets, which were all originally wide for an Oriental city. Traces of this encroachment may be observed in many parts of the town, the main walls of the original houses being seen at the back of the shops. As a general rule the houses are far from imposing, and resemble in this respect those of other Chinese towns. The majority of them are built for the first few feet of granite, above which the composite walls of the building are erected. The method in which these walls are constructed is something quite "*sui generis*;" planks are supported by scaffolding leaving an interstice equal to the required thickness of the wall, between these plank mud, sand and stones with a certain pro-

portion of chunam are jammed, the planks are then removed and the surface plastered over. These walls become very hard and being generally made thick, last for years.

We observed few public buildings requiring notice. The Yamuns of the various officials are in general not at all superior to those in other towns; several we observed were surrounded by a certain portion of inclosed ground, in which some fine old trees were growing. The *Treasury* we have already referred to is by far the most imposing building. It consists of solid well hewn granite, forming a front of nearly five hundred feet. It is entered by a solid well arched gateway protected by staunch iron bound doors, which lead up to the Official residence of the Treasurer. On the front of this building there is the dial of a clock, with large conspicuous Chinese characters. We were informed that the dial is illuminated at night. The only other building that we consider worthy of notice is the *Confucian Temple*. It was lately burned down, but is already in a forward state of repair. It resembles so completely that described at Ningpo that it need not detain us long, but being new it looks vastly better. The lower part is built of granite, remarkable for the finish of its workmanship; above red bricks of unusual fineness and size complete the walls, and highly ornamented rafters are supported by solid granite pillars, upon which rests the immense roof; the whole forming a most characteristic specimen of Chinese architecture. The carvings in stone should not be overlooked.

There are in this, as in other cities, numerous other temples, those of the "Goddess of Mercy" and of the "God of War" for instance, but they require no description and will not repay for the trouble of visiting them.

After entering the South gate and taking the first turn to the left, and thus skirting the wall in a South-westerly direction, the visitor arrives at the gate of the British Consulate, through an avenue of the Banyan trees we have so often had occasion to admire. The ascent now becomes steep, and at last, after passing through what if kept in order would be a very pretty shrubbery, the official buildings come in

view. These buildings formed originally an extensive Monastery, which was rented by the British Authorities and underwent some little alterations, but is still very inadequate accommodation for the Consulate establishment. The site is the only redeeming point, and against this we would object should the trade of the port flourish as we anticipate it will do; the distance from the river, near which the Mercantile community will probably have their hongs, is so great as to form a serious obstacle to the despatch of business. The grounds have been very tastefully laid out, and the view from the top of the "Wu-shih-shan" or Black stone Hill, on which they are situated, is certainly magnificent. This is the only place from which any good idea of the town itself can be taken. A goodly mass of buildings, with very few salient points, are seen encompassed by the walls following all the sinuosities of the ground. The "Kiu-sien-shan" or nine genii hill to the South-east with its varied buildings, and the main guard hill to the North surmounted by a large three storied barracks, a pagoda and some fine old trees scattered among a mass of low houses, with the noble hills behind, the various suburbs, the river and its bridge, with their teeming thousands, form a sight which it would take long to tire of. We know of no finer panorama in the world—and were all we have said and may still say of Foo-choo a myth, this view would of itself repay one for the trouble of obtaining it.

During our stay we spent much of our time in the city, and the result of our observations was the conviction, that it is too much the custom with Europeans to talk of every Chinese city as in a state of great decay. Every thing we have seen here tells a very different tale. The people generally seem well to do, the shops are for the most part well supplied with workmen actively engaged at their various trades, and the beggars are much less in number and less importunate than in Shanghai, even in its palmy days. As in most towns the various trades are congregated together, so that at one time you are nearly deafened by the hammering of black-smiths, another have your teeth set on edge by a like number of comb-manu-

facturers, then come musical-instrument-makers, manufactures of gongs, toy shops, shoe-makers &c., in rotation—but nevertheless the rule is not absolute, and eating-houses are found every where, and were invariably doing a thriving business. With all this Foo-choo must be a truly disagreeable place in the rainy season; the system of drainage is evidently very imperfect, for after only a couple of days of rain the water had accumulated knee-deep about the South gate, so as to oblige us to avail ourselves of the services of a band of coolies whom we found stationed there, and who seized every passer by, and insisted upon conveying him or her on their backs through the water for a moderate guerdon. The scene was amusing enough and the various figures cut quite a comical appearance, forcibly recalling to our recollection the clock-work toys sent to and so much prized by the children of England.

Another common mistake is to describe the people of Foo-choo as a very uncivil, unmannerly and turbulent set. From our own observation and the information we were able to collect, we are bound to state that this is no correct description of this fine, manly race. It is quite true that a stranger will occasionally hear "Quang-yang" or foreign man, called when he passes, but it is certainly rare that any more disagreeable epithet is employed, and with occasional exceptions, of which we shall presently speak, we are not aware of any other modes of annoyance being employed towards foreigners by the people themselves. And here we speak not of the mandarins who have always been found wherever we have gone, inimical to us.—We would ask moreover what would have been the result of Chinese walking through the Streets of London, or more especially through those of some of our provincial towns, in full costume, ten years ago or, for ought we know, in the present day? Would they not meet with many more opprobrious terms than "Foreign man"? Why therefore should we expect better behaviour at the hands of a people we are accustomed to call less civilized than ourselves, more especially at places where they have not been much in the habit of seeing foreigners? But we are not prepared to speak thus of the people on the borders of the Min below the

bridge, who are frequently little better than pirates. Indeed it is not safe to travel on the river unarmed between the shipping and the town; while above the bridge and all through the surrounding country, we have good reason to believe, that there exists not the least danger of being molested. We are therefore inclined to describe the people of Foo-choo, but more especially of the country above it, as a superior race; as their geographical position places them, so would we place them intellectually, midway between the intelligent, clever, but saucy and impertinent natives of Canton, and affable and unintellectual men of the North. Such has been our experience of them both in the town itself, and during a cruise of several days in the hilly districts around. It would however be manifestly unfair not to state, that there are undoubtedly exceptions among them, from whom one may meet with gross insults, but that they are not encouraged, is proved by the following incident. A friend of ours while passing along the bridge sometime since, was so grossly insulted by a fellow putting his head into the chair, and spitting in his face, that without consideration of the consequences our friend jumped out, seized the stretcher of the chair, and rushed after the scoundrel who was pointed out by the crowd as he ran; he was overtaken and received summary justice on the spot, amid the loud applause of the bystanders. Again one is liable to be put to considerable inconvenience, and, as the temptation may be too great in certain cases, it is quite possible that theft may result simply from the curiosity awaked by the unusual appearance of Foreigners. Such an event nearly happened to ourselves near the upper bridge, which we had gone to sketch. Having selected our site and commenced the preparatory process of sharpening pencils, we were not a little surprised, on looking up, to find ourselves surrounded by a crowd of men and women, who ultimately proved so troublesome as to prevent our accomplishing our object. One fellow was particularly importunate, but a fixed stare soon made him skulk back; in the meantime however others had got behind, and had we not retreated we might have been

robbed although in a perfectly good natured way, for the only incivility besides crowding, consisted in the handling of every article of our dress with the same apparent interest that a naturalist would examine an unknown species. Considering discretion therefore the better part of valor, we made a virtue of necessity, and took the opportunity of waking up to and across the bridge. We measured it as 11,000 feet in length and 12 in width. Passing through the extensive suburb at the other end of the bridge which is connected with the Western suburb of Foo-choo, we followed the river downwards for about a mile and a half. Along this bank there are some beautiful Lee-chee trees, and a sugar plantation at which we observed numerous up-country boats loading the cane. These boats deserve notice and we have endeavoured to illustrate them in the accompanying sketch. They are long, low, flat-bottomed craft rising at each extremity, with a hollow bilge to prevent their sticking on the numerous rocks, which are interspersed in the river between this and the tea districts, as also for facilitating their passage through the rapids; they are steered by an exceedingly long oar, counterbalanced by large stones inboard, which is managed by the helmsman who walks upon an elevated platform. Arrived at the first ferry we crossed the stream in a boat managed by two little girls who could not be more than seven or eight years of age and their old father; and a more pleasant looking, merry little pair we have seldom seen, who were rendered completely happy by the receipt of a couple of mace for their exertions. At the ferry where we crossed there is a considerable fishing station, the women of which, we observed, in common with those in the surrounding country, dress their hair in the picturesque manner, which we have attempted to preserve in the sketch, with flowers and silver pins: a head dress which assists well to set off their handsome straight figures and almost regular features, which differ so entirely from those of the women seen in any other part of the coast of China. So prevalent a custom is this of decking the head with flowers that even grey-headed women adopt it, and consider it a disgrace to go out thus unadorned. A stranger cannot

help being struck in going through the town or suburbs with the immense consumption of these natural flowers; they are to be met with everywhere, whether in stalls along the streets, in baskets on the heads of vendors, or tastefully displayed in the hair of the native women, their ultimate use. Those most in request during our visit were the blue iris, double peach, camellia and marigold. A subject which naturally interests strangers is the locality for obtaining curiosities and their nature. At Foo-choo we obtained some of the most beautiful specimens of lacquerware we have ever seen as well as some good bronzes. One or two shops of an inferior kind are to be found just within the South gate, from which however some good things may be selected. Curiosity street is not far from the Yamun of the Governor of the Province. Much time may be spent in these shops with advantage, and a few good bronzes, especially those inlaid with silver, may be obtained at a reasonable rate, while an admirer of jade ornaments will find many articles to his taste. Of course there is considerable difficulty in effecting purchases, but we found that by showing the dollars we were willing to give, although sometimes only a sixth part of the amount asked, the dealers would seldom ultimately miss the opportunity of effecting a sale.

Beautifully carved soap-stone figures may occasionally be obtained. They usually represent Chinese groups, of which the carving is carried into the greatest minutiae, even to figuring on the dress,—but these have now become scarce, as since the number of ships in port this season the dealers find that a much inferior article will sell equally well to the sailors.

The gnarled roots of trees with very little extra carving are ingeniously converted into figures of men and animals in a manner superior to anything obtainable in Shanghai where the same description of ornament may sometimes be procured. The next curiosity which attracted our attention were coloured pictures made by weaving strips of differently tinted paper into the desired patterns. There would appear to be only one family in the secret from whom alone these pictures are ob-

tainable; when used as a window-screen or held up before a bright light, they produce a very pretty effect.

But of all things obtainable at Foo-choo, one description preëminently deserves the attention of collectors. These are various articles of a peculiar lacquer-ware, for the most part of a brown and gold sand ground with broad gold figures of flowers, &c., in relief. The specimens we obtained and most admired, consisted of a lady's dressing-case of an exceedingly elegant shape, containing a looking-glass with all kinds of drawers in the most ingeniously concealed places, the whole inclosed by a rotatory front of the most beautiful green and gold lacquer. A tea-stand, such as is used by high mandarins and their ladies when visiting their ancestral temples, containing a tea-pot, two tea-cups, two tea-caddies, two trays and sets of boxes for sweetmeats, all of the same beautiful materials, formed quite a bijou. A glass case containing five small elegantly shaped boxes in the form of leaves, with a variety of musical and warlike instruments represented on the tops in relief, were altogether too delicate for use by any other than the taper fingers of a Chinese Imperial lady. A book-case which could be taken to pieces and packed up in a box about eight inches square, but which when put together, was quite a Chinese puzzle, measured about three feet by two, and formed certainly one of the most elegant things of the description, that could be made. A series of cups inlaid with mother o'pearl and silver, and some trays remarkable for beauty and lightness completed the collection, with one exception, which far surpassed all the others in workmanship. This is a figure of the "goddess of mercy" the favorite idol of the Chinese; it is made of the varnish itself; and looks like the most beautifully cast silver bronze. In the forehead is a small pearl and the hair is transfixed with a piece of red coral, the band supporting a small jar. The figure measures fourteen inches in height and weighs no more than one ounce. It occupied a year in making. The plan consists in modelling a plaster cast on which successive layers of this fine varnish are applied until the coating is sufficiently thick to support itself; the plaster is then

removed by boiling-water and the figure receives its finishing touches. The whole of the art of manufacturing this lacquered-ware is a family secret and has been handed down for generations, the original holder of the secret having probably come from Japan, only the things are much more beautiful than any specimens of Japanese ware we have hitherto seen. The man manufactures almost exclusively for the Pekin Court, whither he carries his wares once a year, and is consequently very independent of any dealings with foreigners, from whom he insists upon getting large prices for his goods.

While here we had an opportunity of witnessing a really good "Sing-song" or theatrical performance at one of the private hongs in the suburb of Nan-tae. The second court was inclosed so as to form a green room; the third court by means of a few planks thrown across and some simple decorations was easily converted into a very good stage, while in the ordinary reception hall about a dozen small tables were spread with the good things which make the heart of a Chinaman glad, and which were fully occupied with the guests. Numerous lamps, lanterns, and huge red wax candles completed the ornaments. At each side of the stage a sort of inclosed gallery accommodated the ladies. The company of actors consisted entirely of youths who represented men or women as the case might be, and that so completely as to puzzle most people to detect the imposition, the voice and mincing gait being inimitable. One little fellow in particular, who took the part of a sort of merry-andrew, acted to admiration. The tumbling and calisthenic feats were also quite extraordinary. One slender lad excited all our wonder. Having placed chairs and tables one upon the other to a height of twelve feet, he passed in and out among the bars like a snake until arriving at the summit, where a three legged stool was placed feet up, he balanced himself upon his head upon one of the legs with his arms crossed, then bent his body backwards landing with his feet upon the other two legs of the stool, and raising himself erect, retraced his path downwards in the same snake-like manner he had ascended; and yet on examining him, his arms were found to be very

small and the muscles of his breast and loins alone highly developed. The great noise kept up by the so called band with their gongs and drums took much from the pleasure of the exhibition. One pleasant custom failed not to attract our attention: viz, the graceful manner in which all free-will offerings were received by the corps. Two lads, generally selected for their good looks, dressed as girls in scarlet robes, come round to each guest on his arrival and present to him the ivory tablets on which are inscribed the names of the various plays which they are prepared to perform and request his selection of one. An attendant receives any offerings that are made on a salver, brings them to the front of the stage, holds the bank-notes or copper-cash, as the case may be, up to view, lays it down, when one of these girls comes and kneeling down touches the ground nine times with her fore-head by way of acknowledgment, the money is then raised once more to view and handed to the manager. On another occasion when we had an opportunity of witnessing a second performance, we were much less pleased, as the actors were all grown up and although the dresses were magnificent, the acting to our judgment was much inferior and more lewd. Even some wonderful somersets performed among knives held in various positions, ingendered much more disagreeable than pleasant feelings.

Our short stay at the port did not enable us to judge of the climate and as in these pages it is our desire to record nothing beyond what we have gathered from personal observation we shall limit ourselves to remark briefly that the hot weather commences in March and continues until October. That in July and August the thermometer sometimes attains a height of 100°. That the hot weather is generally ushered in by heavy rains which last for a fortnight and cause the river to overflow and rush down with a torrent-like violence enough to carry almost everything before it. That during the short winter snow and ice are unknown except on the hills; and that these hills to which the stranger can resort for the purpose of obtaining cool breezes make Foo-choo a delightful residence even in the height of summer.

The finest Lee-chees and Oranges that grow in China are obtainable here, as well as many other fine fruits and flowers. A great majority of European vegetables may be grown with a little care; green peas, turnips and cabbages were in perfection during our stay. In the shape of animal food, beef and venison of a very inferior description are alone obtainable, sheep having to be imported by the foreign residents, but the pork is excellent and makes as fine ham and bacon as can be obtained from Europe. Fish of all descriptions is abundant of which we would only desire to mention "white bait" and oysters. Lastly during the winter months game in great variety and perfection is obtained in the neighbourhood.

Whatever the disturbed state of the country may have done in other districts towards removing the respect due to officials by the common people, we can safely say that here the most complete awe is still to be met with. On one occasion we were accompanied by an attendant from the consulate dressed in his official jacket and hat, who having volunteered to carry our umbrella, loudly proclaimed the advent of a mandarin and administered sundry admonitory taps with it, thus making an otherwise almost impassable thoroughfare quite patent.

During our stay we met a large number of troops returning from the country where they had been engaged in quelling disturbances. The train which seemed almost interminable, was one of the most ludicrous affairs in the military way we ever witnessed. The fighting men were for the most part carried in sedans, the baggage being conveyed by coolies in a sort of palanquin arrangement, consisting of a long wicker-work box supported upon two long bamboos. Some of the soldiers had their ordinary matchlocks and spears, but the majority carried flint muskets.

One of the principal things which claimed our attention was a visit to the celebrated "Hot Springs" with a view to determine their probable medicinal qualities. The result of our observations has been to conclude that the water possesses little more than its temperature to recommend it and that its medicinal properties must be very limited, although no doubt it may

to some extent perform the prodigies claimed for it by the natives, in cases of rheumatism and some skin diseases. Specimens have been analysed and the results have been found to accord with the above statement.

The Springs are situated about 500 yards to the N.E. of the north gate. First of all there are several tea-shops, neatly ornamented with flowers and shrubs. These are the baths of the luxurious. Here the water is brought from the springs, and the man above the common herd may, in a little separate room, have his warm bath out of an oval tub about three feet long and eight inches deep, and thereafter enjoy his pipe and tea for four hundred cash. But this is great extravagance and consequently we find all sorts of contrivances with charges graduated to the means of those for whom they are intended descending as low as two cash. A little way beyond the tea-shops we came to a small open shed over a spring, inclosed with granite slabs and forming a shallow basin about six feet square, in which some fifteen or twenty men and boys were immersed naked, packed as thickly as herrings in a barrel. What benefit bathing under such difficulties was to afford we confess puzzled us to think of. Beyond this rose another shed somewhat more private, so far as it was inclosed by a mud wall four feet high. Here the spring filled a small basin in the centre; and some dozen stone troughs were placed around the shed; these measured about two and a half feet long by eighteen inches broad and one foot deep, into which the hot water was conveyed and into which the bathers managed to immerse the central portion of their body after the manner of the German "sitz" bath. Several other sheds succeeded and beyond them were the clear springs themselves. The water bubbled up with a very gentle force into rude granite basins. Of the three examined, the thermometer stood in each 151° 153° and 160° consecutively. The water is perfectly tasteless, clear and transparent, and with scarcely any appreciable smell. The hottest of the three springs is inclosed in a good granite tank and protected by a strong wooden barricade the entrance to which is usually locked. Independent-

ly of its supposed medicinal properties the water is prized by the people for washing, &c., and consequently there is a continual crowd surrounding the springs.

After spending some time at the Consulate we were obliged to turn our steps homewards at 5.30 P.M., owing to the practice observed in this town of closing the gates at sun-down which are never opened on any pretext whatever until next morning, excepting only in the case of fire. Since the disturbances this rule has been strictly adhered to, although formerly a few cash to the custodians procured the use of a ladder to enable the belated stranger to return to his quarters over the wall. Now however the strictness observed makes a residence in the city far from agreeable.

The stranger should not omit to visit the *Ningpo temple* at Nan-tai at the foot of the Mount of Olives. It has been lately rebuilt by the Government; who compelled the Ningpo merchants trading to the Port to contribute the necessary amount. Although not on a very large scale it is a beautiful specimen of workmanship and no expense has been spared to make it a chef d'œuvre. The greater portion is of solid well-hewn granite. The whole of the minor ornaments are well worthy of a close inspection. The roof above the steps leading up in front of the altar is supported by magnificently carved pillars of solid granite, which are said to have cost no less than \$10,000 each.

They represent the favourite Chinese figure of a dragon coiled round a pillar, carved out of a solid stone 18 feet high and elaborately finished. The panelling is of remarkably well-carved wood highly gilt and painted, as are also the altar and theatrical stage opposite, which latter is separated from the temple by a well-paved court, but connected to it by galleries, all in perfect keeping with the temple, and surmounted by a dome-shaped ceiling of elaborate workmanship.

Besides this Ningpo temple there is one not far off containing a fine piece of rock work which ought not to be overlooked.

We had proposed entering somewhat freely into the subject of the Trade of this Port, but as the whole condition of the place has materially changed since our

visit, we shall content ourselves with a few brief remarks.

As we have already stated we consider the difficulty of the navigation of the river as greatly overrated, while the facilities for trade have been as much understated. Most of the tea, after a very short land carriage, is shipped at Tsong-gan-hien in latitude 27. 47' 38" N. about 150 miles up the river, and thence comes direct to Foo-choo. The consequence is that it arrives in vastly better condition and at less expense than to the other ports. The chests appeared to us in as good order on their arrival as when prepared for reshipment in Shanghai. It is true that at that time the system for an extensive export trade had not been completely organised, and that most of the teas were bought up in the country by Canton men sent by the merchants for the purpose; that the amount of cotton goods taken off was trifling and that treasure and opium were conveyed to the interior with an armed escort, being generally packed for safety in the centre of a bale of goods or at the bottom of a basket of sugar. But all these matters have much improved—teas come much more freely into the market, and Foreign goods are not so completely unsaleable—in consequence the export of tea has more than doubled. We believe that it has risen from 8,000,000 lbs. to more than 17,000,000 lbs.,* and the only thing that seems to be required to make the Port of great consequence to the tea trade, is a firmer policy on the part of our authorities and a steamer to tow vessels through the narrow pass of Kin-pai.

The Banking system is here carried on in a very perfect manner, all small payments being made in paper, instead of the unwieldy copper cash used in Shanghai. These notes are very well-finished documents and offer an immense facility to the trader. They are stamped and re-stamped in such a manner as to preclude the chance of forgery.

The Postal arrangement deserves notice. It is not under Government direction, but managed by the native firms, especially those trading to Amoy and

Ningpo—but is open to any one upon payment of a small fee. To Amoy 160 copper cash will pay for a packet large enough to contain a dozen sheets, which will be delivered in about 10 or 15 days. To Ningpo a similar parcel will be conveyed in about three weeks for the sum of 300 cash. Although not quite agreeing with European ideas of posting, this arrangement must be of great advantage to the community, and in cases of necessity a special messenger may be obtained who for a higher guerdon will perform the journey in much less time. To Amoy the communication is daily. To Ningpo every five days.

We started at noon on the 5th March in large comfortable bamboo chairs for the "Pih-ling" hills. The difficulty of carriage required our baggage to be of the smallest possible amount. We followed the southern suburb towards the city about half way, and turning off sharply to the right, skirted the town towards the east gate, by which we entered, and traversed the most unfrequented streets towards the north gate, passing thus through the Tartar district, which is mean and unimportant, with small and dirty shops, and a people remarkable for their incivility, although the streets themselves contrast favourably for width with those of the other parts of the town. We passed several mandarin residences, enclosed by high walls over which stately trees hung their branches.

It is advisable to go as quietly and attracting as little attention as possible through this part of the town, as the natives sometimes place impediments in the way of foreigners going on trips into the country.

We left Foo-choo by the north gate and taking a N.N.E. direction advanced towards the hills. A little outside the gate we descended from our chairs, which we directed to follow us, and walked along an unequal causeway. After an hour we arrived at the foot of the pass, which we had to ascend to the height of about 1,200 feet, up a partially paved road, in many places of an unpleasant perpendicularity and breakneck slipperiness, along the sides of hills intersected by deep gorges, in the bottom of which torrents swollen by the late rains, rushed

* These notes were written many months back, and the Export had reached by latest report in April, 18,511,700 lbs. of Tea.

impetuously along or at times reaching level portions of ground meandered calmly among deeply wooded glades. During the greater part of the ascent the hills are rather barren, but many goats find here a scanty subsistence; we passed several flocks under the guidance of a couple of children which numbered over 200 head. The weather had become hot, close and oppressive and it was not without considerable fatigue that we attained the highest point about 5.30 p.m. Here as is usual on Chinese hills where there is a thoroughfare, there are resting places provided for the traveller at regular intervals, where he may obtain tea and other refreshments. The situation often chosen for the extreme loveliness of the view, which is always increased by a foreground formed of a few handsome bastard banyans, planted by the same careful hand that has reared these buildings.

We now commenced a gradual descent undulating among the peaks of the hills which surrounded us on every side, forming magnificent and ever changing vistas as we progressed, and such as are alone seen on the summit of a range of hills. Their geological formation is principally trap and granite. As evening closed in, the road damp and slippery, was so difficult to follow that we were heartily glad to arrive at "*San-sun-qwan*" at 6.30 p.m., a village of half a dozen houses, of which one was pronounced to us by the landlord the resting place for mandarins. Unluckily we believed him and prepared to take up our abode. It consists of an ante-shed in which the cooking is carried on, and where the coolies traversing the road are entertained, of a courtyard beyond this in which are all sorts of abominations usually found in Chinese establishments, of an open hall containing a table or altar with the usual amount of joss paraphernalia, from which lead off two rooms, one on either side. We took possession of one of these, which measured 14 by 10 feet, with mud floor, wet and dirty, from which we began by ejecting sundry pigs. Here we found three beds, formed of a few planks spread between rickety tressels, covered with straw and filthy mats. Having cleared off all from the planks and spread our blankets, we made a

hearty meal and lighting our cheroots retired to slumber.

But our hopes of slumber were nearly entirely disappointed; men talking, pigs grunting, fowls cackling, children squalling, fleas biting, mosquitoes buzzing, added to hard cold planks and a stifling damp smell with the continual fall of heavy rain were not the best inducements to hearty repose.

Next morning the fog was still thick and accompanied by a slight drizzling rain, but we sallied forth for our next station. Moving along in a N. easterly direction, at first ascending and then descending along the sides of the peaks and in the valleys of the summit of the "*Pih-ling*" range. As the fog cleared off, the scenery shone out with additional beauty, the high peaks peeping over a sea of mist which gave them a still more gigantic appearance. The sides of the hills are here clothed with a close brushwood. Surmounted by various species of pine, giving every variety and shade of green to the slopes, which exhale perfumes from the sweet-scented may and numerous shrubs in full bloom. As the morning advanced we came in sight of a stream which we were to cross to attain the opposite heights, but the late rains and consequent freshets had so swollen it as to render it a hazardous if not impossible feat. This stream runs past the city of "*Ling-kong-foo*" and in ordinary weather is easily crossed. But now we had nothing for it but to retrace our steps, and towards afternoon return to our starting point; but this time we put up at a solitary house connected with a joss-house about 100 yards short of the village and which we had not seen in the darkness of the previous night. Here we found a large hall in the centre of which we constructed a fire and after refreshing ourselves sallied out in quest of sport. Pheasants are found in some abundance on the surrounding hills, as well as deer and other game, but we were not very successful on account of the damp weather.

In the course of our walk we passed many coolies carrying various merchandise across the hill. The greater part being leaf tobacco in bundles $2\frac{1}{2}$ by 1 foot covered with straw, and tubs of saltpetre. These loads are carried in the usual

manner in China, two portions are slung to either end of a bamboo which is supported on the shoulder; each bearer is however here provided with a short stick forked at one end on which the bamboo and burden is balanced while resting, thus avoiding the additional labour of raising the load each time, while the packages are kept clean.

About a mile beyond "San-san-qwan" on an elevation overlooking the road we observed the bleached skulls of four robbers inclosed in wooden cages slung from posts. These robbers were the dread of traders along the "pass" and their heads now whiten in the sun at the seat of their misdeeds.

Wherever it is found practicable the slopes of the hills or valleys are under cultivation for rice or wheat, the beds surmounting one another in the terrace style, to which the mountain streams are conveyed. On some of the hills the tea plant is to be noticed arranged like gooseberry bushes in a garden, but the plants do not appear vigorous. The soil

is for the most part a red or yellow clay mixed with sand. A large tract of country still remains in its pristine wildness to delight the heart of the sportsman.

Next day the 7th of March we spent much time out with our guns among the hills, enjoying the scenery as much as the sport, as the sun showing out from time to time from behind heavy masses of clouds cast ever-changing lights and shades on the varied landscape.

But it was time to return to Foo-choo, whither reluctantly we turned our steps. As we neared the plain the fields of waving wheat rapidly approaching maturity surrounded us on all sides, some were being rapidly prepared for the reception of the paddy plants now ready for transplantation, the whole forming a pleasant and busy scene. This view in front, and the steep path behind, crowded with ascending and descending coolies, diminished by the great distance, and the hills towering all around formed a picture grand in the extreme and a fitting farewell to our "Pih-ling" trip.

FINIS.

SAILING DIRECTIONS FOR THE RIVER MIN.

The best time for entering the River Min is from half flood to half ebb.

There is 15 feet on the Outer Bar, and 13 feet on the Inner Bar, at low water spring tides; and at low water neaps, 19 feet and 17 feet respectively.

When the North Sands begin to dry, there is barely 16 feet on the Bar. At low water springs, they are about 3 feet dry; at neaps, they do not shew.

In fine weather, the North and South Breakers appear from half ebb to half flood, under similar circumstances, the outer knoll seldom until after the last quarter; but in bad weather, a line of breakers extends from the outer knoll, right across to the North Bank, and a continuous line from the South Breakers to Black Head.

The first of the flood tide comes in from the NE., and setting with great velocity through numerous small channels, and over the North Banks, the great body of it (from Rees Rock inside) sets across the Sharp Peak entrance of the river, straight for Round Island, gradually changing its direction for Hokeanga as the tide rises. The first of the ebb comes from the direction of Round Island, and sets across the Sharp Peak entrance over the North Banks; as the tide falls, the stream takes the regular channel.

Outside Rees Rock, the strength of the ebb runs to the eastward until nearly low water, when it changes its direction to the SE. The flood tide now coming in from the NE. turns the stream off to the Southward and near the knoll, it runs strong to the SSW. for 3 hours, changing its direction to the westward as the tide rises; after half flood, the stream sets in for Round Island, and abates considerably in strength.

The Channel North of the outer knoll (from the numerous patches) is not safe, and ought not to be attempted by large vessels.

To run for the South Channel, the Southern Break-water rock, nearly in line with the South part of the Middle Dog, is the mark generally used in cloudy weather by vessels frequenting the port. High Sharp Peak, open to the southward of Sharp Island Peak, is a good mark to lead in between the knoll and South Bank until Triangle Head comes open of the small black rocks off Sand Peak point, or until the North Breakers bear north; then haul up NW. or NNW., (according as ebb or flood is running,) and crossing the outer Bar, gain the deep Channel to the northward.

If passing to the north of the Nine Feet patch, the sharp shoulder should be well open to the northward of the Sharp Island Peak before Sand Peak comes on with the middle of the Black Rocks off the point. If passing to the southward, the sharp shoulder should be kept a little open to the southward before passing that line of bearing.

When Sand Peak appears well open to the right of the Black Rocks, sharp shoulder may be brought in line with Sharp Island Peak, gradually opening the shoulder to the southward, as Serrated Peak comes on with SE. tangent of Woufou, which now becomes the leading mark until the middle of Brother A. comes on with the right high tangent of Brother B., (Beacons are proposed to mark these spots,) with which cross the Bar, steering a Midchannel course when Round Island comes on with SE. tangent of Woufou.

Small vessels turning in over the Inner Bar, will find the following marks useful: Stand no nearer the North Bank, than Temple point in line with Sharp Peak point; nor nearer the S.E. side of Hokeang Bank, than sharp Island Peak on with the middle of Sharp Point bluff; nor to the NE. side of Hokeang Bank, than to bring the right high tangent of Brother

A. in line with the left high tangent of Brother B.

There is good anchorage in $5\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms, stiff mud, outside the Inner Bar, with Brother B. in line (or a little open) of Sharp Peak point, and Rees Rock in line with Black Head.

Sharp Peak of Island kept open of Woga point, clears the Six Feet rock off Temple Point; shut the Sharp Peak in behind the high land of Woga, and you can go inside the Temple point rock.

In the NE. monsoon, the high land of Woga in line (or a little open) with Temple point, is a good line to anchor on; in the SW. monsoon, Woga Creek is the best anchorage.

The Kinpai Pass is dangerous to strangers, particularly at or near the spring tides, for then the current meeting the rocks with great force, causes eddies, that occasionally run across the stream. With the flood a dangerous eddy extends from Kinpai point in the direction of the Ferry; and for this reason the passage north of the Middle-ground is considered the best.

After passing White Fort, close with the northern shore; it is very steep, and may be approached with safety. The apex of Pass Island in line with White Fort bluff tangent, is a near clearing mark for the shoulder of the middle; it is therefore recommended to shut Pass Island in altogether until past that point, opening it again immediately afterwards.

The danger of this passage is in passing the shoulder, which forms a sharp angle of the bank, with only one foot at low water spring tides, and 4 fathoms close to; from this point to the opposite shore, the distance is only $1\frac{1}{4}$ cable. After clearing this point, in passing either up or down, the tide tends rather to set you from the bank into the stream.

The high Serrated Peak in line with Ferry house, leads through between the

middle and Quantao Shoal, and is a good line for ships to anchor when coming down the river, and waiting for an opportunity of dropping through the pass.

The Tongue Shoal is steep to, and has seven feet near its northern extremity. This part is cleared by keeping the Ferry house midway between Kinpai Bluff and the Tower until the apex of Kowlooi Head comes on with Half Tide Rock.

Between Half Tide Rock and Tintao, the bottom is very irregular.

The Scout Rock is the end of a ledge projecting 25 yards from Couding Island, with seven feet near its extremity.

The Spiteful Rock shews at low water; it is part of a rocky ledge projecting about 30 yards from the Island.

To pass between the Spiteful Rock and Losing Spit, do not shut in Younoi Head with Flat Island until the black cliff head (marked by a white spot) comes in line with the north tangent of Twaisee Island.

The Pagoda Rock is two feet dry at LW. spring tides.

The best anchorage is from this rock for about half-a-mile above it. Should this anchorage be full, I would recommend vessels to anchor pretty close to the south shoulder of Losing Island, where they will be out of the strength of the tide.

In dropping through the Mingan with the ebb tide, it is necessary to guard against a dangerous eddy, setting from the point above Couding Island on to the Scout Rock.

Although many of the above remarks will be unintelligible without reference to my late survey of the river, they are published in the hope that strangers proceeding to that place may pick out some useful information.

JOHN RICHARDS.

TRIP TO NING-PO AND T'HEEN-T'HAE.

April 5th.—Left Shanghae at 2 P.M., Bar. 30.200, Wind S.S.W., Thermo. 70. At 6 P.M. arrived at Too-ka-hong, a tolerably large town, at a little distance from the river, at which place we distributed a basket of books.

April 6th.—Passed Sung-keang at 7 A.M. At 9 A.M. anchored for the tide off of 禮塔 Le-t'hab, which we visited. Found it much out of repair; ascended only one story, the stairs of the other six stories being broken down; we went also into the adjoining temple, where we found the image of Joo-lae Buddha, reduced to a skeleton. Nothing was found of it but the face, the cross piece of wood representing the breast-bone, and the two arms. Still it was the object of worship to the deluded votaries of Buddha. Found about a dozen priests in the monastery excessively ignorant. The chief among them said he did not understand the Buddhist classics which he read: neither did he know the ground-work upon which his religion was based, nor the names of the father and mother of Joo-lae Buddha. He said that the priests of that monastery belonged to one of the sects of Buddhists, but could not recollect which. Upon examining the memorial of the former priest who had died there, we found that the sect was that of 臨濟 Lin-tse. The pagoda was built in the year 嘉定 Kea-ting, of the Sung dynasty, A.D. 1204. It had been repaired in the time of 萬曆 Wan-leih, of the Ming dynasty. The priest was very much displeased with our remarks, though he had laid himself open to them. At 3 P.M. got under weigh: and at 7 P.M. arrived at 嘉善 Kea-shen, where we stopped for the night.

April 7th.—Started early, and arrived at 嘉興 Kea-hing at 10 A.M. where we stayed 2 or 3 hours distributing books. Left at 1 P.M. and at 3½ P.M. arrived at 王店 Wang-téen; at 6 P.M. arrived at 峽石山 Hëeh-shih-shan, where we observed a pagoda on a hill. We ascended the hill, and went up one story of the pagoda, above which the stairs were broken down. The hills near Hang-chow bay were visible from this spot. The priest in the adjoining temple was civil, and showed us the curiosities of the place. One of the rarities was a perpendicular rock which gave its name to the adjoining village. At the foot of the rock was a pool, and on a ledge in the middle of it was a shrine which had been erected in memory of a former priest. At the back of the temple was a cave, called the cavern of Kwan-yin, formed of the same kind of rock. This priest seemed more intelligent than the last, and said that he belonged to the 臨濟 Lin-tse sect. We exhorted him to forsake the priesthood and believe in Jesus. Descending from the hill we repaired to the village, where we spent the night.

April 8th.—Left early and arrived about 9 A.M. at 邪橋 Seay-keaou, where we distributed a number of books, and passed on to 海寧 Hae-ning. We found this to be a large city near the Tsëen-tang (Hang-chow bay): the walls were very much out of repair, and the people extremely wild;—shouting and crowding round the strangers; while they abused each other in the most opprobrious language. This rioting and shouting continued until we arrived at the magistrate's office; into which the crowd passed, without the least ceremony. We sent in our

cards and a parcel of books, and were soon ushered into the presence of the magistrate, who wore a crystal button, and was a che-chow or sub-prefect. His name was

孫 Sun, and he recognized one of our number as having seen him last year at the Hang-chow Custom-house. We expressed our wish to go across the Tsëen-tang, to 西興 Se-hing, on our way to Ningpo. He said that at present they were apprehensive of an attack from the Nanking rebels, who had already taken the province of Hwuy-chow, and were within a hundred miles of Hang-chow. In consequence of this there was a military force stationed at the place to which we wished to go, who would certainly obstruct our progress, and cause us to be conveyed to Hang-chow; which would delay our journey, and bring him into trouble. He therefore advised our going by way of Cha-poo or Kan-poo, with which we could do no less than comply. On returning to our boat we attempted to distribute some books among the people, but they were so ravenous and riotous, that we were apprehensive of a disturbance, and therefore desisted. An attempt was then made to address the people; but they did not give their attention long, and the effort was discontinued. On remarking to one of the officials, that the people of the district were very unruly, he replied, that they were a set of sea-birds.

April 9th.—Arrived at 園花 Yuen-hwa, about 10 A.M. on our way to 乾浦 Kan-poo. We found this to be a very large town, in the midst of an extensive silk district; it being most probably the place from which the Yuen-faa silk comes. We should estimate the population of this town at 100,000 souls. The crowds which came to the river's side, as the boat moved along, for the purpose of obtaining books, was immense: and never did we see such eagerness displayed in the endeavour to obtain them. Not only were the wharves and every vacant place crowded with people, stretching out their hands for books; but every door and window was crammed, and the bridges thronged with eager applicants. Not one in a hundred of those anxious for books could

be supplied. At length some persons thought of letting down baskets from the bridges as we passed along, and those had no sooner been supplied than hundreds of baskets were immediately displayed. Some let them down by ropes, others poked them out at the end of sticks, until they reached the boat. Mops were sometimes employed, and scoops from the kitchen; while the dyers reached out their implements to get a supply, and others pushed off in boats to beg for books. Some of the most respectable of the inhabitants were among the most eager applicants, and carried off the books when obtained as if they had gained a great prize. At the further end of the town we went ashore

at the 天仙府 T'heen-sëen-foo, a Buddhist temple, in which we preached to a large crowd of attentive listeners. About a mile outside the town we ascended a range of hills, the ingredients of which were the same red kind of igneous rock which we had seen at Hëah-shih, mixed with large portions of quartz. It seemed to be a schistose formation of disintegrated granite combined with porphyry. The quartz rock when pulverized formed a light-coloured mould, which appeared to be the prevailing soil on which the mulberries grew.

In the afternoon we arrived at 六里限 Luh-le-hëen where the water-course on the north of the Tsëen-tang is terminated by a bank. Here of course our boat stopped, and we had to walk two miles further to 乾浦 Kan-poo, to procure a boat to convey our goods to the shore of Hang-chow bay, and to enquire after a sea-going vessel in which we might cross the bay. The town of Kan-poo is walled round, but the houses within the walls are few, in comparison of the extent of ground included therein. Many of them appeared to be recently removed, in order to make room for others of a more substantial quality; which indicated some revival of trade in this place. It is by some thought to be the place mentioned in Marco Polo's travels, under the name of Kan-foo. The walls were built of large square stones, very much worn by age; and where the top of the wall had

been broken in a variety of places it had been overgrown with grass, which gave to it the appearance of a variety of grassy hillocks. The distance from Kan-poo to the sea-shore, where the junks anchor, is about a mile, across the sands; at the extremity of these sands is a mud flat, through which travellers are carried to the vessels lying on the beach. We went on board of one whose only recommendation was that she was about to sail that night. She was laden with pigs and was very dirty, but a place having been pointed out to us where we might sleep, we agreed to go on board. With this view we hastened back to Luh-le-yen, with a small boat to convey our goods, and having discharged our former boat proceeded along the lower sheet of water which leads to Kan-poo. It was night before we arrived on board the junk, which immediately got under weigh. It was only then that we became alive to our uncomfortable position. The grunting and stink of the pigs, together with the smoking and jabbering of the men, affected a variety of the senses in a most disagreeable manner.* We found the berths that had been assigned us already occupied by about a dozen individuals, but upon remonstrance made we got one of the berths cleared for our reception, in which we had to make our beds, immediately under the pigs, and in close contiguity to a dozen Chinamen, who lay about on the floor one over the other, almost as filthy and unceremonious as the pigs themselves. The stench and heat was almost insupportable, and the horrid groaning and struggling of the porcine multitude overhead rendered sleep almost impossible. To increase our troubles we had a contrary wind, and as the navigation of the Tsëen-tang, (owing to the tides in the bay of Hang-chow altering the position of the sands almost every day) is at all times difficult, we had the additional unpleasantness of a probable shipwreck, in a windy night without a single boat in which we could have reached the shore.

* The disagreeableness of crossing in a pig junk may be obviated by hiring a vessel on purpose: we were not aware at the time of the ease with which such could be procured, at a little more expense. We profited by our experience on our return, and crossed the bay in comparative comfort.

By God's good providence, however, we were preserved during the night, and in the morning, April 10th, found ourselves only a few miles from the place where we embarked, with the wind right a-head. By dint of great exertion in sculling, the boatmen brought the vessel to the south side of the bay about mid-day. By this time we found that the tide was just ebbing, which caused our vessel to ground far from land, and made it necessary for us to wait till the tide had all run out and made again, before we could get at all nearer the shore. In the mean time we sent a man to wade through the mud and water in order to call a couple of chairs and coolies to convey us and our baggage across the mud flats to

倪家路 Ne-ka-loo. When the tide had all run out, and begun to make, our boatmen got the vessel in motion by poling it along as the water permitted. Every advance we made was secured by a couple of stakes, one at the head and the other near the stern of the vessel, running right through the keel. As soon as they wished to stop, in order to hold their own, these stakes were let down, which was done in a moment, and the vessel was secured. When the tide made a little more, these stakes were pulled up, and the vessel proceeded, till stopped again by the shallowness of the water. And so they went on, taking advantage of the slightest rise in the tide; until they arrived in a canal which had been dug through the mud flat, and came gradually nearer the port. Before the junk anchored a small boat came out to us, and conveyed us to a spot where there was firmer ground, and where we found chairs and coolies awaiting us. Availing ourselves of these we proceeded across the mud flat a distance of three or four miles until we came to Ne-ka-loo. As we passed along the flats we soon perceived that they were covered with a white crystallization, which turned out to be salt. This was gathered by the natives, by sweeping off the surface mud and forming it into small hillocks. Near each of these mounds there were little round pools, into which the impregnated mud was thrown and stamped about by the feet of men until the water was fully saturated with the brine, when

the mud was thrown out and the briny matter drawn into adjoining wells by means of pipes which ran under ground. The natives have a mode of testing the strength of the brine by means of a small double bamboo, crossed over the top by little sticks, and according to the adherence of the brine to the sides of the vessel and the cross sticks, by the attraction of cohesion, was judged to be its strength. The brine when fully saturated was conveyed by means of large vats placed on bullock-carts to the place of boiling. These carts were of a rude construction, running on four wheels, which were all of a size, without any pivot to the fore-axle, to allow of the vehicles being turned. The consequence is, they are obliged to take a very round turn in going about, otherwise they would upset; but, as the flats are extensive, and as the carts are not pressed for room, this is not a matter of much consequence. Each cart is drawn by a single buffalo, upon the back of which the driver rides astride; and the owners of them find employment, not only in conveying brine to the boiling-houses, but in carrying the baggage and goods of travellers who pass to and from the junks. When the brine is brought to the boiling-house, it is poured into large square boilers, provided with bamboo frames on the surface of the liquid. On these the salt adheres as it crystallizes, and is from them removed into baskets for sale. The mounds pits and boiling-houses above referred to belong all to the government, but there are other speculations of a private character, by means of which a large quantity of illicit salt is manufactured and smuggled into the interior. About half-way from the landing-place to the village we came upon the sea-bank, which is about ten feet high and strongly constructed. Immediately on the inside of this bank the fields are cultivated with wheat and beans in the spring, and with cotton in the summer season. Near the embankment the ground did not seem very productive but further inland it appeared abundantly so, enabling the people to live in comfort and plenty. The peculiar head-dress of the women, with the hair worked up into a long high knot at the back of the head, which is so marked

in the south of the Hang-chow bay, began here to appear, and the cleanliness of the females here contrasts very favorably with the habits of their northern neighbours. At Ne-ka-loo we spent the night, in a tolerably good tavern, where the landlord, who seemed an honest sort of individual, charged us only one shilling for our supper and bed. We did not find the coolies and boat people on either side of the bay so moderate in their charges, and some half a dozen dollars disappeared between our embarkation on the one side and our landing on the other, in addition to the stealing of some provisions and a few cash.

April 11th.—Started from Ne-ka-loo, in a small boat, and in an hour passed a considerable village called 第四門 Te-sze-mun, where we gave away a number of books. We observed in this village the mausoleum of 謝閣老 Seay-koh-laou, the minister of State Seay, who flourished in the Ming dynasty; it was very well finished, and presented a neat appearance. A few miles beyond this the boat passed near several hills, which were examined and found to consist of porphyritic granite, mixed with coarse crystals of quartz, similar to those which lie on the north side of the Hang-chow bay.

Before reaching 餘姚 Yu-yaou, we came to a dyke. On our arrival we found the people busy in dragging a vessel over the dyke; the vessel was heavily laden with about 50 peculs of rice, and yet eight or ten men with two capstans drew the vessel up the dyke, and over it into the upper sheet of water, which was about 6 feet higher than the lower. This latter was connected with the sea near Ningpo, into which the tides came regularly. Our boat being small and nearly empty was easily dragged over the dyke. On our arrival at Yu-yaou we found the city divided into two, the old and the new. The old city lying on the south, and the new city on the north side of the river along which we sailed. In the middle of one portion of the city is a hill, about 300 feet high, called 秘圖山 Pe-too-san; on which was a temple dedicated to 謝閣老

Seay-koh-laou, whose grave we had seen at Te-sze-mun.

April 12th.—Arrived at Ningpo, about noon.

April 13th.—Rain all day. At 9 P.M., started for 天童 Teen-dung, in a boat, in which we slept all night.

April 14th.—At 6 A.M., arrived at 小白 Seaou-bah, where we procured chairs, and went on to the monastery at T'heên-dung. The head priest was said to be absent, and the inferior ones paid us little attention. They would not shew us the library, nor afford us a guide. We however shewed ourselves over the monastery, and saw the various halls and images, together with the refectory, in which the priests were just sitting down to breakfast. They were chanting as we went in, all sitting in rows, before long tables, having each one a basin of rice and vegetables in front of him. The chanting ended, at a given signal, they took up their chopsticks, and began to eat, having first placed a few grains of rice on a stone pedestal near the door. On our asking what that was intended for, they said, "That was intended for the 鬼神 Kwei-shin, spirits." The sparrows however, came and devoured it. During the meal not one of them spoke a word either to us, or to each other. We were much struck with the unsociable character of this meal: the breaking of fast is the time when the mind of man generally unbends towards his fellow; but these misanthropes, who have quitted the world, and abandoned at the same time all the social feelings, have shut themselves up within the narrow circle of little self, and know no one besides.

About 9 A.M., we started for the top of 太白 T'hae-bah hill, which lies at the back of the monastery. Not being able to discover the right path, or obtain a guide, we went up the steepest part of the mountain, through brake and brier, and were rewarded after a time by the discovery of the path-way at the side of which we saw some beautiful trees in full blossom, as white as snow. The more distant view was obstructed by the thick fog, which increased as we ascended, until we could not

see above a few feet from the place where we stood. We found the hill to be nearly 2,000 feet above the level of the sea, composed of granitic rocks mingled with hornblende; about half way down it assumed the character of gneiss intermingled with porphyry. Owing to the mist we lost our way in coming down, and descended on the wrong side of the hill. After walking a considerable distance, we met with a countryman, who undertook to bring us into the right way, by winding round the hill. At first he said it was five miles to the monastery: when we had travelled about four in the direction pointed out, we met with another countryman, who said that it was then six miles; and after travelling some distance further, we found that we were ten miles off from the monastery. This made us determine to recross the hill, which we did with great difficulty, and in about half an hour regained the place from which we had started. It took us an hour and a half to go up, and about double that time to get down again.

In the evening we went to 阿育王 A-yuh-wang (Ayuka's) temple, where there was said to be a (舍利 Shay-le) (1) relic of Buddha. The priests were at

(1) Shay-le.—The Buddhists say that there are 84,000 pores in a man's body, and that by following corruption and passing through transmigration, he leaves behind him 84,000 particles of miserable dust; Buddha's body has also 84,000 pores, but by resisting evil and reverting to truth he has perfected 84,000 relics; these are as hard and as bright as diamonds, affording benefit to men and devas wherever they are deposited. Shih-kea-moo-ni was born in India, from his mother's side in the 26th year of Chaou-wang (B. C. 1017) and immediately declared himself the greatest being in the universe. He lived to be 79 years of age, when he attained *nirvaan* or nothingness, (i.e. died). His followers placed the body in a golden coffin, when a fire burst out of the breast, which lasted seven days, and consumed his remains: Inda Shakra poured some milk on the fire which extinguished it. He then took one of the teeth from the right side of Buddha's jaw and conveyed it to paradise. Buddha then turned his remains into small fragments like diamond dust. Eight kings contended for these relics, which were divided into three parts, one being assigned to the devas, one to the nagas, and the third to the eight kings. During Buddha's life time, he was begging with O-nan in a lane, when they saw two boys playing with earth; one of them being struck with the dignified appearance of Buddha presented him with some pellets of earth; expressing a wish at the same time that he might in future become one of his most zealous worshippers. Buddha then addressed O-nan, saying, after my obtaining *nirvaan*, this child will become a king, ruling over the southern kingdoms, and building pagodas for the preservation of my relics. This was Ayuka, who afterwards built 84,000 pagodas: 19

vespers when we went in, but on our expressing a desire to see the relic, one of them agreed to shew it to us. On going to the bell-shaped dome in which it is placed, he could not unlock the little door; whereupon he called to one of his brother priests, who was then kneeling down at his prayers, to come and help him. This the latter did, chanting his prayers as he came along; between them the door was opened, and the relic brought out. It was said to be contained in a little carved box, of a pyramidal shape, and we were told to look into it against the light, which was then fast declining, to discern the wonder. But whether it was owing to the shades of evening having set in, or to the light of Buddha not having yet dawned upon us, we could see nothing. We asked the priests where the relic was obtained? He said at the top of the neighbouring hill. We then enquired, how he knew that it was a relic of Buddha, and what proof there was of its genuineness? He said that he knew of no proof; but that their forefathers had handed it down as a relic of Buddha, and as such they received it. They said, that sometimes it shone out, with great brilliancy, but to those who had no faith, it did not condescend to shine at all. In that case we told him, we should most likely continue in ignorance, as we had no faith in Buddha: neither did he appear to care much for the honour of the system by which he got his bread. We arrived at Ningpo about midnight.

April 15th.—After attending the usual religious services we went to a Mohammedan mosque, where we found the Moollah at home, a portion of the Koran in Arabic was lying on the table, which

he read off fluently, and gave the meaning of the terms. We asked him if he had any Mohammedan books in Chinese? to which he replied in the negative. We enquired whether they had any public preaching? to which they replied that they had on Fridays, when a few of their co-religionists attended. They were asked, if the rite of circumcision existed among them? They said, that that rite, (which they called 損乃 Sun-nae, from the Arabic word Sunnat) was universally practiced by the believers in their creed. We asked them, if they did not experience some difficulty in getting other Chinamen to adopt their faith? To which they replied, none whatever. The Chinese around they said admired their faith as a pure and holy system, and came themselves asking to be admitted into their religion. Adding that five of the inhabitants of Ningpo had recently adopted the Mohammedan creed. They were asked how they managed to get married, and whether they connected themselves with heathen women? To this they replied, that if the women would enter the Mohammedan religion they would consent to receive them, otherwise they might go where they pleased: at the same time their daughters could not on any account become connected with those of another faith. Adding, our religion receives all, but gives none. We asked them what was the object of their worship? they said, Allahoo, Allah, or God; which they translated into Chinese by 主 choo, or 真主 Chin-choo, the true Lord. They were asked whether any other kind of religionists, who worshipped only one

of these were constructed in China, and one of them was fixed upon the 郎 Mow hill, in the prefecture of Ning-po commonly called Yuh-wong. About the time of the three kingdoms, (A.D. 230), a priest named Hwuy came to Nan-king, where he built a shed. The people thought him a strange being, and brought him to Sun-keuen, the ruler of the country, who asked him for the proofs of his religion. To which Hwuy replied, that Buddha left a number of relics, over which Ayuka had built 84,000 pagodas. Sun-keuen thought it was all nonsense, but told him that if he could find a relic he might construct a pagoda over it. Hwuy then filled a bottle with water, and offered up incense before it for 21 days; at the expiration of that period he heard a sound proceeding from the bottle, resembling that of a bell. Hwuy then went to look at it, and perceived that the

relic was formed. The next day he presented it to Sun-keuen. The whole of the courtiers examined it, and saw the bottle illuminated with all sorts of brilliant colours. Keuen took the bottle, and poured out its contents into a dish; when the relic came in contact with the dish, it broke the vessel to pieces. Keuen was astonished, and said, That is very curious. Hwuy then addressed him saying, This relic is not only capable of emitting light, but no fire will burn, nor diamond-headed hammer bruise it. He then placed the relic on an anvil, and caused a strong man to strike it with all his might, when the hammer and the anvil were both broken, but the relic remained uninjured. Keuen then assented to the construction of the pagoda. The Chinese say that they can sometimes discern the relic illumined with brilliant colours, and as big as a cart wheel, while the unbelievers can see nothing at all.

We here present our readers with a figurative representation of the little pagoda, in which the Shay-le is said to be contained. The pagoda is about ten inches high, and four wide, carved in wood, and evidently very ancient. The Shay-le is said to be somewhere about the bottom of the bell, where the little circles are placed; but it requires a great deal of faith to see it.

 See Pagoda.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LIN-TSE SECT.

The Buddhists divide their sects into two orders, the 教門 Keaou-mun, and the 宗門

Tsung-mun. The *Keaou-mun* are those who follow the books, and the *Tsung-mun* those who adhere to the instructions handed down by certain teachers. The founders of these traditionary schools, finding the Chinese Buddhists, on the first introduction of the system, too apt to adhere to the literalities of their classics, directed the attention of their disciples more to the heart and feelings, and urged them to the attainment of the mind of Buddha. From Ka-sheh Buddha the traditionary system was handed down through 28 generations to Tah-mo; this man communicated his views through five hands to Hwuy-nang; one of his disciples established his school in Keang-se, where, after three generations, one E-heuen, the head of the Lin-tse monastery became its principal teacher: he collected disciples and enforced his discipline, which became afterwards known as the

臨濟 Lin-tse school. There were four traditionary schools besides these, but the Lin-tse is the most celebrated, and has survived them all.



Lord, existed in China. They replied, they could not tell. What sort of turban did they wear, white or blue? They said, white. Were there any among the Chinese who wore blue turbans? They said there were the **挑筋教** T'eaou-kin-keaou, "pluck-sinew-religionists," at Kae-fung-foo, who wore blue turbans. Had they ever met with them? No, only heard of their existence. Were they believers in one true Lord. They might be, but they were not Musselmen; they had not imanoo, or faith, and were not acknowledged by Mohammedans. He then went on to speak disrespectfully of them. We said, there was no occasion to do that, as they were the descendants of Abraham; of the same religion with Moses and David, from whom the Torat (Law) and Zabur (Psalms) came. He said there were many religions in the world, and each one believed according to his own system. Thus in Ningpo, there were a number of places of worship, such as the **耶穌堂**

Yay-soo-dong, the **福音堂** Fuh-yin-dong, and the **真神堂** Chin-shin-dong. As he seemed to sneer more especially at the latter term, he was asked what there was particularly wrong about the words. There is nothing wrong, he said, in Chin, which meant *true*, and all that was true, was right; but Shin, he observed, was very objectionable. He was then asked what objection he had to Shin? only, said he, as an object of worship, which it never can be made. We asked him why not? Because, he replied, the Shins are idols, poo-sat, the vanities of the heathen, which no man who knows any thing of the true Lord will ever bow down to. Would not the Mohammedans, we asked, worship Shin? never, he said, because it would be a sin. We asked him why he did not believe in

耶穌 Yay-soo, Jesus? He did not at first comprehend what was meant by Yay-soo: but when told that it was the same as **爾撒** Urh-sah, (the term used by the Chinese Mohammedans in expressing the Saviour's name) he said, of course we believe in Urh-sah, as one of the 48,000 prophets, but nothing more.

We told him that we believed that Urh-sah was the son of Allahoo. I would rather die, he said, than acknowledge the same.

April 16th.—At 7 P.M., went on board a boat for T'hëen-t'hae, and passed along the canal that leads to Fung-hwa. The weather had been very sultry all day, and the barometer very low, indicative of a storm. We had scarcely been on board the boat an hour, when a very severe thunder-storm, accompanied with the most vivid lightning and rain, came on. The covering of the boat was insufficient to keep out the elements, and we were obliged to hold umbrellas over ourselves, almost all the night; notwithstanding which we got very wet and uncomfortable. At midnight we passed a sluice which conducted us into the main river. The tide, however, soon made against us, or rather the mountain torrents were swollen from the abundance of rain, so that we made little progress.

April 17th.—At 9 A.M., we arrived at Kong-k'how, where we procured chairs and coolies for our baggage, after which we proceeded by land; five miles of travelling brought us to **大埠頭** Too-poo-dow, and from thence a journey of 7 miles to **溪口** K'he-k'how. Seven more brought us to **康嶺** K'hong-ling; three miles beyond, we came to **山宅** San-tsa'h; and from thence two miles more brought us to **九康** Kew-k'hong. This is a large monastery, where a number of priests reside, the superior of which received us kindly, and gave us each an upper room, with bed-places, to sleep in. There is little to be said for the cleanliness of the rooms, but when compared with other places, where travellers have sometimes to put up, it was a perfect palace. The old priest was not much acquainted with his own religion, and less of course with every other: but he was pleased to see the strangers from a far land, and did his best to make their stay comfortable.

April 18th.—The thunder and lightning with the rain continued during the greater part of the night, and as the peals

reverberated among the hills, and the rain came pelting down, we anticipated some hindrance to our journey. But the morning proved fine, and we started from the monastery, soon after which we passed through the village of Kew-k'hong, where preaching and tract distribution was carried on for the first time.

The next village we came to was **六詔**

Luh-chaou; and a few miles further on

we arrived at **劍界嶺** Jen-ka-ling,

which divides the district of Fung-hwa from that of Shin-chang. This ridge was higher than the rest of the road, and is the place where the water-shed divides. The water having previously flowed towards the north, but from this point we found it flowing to the south. A little further

on we came to **昭楊嶺** Chaou-

yang-ling, a pass several hundred feet in height, from which we had a most beautiful prospect on both sides of the ridge. The mountain torrent winding and dashing along the valley was particularly interesting; and the various hills rising one over the other, added beauty to the landscape. Here we must not omit to mention the mountain flowers, which for variety and beauty surpassed the richest garden. Azaleas, rhododendrons, glycines, and may-flowers, all in blooming sweetness, disposed by nature, who is the best gardener, in the most enchanting order and profusion, while the fragrance added to the elegance of the scene. After travelling a little farther

we came to a place called **沙溪** Sha-k'he, where we discovered an iron foundry. The furnace for melting the iron was about 5 feet high, and 3 feet in diameter, filled to the brim with charcoal and iron ore. The blast was formed by a rude box-bellows, and at the time we arrived the whole was in a state of operation. We asked them from whence they obtained their iron ore, and they pointed to the adjoining stream, from the bottom of which they obtained large quantities of black sand, which was for the most part iron. Having melted it in the furnace, and formed cakes of raw iron, about a foot square and an inch thick, they then brought it to the forge, and reduced it to

the state of wrought iron, in blocks 4 inches long by two wide, and 1 thick. This they carried to market, and sold. After passing this industrious village we

came to **唐家處** Tong-ka-choo, where we passed over a hilly country of 7 or 8 miles in extent. The soil on these hills was of a black colour, and appeared fertile, but rocks of a white colour were met with, and the mountain torrents after the rains brought down a quantity of a yellow-colored soil, quite different from the streams of water on the north side of the Jen-ka-ling, which were of a milky white colour, and carrying with them in rainy weather, a quantity of froth, as if the water had flowed over a soapy soil. In the evening we arrived at the

竹巖 Chuh-gan, bamboo monastery, after a journey of 20 miles, and put up for the night.

April 19th.—Started at 7 A.M. and passed over a hill about 500 feet high, on which we observed a large tea plantation, fields of buck-wheat just springing up, and cultivation going on over the whole ridge. We also met a number of people carrying iron pans, which they told us they were bringing from T'heen-thae, shewing that that hill produced iron in no small quantities. The streams flowing over the rising ground were of a bright yellow colour, owing to the soil over which they had passed, parts of which the waters carried down with them. After four or five miles we came to a village called

坑西 K'hang-se. After passing which, we met a man carrying a load of yellowish red aluminous earth, which he was taking to form a furnace, with which to roast the tea-leaf. This earth was brought from the top of the adjoining hill, and accounted for the yellowish colour of the water. A journey of 3 miles brought us to a place called Lan-yay, where we crossed the river on a raft; on the op-

posite side we saw a number of the **桐樹** Tung-shoo, in blossom, from the fruit of which the Tung-yew oil is extracted. A mile further on we came to a place called **峽崑** Yang-wei, where a great number of people crowded round us for books,

and many were solicitous for medicine. From thence a journey of 7 or 8 miles brought us to **班竹** Pan-chuh, where there were conveniences for passing the night, but we contented ourselves with an hour's halt. At 3 P.M. we arrived at

會墅嶺 Hwuy-shoo-ling. A few miles more brought us to **橫板橋** Wang-pan-keaou, and 3 miles further on we arrived at **清涼寺** Tsing-leang-sze.

The abbot at this place we found to be a very intelligent and agreeable old gentleman. He readily understood our object, conversed with us freely on the subject of religion, and entered into a discussion on the differences which existed between us, without the least loss of temper. He maintained that Buddha was before all things, and superior to Heaven, while his appearance in our world was merely his taking on himself a body, for the purpose of enlightening and saving the host of living beings. His statements, however, were not based on evidence, and had to be received by those who believed them on his assertion only. It seemed to be purely a matter of faith; if you liked to believe it as stated, there it was for you; if you did not, you might let it alone. Buddhism has no self-existent God, nor eternal state of rewards and punishments. Those who went to heaven had to be born again, and go through the metempsychosis; while those who went to hell were certain of getting out thence at some distant period. The only superexcellent state was *nirvana*, or nothingness. We asked him about image-worship, whether the prayers they offered were to Buddha or the image? He said to Buddha. Why then was the attention directed to the image? Only to fix the mind: as soon as the thought was once fixed, the image was no longer of use. All, he said, rested with the heart: if that was right, all was well. In one of the rooms of the monastery we were shewn the thousand Buddhas, and in another the 500 Rohans; each of those images was about a foot high, but much neglected, so that they had become very dirty. The large bell of the monastery was about 6 feet high, and had a pleasant tone, but it

was without a clapper. The old priest sat down to dinner with us, though he would partake of nothing but the simplest vegetable food. He was much struck with a microscope which was exhibited to him; and when it was suggested that a certain parasitic insect, if seen through that medium, would appear very wonderful, one of the priests took off his garment and hunted for a minute, when he found a large fellow, that must have bred his thousands. This when shewn through the microscope threw them all into ecstasies. Several other things were then shewn the priest, who readily guessed their use, and evidenced that his mind had been accustomed to activity. After a long and interesting conversation we were obliged to retire to rest.

April 20th.—We started at 7 A.M. and after five miles journey over a high hill, we arrived at **地藏寺** Te-tsang-sze.

The priest here professed to have obtained the right way, and to have escaped the influence of life and death; he was however alive, and it was as evident that he would one day die, so that he was still within the trammels of mortality. Five miles beyond this, over another hill, we arrived at

萬年寺 Wan-neen-sze. The abbot here was very old and infirm, labouring under a complaint of the chest. He had a very small receptacle for brains, but was reputed to be a man of great intelligence and sanctity. The 500 Rohans were here exhibited in a poor condition, and a notice was stuck upon the breast of one, inviting subscriptions towards regilding the whole; we observed that if the Rohans had any **神通** Shin-tung, spiritual perception, they might get this work done for themselves. The priest smiled and said, they were all wooden and plaster images, of no use.

A little after noon we arrived at **方廣** Fang-kwang, one of the most beautiful and romantic spots we had ever seen. The monastery is tastefully built at a spot where two mountain torrents combine, and form a succession of cascades, which came dashing over the rocks, just under the window. Near the centre of the building is a natural bridge, formed

by a flat ledge of rock which has fallen across the stream, and allowed the current to pass underneath just where it dashes over the fall. Below this again is another fall, of about 50 feet, altogether forming, with the green background, the natural bridge, a few artificial bridges, and the foaming spray passing between them, a scene scarcely to be exceeded in any country. The whole of the waterfalls together are about 100 feet in height. The natural bridge is of about 25 feet span; on the top it is only a few inches wide, but enlarges towards the lower part, where it is several feet in thickness. Across this narrow bridge some bolder spirits venture, in order to inspect a small temple on the other side, full of little images; but the dashing of waters over the fall immediately under foot is calculated to shake the nerves, and should the foot slip there is nothing left for it but to be dashed down the falls, to a depth of 60 feet below. A few years ago several persons were dashed down and killed from off this bridge. The beauties of the spot and the wildness of the scene can be seen and enjoyed, without such adventurous attempts, and the purest gratification derived from surveying nature in all her original splendour. The temple adjoining is furnished with a number of images richly gilt, and in this case inclosed in glass cases. There are the 500 Rohans, and the numerous devas of the Buddhist faith, all kept in good order. The priest did his best to make the strangers comfortable, and the rooms for the reception of guests were remarkably clean and in good order. Foreigners might spend a few days at this spot with comfort and even pleasure. From Fang-kwang the road is one continued ascent,

till we get to the summit of the 華廷 Hwa-ting hill; almost at the top of this hill is a large monastery containing about 100 priests who live at a height of about 3,000 feet above the level of the sea. The superior of this monastery is a fat jolly fellow, who seems to enjoy the good things of this life, but to care comparatively little about the peculiarities of his religion. Another priest who resides at the monastery had more to say in argument, but he seemed rather anxious

to establish the idea of a uniformity between all the faiths with which he was acquainted. The differences between them he considered to be a species of denominational diversity, something like that which he had observed between the

天主教 T'heen-choo-keaou, Romanists, and the 耶穌教 Yay-soo-keaou, Protestants, in Ningpo. The inward exercises of religion, such as faith, repentance, contemplation, prayer, the cleansing of the heart, and the anticipation of a future world, possess indeed to a casual observer a kind of similarity, while a nearer inspection would exhibit differences of an important kind; which however he had neither the leisure nor inclination to examine. When he was questioned respecting the evidences of his religion, which made such large demands upon the credulity of its adherents,—he had little to say, further than that such evidences existed in former times, but were now not to be examined. He seemed, however, to be in an interesting state of mind, and it is hoped that by the blessing of God on the means employed, he may be led to the further contemplation of a subject which may prove of essential service to him.

The road to the top of the hill is about 3 miles beyond the monastery and leads to an elevation of 3,400 feet. At the very top is a small temple, with a priest residing in it. The building is surrounded by a thick wall of stone, like a city wall, which was erected for the purpose of defending the temple and the resident priest from the fierce winds which frequently prevail at that elevation. There is a well close to the temple containing excellent water, said to be of miraculous origin;* having this well, the inhabitant has no need to perish from thirst. From the hill the sea coast is visible, and the islands off the bay of Wan-chow. Scattered over the hill there are various little temples where priests reside, but the one at the top is the most celebrated, as being the place where Che-k'hae spent a portion of his time, worshipping a Sanscrit

* The name of the well is 龍爪井 Lung-chau-tsing, dragon's claw well: having, as it is supposed, been dug by a dragon's claw.

manuscript of a Buddhist classic, from which circumstance the place is called the **拜經臺** Pae-king-tae, terrace for worshipping the classics.

April 21st.—Started on our return, and after travelling across the hills in a north-westerly direction for 10 miles, we arrived at **智者寶塔** the pagoda erected to the memory of Che-kh'ae, the founder of the T'héen-t'hae system of Buddhism, in the Chin dynasty.* The pagoda was nearly destroyed, having only the two lower stories standing; but giving sufficient evidence of its great antiquity. The image of Che-k'hae stood at the top, and the whole was covered with the roof of an old temple which had been built over it. A little further on, situated in a deep dell on the left, called **幽溪** Yew-k'he, is the monastery of **高明寺** Kaou-ming-sze. This is particularly celebrated for its possession of a Sanscrit manuscript, written on the palm leaf, once read and explained by Che-k'hae, but now unintelligible to any of the followers of Buddhism in these parts. The priests seemed to pay uncommon reverence to this manuscript, which is the only one of the kind to be found in the east of China, and thus of great importance in a literary point of view. It is more than 1,300 years old, but is in

a state of perfect preservation, in consequence of the palm leaves, which are written on both sides, having been carefully let into slips of wood, which are fitted on the same central pin, and the whole, amounting to 50 leaves, inclosed in a rose-wood box. The priest promised to get it copied, and bring it to Ning-po, and a dollar was given him to purchase paper, with the assurance of a larger reward when he returned with the work accomplished. Besides the Sanscrit classic there were two other relics produced—one was the robe worn by Che-k'ae, and the other the brass basin with which he used to go out and beg his alms. The former appeared to be of an old texture, made of silk and embroidered with the figures of men and animals. The threads of the embroidery were in many places worn away, and the silk of which the garment was made was torn in same parts; but on the whole it was in a state of good repair for such an ancient garment. The begging basin was made of copper and presented nothing singular to the beholder. There is little doubt of its being what it professes to be, and as such, both the basin and garment are worthy of observation as antiquities. A school was connected with this monastery, in which the boys were taught nothing but Buddhist books. The road from the **高明寺** Kaou-ming-sze led us up

* **陳智顗** Chin Che-k'hae, otherwise deno-

minated **智者** Che-chay, the wise one, dwelt at Hwa-yung, in Ho-nan: his father was in the service of a royal personage. At 15 years of age, he made a vow, in the presence of an image at Chang-sha, that he would become a priest. About that time he dreamt that he saw a high hill in the middle of the ocean, on the summit of which was a priest, beckoning to him with his hand, and receiving him into his arms at the top of the hill. Soon after this his parents died, which afforded him an opportunity of carrying out his wish. At 18 he quitted all worldly connections, and entered a monastery. After this he gave heed to the instructions of Hwuy-sze, who instructed him in the meaning of the Fah-hwa-king, and then said to him, "You will become pre-eminent in instructing people in the knowledge of religion; I have long wished for some one to hand down my doctrines on the southern hills; you can now hold out the lamp of knowledge and reform the age, while you become one of the most celebrated persons in the Chin dynasty. When he afterwards came to the capital of the country, he was followed by the rich, and attended by a multitude of disciples. Having heard, however, that T'héen-t'hae was a most romantic spot, he wished to settle there, in order to carry out his views. The emperor commanded him to remain at the capital, but he refused compliance. This was

in the year of our Lord 575. When he arrived at T'héen-t'hae, he went over the whole region, and met with a priest who handed over to him the laws of the **國清**

Kwo-tsing monastery; on the south side of this monastery, the hills rose in various peaks, which attracted his attention, and led him to pass the night there, and ultimately to make it his abode. The monarch thrice sent messengers, with autograph epistles, commanding the priest's appearance at court, but the latter excused himself on the ground of illness. When on a subsequent occasion the priest was engaged in explaining the sacred classics, the emperor appeared among the number of his hearers. After the Chin dynasty was overthrown, the ruler of the Suy dynasty also treated our hero with respect. In the year 584, Che-k'hae returned to his native place, to instruct his fellow-citizens, and two years afterwards he came to Nanking, and the year following re-entered the T'héen-t'hae range of hills, where he founded a sect of the Buddhists, and published several works, principally commentaries on the classics, amounting to 76 volumes; all of which, in the year 1024, were admitted into the regular list of Buddhist works. His disciples were numerous and some of them celebrated. The pagoda enclosing the remains of Che-k'hae is still standing on a part of the T'héen-t'hae range, and many miracles are reported to have been wrought at this shrine.

the steep acclivity which we had already descended, nearly to the precious pagoda of the wise man, who founded the religion of the T'heen-t'hae, and then descended another very steep hill, leading along the most romantic and wild pathway, until it brought us to 國清寺 Kwoh-tsing-sze. We found this to be one of the largest monasteries about these hills, and the priests to be both numerous and respectable. The superior of the monastery was a middle-aged man, of considerable energy, and he was surrounded by a number of persons well acquainted with the system of Buddha. The argument maintained here was that all systems were alike, and all led to the same result. This was met by the suggestion that all roads were not alike, nor did they conduct to the same termination. It was necessary, therefore, to enquire of those most likely to be best acquainted with the way; and as all men were nearly alike unacquainted with Divine things, the wisest course was to enquire whether any revelation had been made from above; and if so, to follow it. Confucius, even asked the way to a ford from a person acquainted with the locality, and we should not object to enquire of any one from whom we could get information. There being several curiosities about this monastery, we asked to be shewn a few of them; and one of the priests kindly undertook to be our Ciceroni. The first thing shewn us was a large iron pan for boiling rice, eleven feet in diameter, four in depth and an inch in thickness, which had been handed down from a period of great antiquity. On asking the use of this pan, we were told that it was intended to boil rice for the 500 Rohans: but as these fabulous beings never needed any food, it was never used. When we asked what there was peculiar about this pan, we were told that it would allow sand to fall through its pores, but that water would not run through. This we doubted, while they affirmed the same; but as there was not any opportunity for testing the fact, we each retained our own opinions. The next thing shewn us, was the Emperor's tablet, written in praise of the monastery at T'ien-t'hae.* It was a stone tablet

about ten feet high, three feet wide, and four inches thick, over it was built a pavilion, which was very much out of repair. The yellow glazed tiles with which it had been covered, were broken and scattered about the ground, and on our asking why they did not put the pavilion in repair, we were told that as the emperor had built it, so the emperor must repair it; and that it was not allowable for any of his subjects to interfere with his work. The next thing shewn to us was the prison, in which about a dozen priests had allowed themselves to be shut up, for a number of months or years, during which they were to occupy themselves in repeating the name of Amida Buddha, day and night without intermission. During the day, the whole number were to be thus engaged; and during the night they took it by turns, and divided themselves into watches, so as to ensure the keeping up of the work till morning. We asked when they were to be let out? To which it was replied, that they might be liberated at their own request, but not before they had spent several months in seclusion. We enquired what could be the use of such an endless repetition of the name of Buddha? To which it was answered, that the constant repetition of the sacred name had a tendency to purify the heart, to deaden the affections towards the present world, and to prepare them for the state of *nirvana*. It was further asked whether Buddha was likely to be pleased with such an endless repetition of his name? To which it was answered, that in the western world it was considered a mark of respect to repeat the name of any one whom we delighted to honour.

The recluses seemed most of them young men; some of whom came out to the bars of their cage, to look at the strangers, but kept on repeating the name of Buddha as they stood there. It appeared to us, that nothing was more calculated to produce idiocy than such a perpetual repetition of a single name, and the stupid appearance of many of the priests whom we have seen, seems to have been induced by some such process as this. The old pagoda was next shewn

1735. We brought away a fac-simile of the inscription, with the imperial seal attached.

* This tablet was written by Yung-ching in the year

us, which was 9 stories high, and had been built in the Suy dynasty, but during the present dynasty the stairs and galleries had been destroyed by fire, so that it was impossible to ascend. Near to the pagoda we discovered the tomb of 一行 Yih-hing, a famous Buddhist astronomer of the 唐 Tang dynasty. He is mentioned in all the astronomical works of the Chinese, and seems to have turned his attention, more than any other of his tribe, to the subject of natural philosophy, for which he is deservedly celebrated.

The scenery about this monastery, is enchanting; embedded between five hills, which rise up all round as if for its defence; it abounds with trees of various foliage, amongst the rest we noticed two beautiful funereal cypresses, about 50 feet high, and two camphor trees of equal size. Two streams of water meet at the bridge in front of the monastery, one of which having flowed for some distance towards the east suddenly changes its course, and joins the larger current, in dashing on together in a westerly direction.

One of the priests, in the evening, maintained a very lively and interesting conversation regarding the peculiarities of Buddhism. He spoke of attaining the state of *nirvana*, in which a man would have no more to do with the past or the present, with happiness or misery, with production or annihilation. He was asked if men had any thing to do *now* with production and annihilation? To which he replied in the affirmative, adding that at birth our lives were produced and at death annihilated: so with all the works of art, when we made them they were produced, and when we destroyed them they were annihilated. We suggested to him that in the production of things we did not create them out of nothing, nor at their destruction could we reduce them to nothing. This was a new idea to him,—but he contended that when a candle was burnt out it was annihilated, and when any material substance was reduced to atoms it ceased to be. As he still continued to maintain his position, he was asked, how many elements there were? to which he answered four, viz., fire,

air, earth, and water. He was then asked whether, if a portion of the earth were burnt it must necessarily be annihilated, and whether it might not still exist in the form of air, though invisible to us? He acknowledged that it might be so. He was then told that philosophers in the present day had proved that it was so, and that nothing could be annihilated by the art of man. So also nothing could be made by man without something previously existing out of which to make it. That in fact there was only one who could create and destroy, and that was God, from whom all things sprang, and to whom all honour and obedience were due.

April 22d.—We spent the early part of this day in the private exercises of religion for our own improvement, and in conversation and discussion with the priests for their benefit. We told them that it appeared to us, from their own classics, that they acknowledged no creator nor origin of all things; that the universe with them seemed to be a succession of changes, without beginning or end, without author or aim. Our Buddhist friends did not like to acknowledge this, but they were obliged to own that such was the fact. They were then shewn the impropriety of such a Godless system, and the necessity of worshipping and relying on one Supreme. The Buddhist said, that his heart was the Supreme. Your heart, it was replied, is not the ruler of mine, nor of that belonging to any one else. There is one, however, who rules over your heart and mine, as well as over all the world; even the Lord of lords. How different is He, in his omnipotence, omniscience, and holiness, from your feeble, erring, sinful heart; how then can you say that your heart and the Supreme are the same. He then said that Buddha was supreme. He was asked, what Buddha? Amida Buddha? That was a fabulous being. Shakyamuni Buddha? That was a mere mortal who was born and died like other men, and who never displayed anything of a Divine power. Shakya was clearly not Supreme, for according to their own system he was to pass away, and to be succeeded by another. The conversation then turned upon the real object of worship amongst the Buddhists, whether it was Buddha himself, or the image

which represented him; when they asserted that Buddhists were divided into three classes. The superior class worshipped Buddha without the intervention of any image, the middling class worshipped Buddha through the medium of images; and the inferior class never worshipped at all. For themselves, they said, they could worship without any image, and they thought it best so to do. We asked, then, what was the need of images? They said, for the vulgar, who could not be induced to attend to religion without such aids. But, we observed, by the use of such, the inferior class were kept in their debased mental cultivation, and prevented them from ever rising to the level of the middling and superior classes. Oh, it was replied, they never would rise by any method, and therefore they must be left as they were. But why did not the priests go about, and instruct them? To which they replied, that they had enough to do to go about collecting money, for the repair of the temples and the support of the priests, so that they had no leisure for preaching and teaching the people.

After taking leave of the priests at the temple, we went to T'hëen-t'hae-hëen, which is about 3 miles from the monastery. We found this a very quiet and retired city, situated at the foot of the T'hëen-t'hae range of hills, far from the usual route taken by travellers, so that the people had little intercourse with strangers, and had never had an opportunity of seeing foreigners. As might have been expected, the appearance of three foreigners in their city awakened an unusual stir, and crowds were soon collected around us. Having selected an inn and partaken of some refreshment, we sallied forth with the view of preaching to the people, but such numbers came around us, and they were so noisy, that unless the preacher could drown their noise by his voice, there was little chance of his being heard. Various discourses were, however, delivered, to hundreds of people, and an acquaintance formed with several learned men, with whom a correspondence could be afterwards maintained, and from whom much assistance could be hoped for. The city seemed rather celebrated for its learned men, as we observed several triumphal gateways in the place erected to

the memory of some who for successive generations had attained the degree of Doctor of Laws. The walls of the city, were however in very poor order, and in several places so much broken down, that people walked right over them, in passing from the city into the country. The parapet wall was standing in very few places, and altogether the place was very much exposed to an enemy; but they comforted themselves by the assurance, that the city was so much out of the way, that there was no danger of any assailant attacking them.

April 23rd.—Started from T'hëen-t'hae city at 6 A.M. The road passed along a fertile plain, surrounded by hills at the distance of from five to ten miles on either side. The mass of the Hwuy-ting or T'hëen-tae hills lay on the right, with the

赤城 Tseih-ching, or Red city hill, crowned with its pagoda, standing out in front, as if to guard the mountains behind. This hill must have been so named in consequence of the red porphyry, of which it is composed, and of the bold front which it presents to the adjacent plains. On the right of the road ran a lower range of hills, of a very jagged appearance, with some bold precipices, steep towards the south and sloping gradually towards the north, as if the mass of strata had fallen in one direction.

After passing over fifteen miles of level country, the road leads across a pass about 1,000 feet high, called **關嶺** Kwan-ling, which forms the barrier that divides the T'hëen-t'hae district from that of **新昌** Sin-chang. After descending a considerable way, another ridge had to be crossed called **冷水嶺** Lang-shuy-ling: a little distance beyond which is the **天母寺** T'hëen-moo-she. Close to this monastery, by the road-side is a stone tablet, with this inscription **唐李白夢遊天姥處** "the place where the poet Le-t'hae-pih of the Tang dynasty dreamt that he went to wander with the heavenly nymphs." Having passed this we soon came to the Hwang-pan-keaou, and the Hwuy-shooling, which we passed going up; and a few

miles further we arrived at Pan-chuh, where we put up for the night, having travelled about 25 miles in the rain. We were therefore not a little glad to obtain a place of shelter.

April 24th.—Started in the rain, and by noon reached the city of Sin-ch'hang, a distance of 12 miles, where we preached and distributed books. At this place we found a boat, which by the swelling of the river by the rains was enabled to proceed down the stream. We therefore went on board, and in little more than two hours arrived at Shing-héen 乘縣 a distance of 12 more miles. We went on shore at this place, and made our way to the temple of the genius supposed to preside over the city, where a large number of people assembled, at least a thousand; but they made such a noise that it was difficult to obtain a hearing. The temple was very prettily situated on the side of a hill, from which the whole city and surrounding country was visible. The city seemed in a prosperous state and business thriving. In the evening we continued our journey down the river.

April 25th.—Arrived at Poh-kwan at 3 A.M., and having procured a boat on

the canal that connects this place with the eastern part of the province, we started for Ni-ka-loo. It was our wish to have sailed down the Tsaou-gno-kong, on which we were, and so have got into the Tseen-tang, or Hang-chow bay, but we understood that no sea-going vessels were to be procured there, and that though the boats from the south side of the bay would go out of the mouth of the river, and venture along the southern shore of the bay, yet none of them would venture to cross it. So we were obliged to give up the project, and cross from Ni-ka-loo to Kan-poo. We therefore engaged a boat, and after a pleasant sail arrived at Ni-ka-loo in the evening.

April 26th.—Having engaged a junk for our own use, we started this morning for Kan-poo, with a fair wind, at which place we arrived a little past noon. Hiring a small boat at the custom-house we had our goods and ourselves conveyed to Luk-le-yen, where we obtained a boat for Shanghae.

April 27th.—Arrived at Ping-hoo, where we remained a short time, distributing books, and then started for Shanghae, where we arrived at day-break the next morning.

Comparative heights, above the level of the sea, of the places visited, in a journey to T'heen-t'hae, as taken by a mountain barometer:—

	<i>Feet.</i>
T'hae-pih hill, near T'heen-tung, . . .	1,120
K'hew-k'hang monastery,	325
Yen-keae ridge,	679
Hwuy-shoo ridge,	1,132
Tsing-leang monastery,	1,406
Teng-kung ridge, between Tsing-leang and Te-tsang monasteries, }	2,073
Rohan ridge, between the Te-tsang, and Wan-nên monasteries, . . . }	2,439
Wan-nên monastery,	1,136
Tung-ne ridge, between Wan-nên and Fang-kwang monasteries, . . }	2,358
Fang-kwang monastery,	1,681
Hwa-ting monastery,	2,783
Hwa-ting peak,	3,397
Kaou-ming monastery,	1,195
Kwoh-tsing monastery,	457
T'heen-t'hae city,	285
Kwan-ling ridge,	1,264
Lang-shuy ridge,	1,412
Sing-chang city,	109

NOTES OF AN EXCURSION TO THE T'AI-HU AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

There are two routes to the well known lake which bears the name of the T'ai hu. The shorter is that by the Wu sung keang (Soochow creek) and T'sing p'u. The longer by the Hwang p'u and the Mau hu. We took the former, the wind being such on the morning of our departure (June 5th) as to make it the most advantageous. As we passed Ya-ki-tun where the Nan-ziang canal enters the Wu-sung-kiang we observed that the former picturesque appearance of the spot is quite obliterated. The little military station, the battery, most of the trees, and the look-out that stood on the top of the mound have been destroyed, doubtless by rebel hands during the recent disturbances. Passing the town of Hwang tu and its bridge, we reached Si kiang k'eu where as the name denotes four streams meet. Here we left the Wu-sung-kiang which pursues its winding way westward to K'wun san and Su cheu, and entered a stream to the southward. After visiting T'sing p'u and Chu kia kioh the northernmost point in Chih kiang province, we soon arrived at Tien-san-hu the largest of the lakes on this side of Sucheu.

A little eminence with a temple situated on the eastern shore of the lake, but at some distance from it, gives it its name. We saw the natives engaged in narrowing the boundaries of the lake, by spreading earth on parts where the mud bottom approaches nearest to the surface, and it is probably through operations of this kind that a tract of cultivated fields now separates this broad sheet of water from the insignificant hill just alluded to. In this part of our course we saw at a short distance to the south-east, "the hills," lying between Sung kiang and T'sing p'u. Continuing our course to the south-west through P'ing wang (Bing bong) and Nan sin (Nanzing) we reached Hncheu on the third day. As we walked up the principal street, from the south gate, a beautiful P'ai leu or monumental arch of the Ming dynasty, attracted our attention. It was covered with thick tresses of ivy which combined with the weather-worn colour of the stone presented a very ornamental appearance as it spanned the crowded street. After finishing our missionary operations and receiving several literary visitors in our boat, we proceeded to Ch'ang hing, a city of the third rank at the south-west corner of the lake. The mulberry plantations that edged the stream still preserved a great quantity of their leaves, a sign we were told of a bad year for silk, for the worms when healthy strip the trees entirely of their foliage. On our right was Pien san, a massive hill of considerable altitude. It is also called Bah T'siah san. We now entered on a country not before visited by Europeans in foreign dress.

Large crowds attended us as we threaded the streets of Ch'ang hing, and when we took up a position in the city temple for addressing them on the doctrines of Christianity, we found our audience too large and noisy to be easily commanded. Many followed us outside the city to a little hill near the north gate. Interested in finding that this hill was composed of sand-stone, we wished to explore the neighbourhood where high hills east and west bore an inviting aspect. Forgoing this, for want of time, we proceeded into the lake by Kiah p'u towards Si tung t'ing san a large hilly island which is apparently nearer the centre of the lake than any other.

West of Sucheu, one of the three prefectural cities which border the T'ai hu, a chain of about a dozen hills stretches towards the lake, dotting the alluvial plain around them. The highest and most massive of them in its form is K'ung lung san. The chain is continued into the lake where it consists of eastern and western Tung t'ing san and several smaller islands. The most westerly is Si tung t'ing towards which we now directed our course. On reaching it and landing, we found ourselves in extensive plantations of vines, oranges, pomegranates, and various other fruits. Two kinds of apples, with pumeloes and small oranges grow here in abundance. The Camellia is also extensively cultivated here, both as an ornamental flowering tree for sale at Sucheu, and for its seeds which are much used in medicine. Its white fragrant flowers and the bright red flower of the pomegranate lent a charm to our pathway. Elsewhere our road led under trellised vines, and beside thick-set groves of peaches and apricots. Mounting the highest peak we found it to be about 1,100 feet higher than the shore of the lake. It is called P'iau-miau-fung. From this point we noticed the bluff hills on each side of Ch'ang hing in the prefecture of Hncheu to the south and south-west, and eminences of less altitude to the north and north-west belonging to Ch'ang cheu fu. After visiting several villages we reached in our boat the eastern promontory. This we found to be, as seen from the water, the most lovely spot in the island. It consists of a large lime-stone rock presenting perpendicular faces to the south and surmounted by various edifices dedicated to the native religions. We reached the spot when it was near evening and walked among the temples and through a romantic rocky garden to the hill above where we were gratified to find pieces of stone lying about our feet crowded with fossils. Some of them were shells an inch or more in length and proportionate thickness. This hill is called Shih kung san. There is a cave consecrated to Kwan yin. Near the

gilt image personating that divinity are placed on ledges cut in the rock other smaller figures of Maitreya Buddha, Lung nü, (the daughter of a king of the Nagas or dragons) and Shen t'sai a boy who attends on Kwan yin. There is a conspicuous monument dedicated to the virtuous women of the island fronting a temple where their tablets are preserved and worshipped. Out of respect to this temple, an application was made some years since to the imperial government to prohibit quarrying for lime-stone at this spot which was granted.

Proceeding northwards we passed three other lime-stone promontories; and stopped to examine two of them. Large quarries are still being worked to obtain lime and building stone. Beautiful fragments of quartz were scattered round. Here however we searched in vain for fossils. These we found only at Zeh kung san just described. Some large thin blocks of stone stood upright on the shore, of a very weather-beaten aspect. On examination we found they were quartz, and the lime-stone before and behind them appeared to have been hewn away perhaps several centuries ago. With the lime-stone (t'sing shih) we found some fragments of sand-stone but all the western part of the island is gneiss.

This is probably the most easterly point, reached by the lime-stone and sand-stone formations in the vicinity of Shanghai, here 85 or 90 miles distant. Bien san near Hu cheu, where they are also found is about 100 miles from Shanghai.

Leaving Si-tung-t'ing we proceeded across the northern arm of the lake to Wu sih, a city 30 miles west of Su cheu celebrated for its iron foundries. After searching sometime for an entrance, we found our way to that city and traversed it freely on foot, without any roughness or interference from the multitude that thronged to look at us. We visited a monastery with more than a hundred devotees of Buddha, and hoped for a hearing from them and perhaps a discussion on the subject of our religious tenets. But after listening a few minutes the more influential quietly withdrew and called to their comrades to leave us.

Near the city is a hill surmounted with a pagoda. It is called Sih san (Tin hill.) It consists of gneiss and quartz and formerly produced tin. Wu sih the name of the city signifies "no tin," and a story says the name was bestowed when the production of that metal ceased. From the pagoda we had a good view of the city, which teems with a busy population, the great lake stretching to the south with its islands, the plain northwards towards the Yang tse kiang with its group of hills and the grand canal extending westwards towards Ch'ang cheu.

Our route now lay along this last mentioned thoroughfare. After a few miles, turning northwards we found with great difficulty a passage into the Yang tse kiang. The way by Kiang yin had been stopped by piles driven into the stream near that city as a protection against rebels. After a circuitous journey we at last reached the Yang tse by the Lau po kiang ten miles west of

Kiang yin. We did not accomplish this without being detained some hours by many heavy boats laden with smuggled salt. A large trade in this article is carried on here from T'ai cheu and T'ai hing two cities on the north of the river, to Ch'ang cheu and other places to the southwards.

Entering the Ta kiang "great river" which is here five miles wide we soon reached Kiang yin. We visited this city. It is situated among a group of hills the same that we saw from Wu sih, and has a wide river where junks large and small are numerously congregated. On the river bank we found an institution for saving drowning persons, which is in active operation. We were told that two boats belonged to it, and that 100 lives more or less were saved by its agency annually.

Setting out at dawn on our way homeward we passed some low cliffs on the southern bank where the current is very strong and the river attains great depth. On the bared surface of the gneiss of which they appear to be composed, the arched formation that has been noticed in that species of rock is conspicuous when the spectator passes close by. The rock assumes nearly the appearance of concentric semi-ellipses set upright on their axes.

From this place Ku san a little hill is seen to the north two or three miles inland. Three centuries ago it was an island surrounded by the waters of the river. Now a large tract of well cultivated land interposes between them.

From Hiang shan, a hill surmounted with temples a little farther to the eastward, there is a fine view of the river. A large arm of it is seen to make a detour to the south cutting off a long low island called Sheu-hing-sha. As we approached T'ung cheu, with its four hills, we were told that the river is there ten miles wide. Crossing to Fuh shan we noticed the hill at Ch'ang shuh several miles inland. It is easily distinguished by its great length extending to a mile and a half. Its western end is thickly covered with trees.

We waited for the tide at Fuh shan and also at Lieu ho. The latter place 20 miles from Wu sung is interesting as being the former seat of the large native trade now concentrated at Shanghai. It was towards the end of last century that the river there grew shallow, and the Hwang p'u at the same time grew deep. Native vessels of large burden can now only enter the river at Lieu ho at high tide. It is still the place of exit for numerous grain junks from the vicinity of Su cheu, on their way to T'ien tsin; but it has scarcely any other trade except in fishing.

Still earlier the southern coast line of the Yang tse kiang, or as the natives call it at this point the sea, was at T'ai t'sang and Kia ting. These two cities, now fifteen or twenty miles inland, contain deep in their soil pieces of masts and other relics of their former proximity to the sea, which are occasionally revealed by the workman's axe.

We completed the journey from Kiang yin (120 miles) in a little less than 48 hours, and arrived at Shanghai on the 12th day after our departure.

J. E.

THE NEW PORT OF SWATOU.

FROM DR. MACGOWAN'S NOTE BOOK.

(*From the China Mail.*)

Diplomatic Miscalculation—Tiéchiu-River—Cities—Namo—Character of the people.

Regarded as a temporary measure, the restriction of foreign trade to certain ports by the treaties of Nanking, Wanghia, and Whampoa, was judicious, and probably unavoidable at the time. A slight acquaintance however either with China, or with commercial history, would have sufficed to demonstrate the futility of such a provision, except for a limited period. On the one hand, trade failed to take root at a city which diplomacy had indicated; and on the other, it has sprung up and flourished in places not dreamed of by either of the contracting parties.

Ningpo, it was supposed, would prove the most important mart in China. As we resided in that city before it was opened for trade, we had an opportunity of knowing what expectations were formed by natives and foreigners respecting its prospective commercial greatness. Native merchants and bankers crowded our hospital, begging to have their names written in English, and tradesmen were importunate for signs. Amongst those supplied, were pilots, who thus advertised their professional services to bring English and American argosies up the river. A proverb had long been current in the north of China that the—

“Hung-mau
Sih-pau,”

which means that the red-haired race knows all about wealth, or can transmute metals; consequently it was believed that when once admitted, they would inaugurate a golden era. If doubts existed in the minds of any as to the brilliant prospects which dazzled the wealthy people of Ningpo, they were dispelled by the arrival, in a huge “fire ship,” of a portion of H. B. M. Consular establishment, the full complement being a Chief and a Vice with families, a pair of assistants, and a couple of interpreters, together with a surgeon and a harbour-master; nor were merchants from afar wanting, nor ships, nor foreign goods,—nothing in fact had been overlooked, but a market. Why this advantage of trade did not present itself was at first a mystery, but soon became, it was said, perfectly obvious,—“the mandarins were at the bottom of it!” Some years later, in 1848, we discovered physical impediments, in the form of a couple of portages between Ningpo and the provincial capital Hangchau, were the Imperial canal commences. It was previously supposed that uninterrupted water communication extended from Ningpo to the northern and western provinces. This advantage Shanghai enjoys.

But commerce, although shy of some ports, has been forward in other points on the coast, and on

Formosa. We have to do at present with only one of them,—Swatau.

Long before a treaty was contemplated—years before the war which preceded treaties—Opium clippers, ranged the east coast, rendezvousing at naval stations on the island of Namo, in the extreme north-eastern part of the Canton province, and adjacent to Swatau. A range of hills in the north-eastern part of this province, a continuation of the Yunling, and forming what in Fuhkien is styled the Bohea hills, forms a water-shed for two rivers, the Tungkiang on the east emptying into the Pearl near Whampoa, and the Han or (as we prefer designating it) the Tiéchiu, which, after a north-easterly direction as far as the prefectural city of Kiaying, pursues a south-easterly course through the prefecture of Tiéchiu to the sea, where it forms a delta, on the principal channel of which, is the port of Swatau. Han, the name given to this river in native works, is little used, and like the names of Chinese rivers generally, is given to a portion only of the stream; and as its orthography is the same as that of a tributary of the Yellow River in Honan, which is of greater length, and connected with historical associations, it seems best to apply to the lesser stream the name of the great region it chiefly waters.* The Tiéchiu river is said by the Swatau people to extend to within forty miles of Canton city, by which doubtless they mean, that its navigable portion is that distance from the navigable portion of the Tungkiang. It is by this channel that the Bohea and Anko teas reach Canton, being brought down the Nine-deagon river to Chang-chau, and thence

* Han, the name we venture to discard, is not destitute of historical interest. It commemorates the services of a former prefect, Han Yu, who subsequently became one of the most distinguished statesmen of his age, that is to say, the early part of the ninth century. At that time the country was sparsely settled, and the delta was infested by voracious crocodiles, which preyed much upon the inhabitants, who, to oppose the monsters, were in the habit of casting into the waters annually a living man. Han Yu abolished this cruel custom. The legend says, that after presenting a hog and a goat in sacrifice, the Prefect wrote an address to the spirits of the stream, the purport of which was, that if the crocodiles continued their visits, volleys of poisoned arrows should be discharged into the river. What with menacing and weeding, Han Yu succeeded in ridding the region of its pest, which rendered human sacrifices no longer necessary. He was doubtless a man far in advance of the rude and superstitious people whom he ruled, and it is gratifying to find that his name has been embalmed in local history; but as it is applied to other objects besides a certain portion of the river, his memory can afford to allow the substitution of Tiéchiu for Han, particularly as the latter is not in common use.

by canals to the Tiéchiu. Foreigners have ascended it forty miles from its mouth, and described it at that distance as four or five fathoms deep, and so wide that its low banks were scarcely visible from the middle of the stream. The prefecture of Tiéchiu includes nine cities, with towns and villages in such close contiguity that one or more is ever in sight. Probably there is not on the globe a more densely populated region than this plain. Sugar, not an original production of the place, is cultivated almost to the exclusion of rice, at least to such an extent as to call for remonstrance from several native authors. Employment has been afforded to a large fleet of junks in conveying sugar to the North, and in bringing in return cargoes of bean-cake, grain, skins, and other northern products. A brisk trade has also been carried on with the West Coast and the Straits.

Hai-yang, the principal town of the Tiéchiu or Chau-chau† prefecture, on the Tiéchiu (Han) river, some 46 miles from its mouth, is surrounded by a wall about $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles in circumference: it has seven gates, and was erected in the middle of the eleventh century. The population may be estimated at about five hundred thousand. A bridge thrown over the river exhibits a curious combination of the fixed and floating styles in use for this purpose in China. Stone piers have been carried out from either side to points where the river becomes deep and the current strong; the interstice is filled up with eighteen boats lashed side by side; over this structure passes without cessation a double stream of pedestrians. Many temples exist to the memory of Han Yu, the great crocodile expeller, and several also to commemorate the feat of a district magistrate who, some seven hundred years ago, determined to emulate that distinguished prefect. There were in his day two rocks near Haiyang, which, according to the concurrent testimony of geomancers, not only diverted felicitous influences from the city, but occasioned fire, flood, famine, pestilence, and all the ills that towns are subject to. At one time a thousand men were employed to remove these calamitous rocks, but the undertaking failed however. Wang Yuen accomplished the work with one hundred men and erected a bridge with the stones. Beneath one of the rocks there was a resemblance to a human head, and beneath the other two characters signifying "Luck returned."

Without exceeding our limits we cannot do more than name the cities in this *fu* or prefecture, which are,—Haiyang, Chauyang Kieyang, Jauping, Hwuilai, Tapu, Chiinghai, Puning, Fung-shun, (according to the Mandarin pronunciation,) and Namoa. There is however according to the topography of the country a blessed spot that deserves celebrity greater than our pen can impart.

† Chau-chau is the mandarin sound of the characters employed in writing the name of this prefecture, pronounced by the inhabitants Tiéchiu. We are often at a loss which to select, the local or the official sounds given to places. Localities with which foreigners have become acquainted through books or officers, get the mandarin; while those which have become known through intercourse with the residents, retain the patois sounds. Had Hongkong, for example, come to our acquaintances after the former fashion, it would have been called Hiang-kiang.

It is the "mosquito-dispelling stone" at Jauping some two or three yards in width, of no given length; over which merciless phlebotomists never hover! This prophylactic virtue is confined to the surface of the place of refuge, for we are told that if a limb be extended beyond the margin it is liable to be pierced and poisoned.

Swatau (Shihtau) is the port of the aforementioned cities, in Ching-hai district, about ten miles below the city. It is an unwallled town, with a population of about fifty thousand, distant southerly from Amoy 120, and northerly from Hongkong 175 miles.

There are certain districts in China, the natives of which possess characteristics which give them celebrity throughout the Chinese world. Those of Tiéchiu, for example, are noted for maritime daring and turbulence, traits which they certainly possess; whether they merit or not the reproach of being particularly unintellectual and lascivious, applied to them by their countrymen, we are unable with our present knowledge to aver. Infanticide certainly prevails among them to a great extent, inasmuch that although thousands emigrate every year never to return, males are in excess. Clannish feuds are extremely frequent, as well also as insurrections. A few years ago there was a formidable rising of the Triads, which was repressed with much difficulty; and more recently there have been insurrections not less sanguinary than those of Shanghai, Amoy, and Canton. Those best acquainted with the coast believe that vessels in distress and the shipwrecked will find little favour from the inhabitants, who have often exhibited hostile feelings towards foreigners cast on their shores. It belongs to our subject to state, chiefly as an extenuating plea, that no small provocation has been afforded. With recklessness shipmasters have been known to cut the nets adrift, thereby causing an immensity of labour and depriving fishermen for weeks of the means of earning an honest livelihood.

The infraction of the treaty by the English in their continued occupation of Namoa as a rendezvous for Receiving vessels, was the subject of earnest remonstrances by Keying to the English Plenipotentiaries Sir H. Pottinger and Sir J. F. Davis. The Imperial Commissioner fixed six months; which period he was persuaded to extend to ten, for the removal of buildings, sheds, and the like, erected by the opium traders. He says in one of his communications (not daring to introduce the word Opium, an ignored matter since the War) "foreign merchants remaining at places not named in the treaty will certainly have clandestine transactions with traitorous natives, and defraud the revenue by smuggling." The Plenipotentiaries successively notified British subjects, that by remaining at Namoa, they not only forfeited all claims to protection, but rendered themselves amenable to the penalties of one of Her Majesty's Orders in Council. Thus the matter ended. The prohibited traffic was carried on at Namoa until 1852-3, when the fleet changed its position for the Swatau anchorage, about seven miles distant.

Subsequently, on account of the hordes of pirates infesting the China sea, native merchants have been compelled to charter foreign vessels to carry on the coasting trade, which at once rendered

ed this port a place of resort for square-rigged vessels, owned generally by Straits Chinamen—British subjects.

Anterior to the appearance of opium vessels in the Tiéchiu river, Swatau had become a place of note as the port where labourers were found in most abundance by those engaged in what is called the *Coolie Trade*. "Coolie," we would here remark is a mis-nomer when applied to any class of Chinamen. It is an Indian word applied to a low caste and no more belongs to a Chinese labourer than to the proletary class of Europe. Chinese "Coolie-brokers" at Amoy, with the connivance, it is alleged, of foreign merchants, practised so much fraud and cruelty in carrying on this modified slave trade, as to goad the people into a riot, which resulted in loss of life from English marines, and in the transfer of the trade

from that port to Swatau. These various circumstances contributed to make Swatau what it has become, a place of resort for many foreign vessels. Of late, there have been a dozen or more constantly in port, giving it the appearance of a thriving place, but affording at the same time unmistakable signs of extreme distress. The presence of one class of vessels proves the prevalence of the fatal vice of opium-smoking; that of another, evinces the impotency and worthlessness of the rulers; while a third, showing an eagerness of the common people to quit the fruitful soil, indicates deep and wide-spread misery. Being frequented by every flag, the non-recognition of Swatau as a port and the consequent absence of authority renders it liable to become the scene of frequent disorder.

154.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF THE INSURRECTION IN CHINA,

By D. J. MACGOWAN, M.D.

No. I.

Letter of the viceroy of Chihli: progress of the patriots: massacre of a descendant of Confucius and suite: and of Manchu troops: new auxiliaries to the conquering host.

Since those daring men quitted their mountain homes in Kwang-si they have experienced very few reverses, but no where has their advance been so rapid as in the imperial province of Pechili, where city after city has succumbed to their prowess almost without resistance. A succinct account of a series of disasters to the imperial cause is given in a letter from *Shin*, the viceroy of Chihli in a letter dated October 18th addressed to *I*, the viceroy of the provinces of Kiangnan and Kiangsu, the substance of which was communicated by the latter to an officer in Chihkiang, on the day of its reception November 18th;—we have been permitted to peruse such parts of that letter as were not deemed confidential:

“His Excellency *Shin* states that there was a battle on the 22d September in which many were killed and wounded on both sides. At 2 o'clock in the morning of the following day, during a violent gale from the north, the robbers made their way into *Wúkiang* [about 200 miles south of Peking] and crossed the *Húto* burning places on their route. On the —th they entered the west gate of *Hienhien* and passed out at the north gate to the prefectural city of *Hokien* [410 le from the capital] where they cleared the public offices of every thing of value. Wang, the district magistrate destroyed himself. The district city of *Kiauhó* also fell into their hands, whereupon they put to death *Kung* the district magistrate and about forty of his people. The mother of that officer experienced greater cruelty because she scolded the rebels. Next they burnt the town of *Pohlau*, and pushed on to *Nánpí*, thence to its prefectural city and meeting with no resistance they came to *Tsangchau*. *Chín* led out three thousand Manchu soldiers to oppose them, after fighting from 7 to 12 A.M., the brigands retreated. Our troops had not pursued them far, before they were surrounded by a party of the robbers who had been lying in ambush; another body meanwhile taking ad-

vantage of this misfortune took possession of the city, *Chín* was made prisoner and nailed alive upon a frame on the top of the wall: the Manchus young and old were all put to death. Here they enlisted above two thousand villainous salt coolies who had *Cháng Shúpiáu* for their chief. This wretch is a military graduate of *Nánpí*, who had been imprisoned for dealing in opium, and thus seeks to revenge himself by leading this flock of *hiau* [unfilial birds which eat their parents]. On the 28th *Tsinghien* was captured, the next day *Tsinghai* also fell [two cities in *Tientsin* and on the 30th September* they arrived at *Tientsin*. His Excellency *Shin* being entrenched half a stage distant from the city: no battle has yet taken place. The banner of the rebels contains the words in large characters “Great Peace for the Celestial Kingdom. *Lin* Assistant Minister of the Board of Revenue” wherever he comes, issues proclamations to tranquilize the inhabitants. Several spies have been apprehended at *Kinchau* in *Hokien*, who were engaged in drawing maps of the country. The districts in that quarter are all well guarded by forts; mines have been prepared in many places which can be exploded any moment: two thousand volunteers have been enlisted, to join the army of fifty thousand men. These arrangements, and this force have served to arrest the further advance of the rebel gang. Above thirty thousand families have fled from the seat of war. *Tientsin* has on one side forty sail of pirate vessels, on another the *Shensi* robbers from *Wutai*, and elsewhere the Kwang-si brigands; thus there is trouble from every quarter. The rebel king has taken up his abode at *Paoting fú* [330 le S.W. of Peking]. The emperor” * * *

The concluding portion of this communication relates to arrangements made for the safety of *Hên-fung*. With the exception of some probable errors in the dates, the letter may be regarded as perfectly accurate in its statements. *Kung* the magistrate who was put to death together with his family and followers, was a descendant of the sage *Kung fú tzé*:—Confucius. His illustrious descent should have preserved him from such a fate, it is to be hoped that, it did not render him more obnoxious to the ire of the patriot host.

* 30th October, according to the *Peking Gazette*.—
ED: N.-C.H.

No. II.

*Oppressive measures for raising money: the last
important appeal for subscriptions: critical
posture of affairs at Peking.*

For several years the main difficulty of the Chinese government has been the want of money, while in the means devised for replenishing an exhausted treasury it has done much to forfeit the respect of the country, particularly as great incapacity has been manifested in the disbursement of funds raised by a species of forced contribution, and by the sale of offices and honors. With the advance of the revolutionists that want has increased, and now, impelled by sense of danger and helplessness, the Manchu despot comes again before the race which he holds in subjection and craves silver on any terms. This last appeal of the unscrupulous Manchus resembles that made by the Mongolian brigands to the unlucky stranger who falls into their hands; "my son," or, "brother, kindly lend me your purse, and please spare me those garments hanging about you!" for, notwithstanding the honeyed accents in which it is conveyed, it strikes all men of property with consternation. The possession of wealth in China is often the very reverse of a fortune, which many at the present juncture find to be too true. The case of the most estimable of the citizens of Ningpo may be cited in illustration of this. Mr. Fung the well-known druggist, whose business-transactions extend to every part of the empire, is harassed, in the name of the emperor by all the officers in the province for a contribution fixed at above four millions of dollars which is about the value of his entire property. He is willing under pressure, to part with about one fourth of all he is worth, which indeed is all the court of Peking demand. Fung having been represented as possessing fourteen millions of dollars. When the last contribution was made, the provincial officers were required to send up a list of capitalists in their respective regions, and the amount possessed by each. Our friend on account of his extensive business-transactions and his well-known liberality was supposed to have a boundless income. There are several men in this part of the country possessed of greater wealth who are mulcted for much smaller sums; yet, as Fung is a generous, public-spirited man, and has made several munificent donations for objects of general utility, including aid to Tau-kwang on account of the English war, he has become a mark for the northern hunters. So far as promises of office and titles, can go he has every inducement to comply with the imperial behest, but these, the merchant prince very lightly esteems; he fears too, that he may thereby incur the displeasure of the victorious revolutionary party, but as imprisonment and confiscation are threatened; the only question involved in the pending controversy relates to the amount of the contribution, so called. It is a common complaint that the country has of late been greatly impoverished, and certainly, if the comparative scarcity of silver proves anything, the lamentation is not groundless, for the value of sycee silver, or of dollars has increased many per cent, owing to the "leaking out" of the precious metal in exchange for that drug which the native patriots so religiously proscribe. Accord-

ing to the most reliable accounts from the northern Capital, the emperor soon after the date of the following document was reduced to straits which no amount of money could relieve. Tae-ping-wangs' army having for so many months intercepted the usual supplies transmitted by way of the grand Canal to Peking, and the imperial government having brought, it is said, about two hundred thousand men and almost as many horses from Mongolia and Manchuria, a fearful dearth of provisions was experienced where the imperialists are making their last stand. Peking is almost wholly deserted by its inhabitants, arrests and executions of suspicious persons are so frequent as to spread gloom and terror among those who remain.

The appeal for a new contribution to which reference has been made, being the latest communication which Hien-fung has made to the country now apparently slipping through his grasp, seems of sufficient interest to warrant translation. It comes before the people of Chih-kiang in the form of a proclamation issued by the provincial treasurer, and the Salt Commissioner under instructions from governor Wang, who on November 15th received a despatch from the Board of Revenue dated September 2nd, containing the imperial declaration in the following strain.—"Since the origin of the insurrection, the increase of military expenditure has been enormous, involving an outlay of several tens of millions of taels, [at least fifty millions of dollars] for averting harm from the people. The rebels now hemmed in at Nanking, and Ching-kiang, have been reduced to a state of extreme distress; and as for those who have ventured north of the river, they can be cleared away in a day and a night. But as the various expenses which the suppression of the horde will entail renders further provision necessary to meet the exigency; let the viceroys and governors of Shan-si, Shen-si, Kwang-tung and the other provinces [not distracted by rebels] issue exhortations calling on the people to contribute money for defraying these special outlays. In order to stimulate to exertion, let it be generally known that special favors are to be accorded to the provinces and departments by increasing the number of graduates to which they are entitled. [as explained in a former imperial declaration, this means, that a district which contributes about three hundred dollars shall at the ensuing examination have an extra Siu-tsai, and a province from which three thousand dollars are received, shall be entitled to an additional *Kiu-jin*: for larger sums, the propriety of making this increase perpetual shall be a subject for future consideration.]

Sang-keh-lin-chin, [since appointed generalissimo,] to-day handed up a memorial, asking that the officers belonging to Shan-si, Shen-si, Szchuen and Kwang-tung residing at Peking be sent to their respective provinces to raise subscriptions. The said prince is aware of the necessity which exists for procuring funds, and is obviously anxious to hasten and facilitate this matter. I think however, that this being a duty devolving, on the great provincial officers, for the discharge of which they are responsible, they should not be absolved from its performance. If it be entrusted to subordinate officers, they and their superiors

will be staring at each other and nothing will be done, to meet the present emergency. Therefore, let the officers of each province proceed forthwith to make collections, and also to draw on those concerning whom memorials have been transmitted to the Board of Revenue. [referring to capitalists like Mr. Fung.] It behoves the said officers of every grade, to act in unison, and to apply themselves sedulously, with united strength and combined energy in raising contributions which shall be employed in wreaking vengeance on the enemy. The contributions which have been made for this purpose in Shan-si and Shien-si amount to no more than two or three millions of dollars, which is truly sufficient for the maintenance of the army in those provinces. Much zeal and public spirit have been manifested in those comparatively poor regions, such feelings being common, the work can be easily accomplished, without dispersing officers into every quarter. Let the viceroys and governors act promptly, that the robbers may be clean swept away and the whole land quieted. I have great hopes of you officers. Let this declaration be made known. Respect this."

Here follow instructions from the Hang-chau authorities much to the same effect, on the strength of which capitalists like Mr. Fung are made to suffer the sequestration of a large amount of property, as if they were delinquents to government. The best informed Chinese state that in addition to the want of money and the want of rice, Hien-fung experienced soon after the date of this his last communication to the country difficulties of a graver character. Divisions exist in the imperial clan; some members of which aspire to the slippery station which the present incumbent seems quitting; several attempts moreover have been made on the life of the unfortunate young emperor, who has retired to Chin-teh, or Jeh-ho, leaving his uncle the Né-shing-wang in charge of the Chinese Capital. Little reliance is placed by the Manchus on their Mongolian auxiliaries, as these restless nomads firmly believe the empire is fated again to become the possession of their race; the only uncertainty in their minds relates to the period when this long expected event is to transpire. Such being the aspect of affairs at the north, Tae-ping-wang can hardly fail of success in his sublime enterprise.

No. III.

General indifference to the result of the conflict: Measures adopted in various cities for defence: Hang-chau literati: Disorderly conduct of Manchu soldiers: Lawyers and litigation: Scholars and misdemeanors: Money-lending and usury.

It may be matter of surprise to some observers of passing events in China, that an attempt so near its consummation, of throwing off a foreign yoke, and of expelling a hostile race should awaken no enthusiasm among the masses. When the Yuen or Mongolian dynasty was overthrown, the people were not, at least to the same extent as now, quiescent spectators of the struggle. The existing indifference to the issue of the pending conflict, is attributable, apart from the apathetic character of the nation, to the tolerably just rule of the conquerors, also, and mainly, to

the peculiar attitude assumed by the insurgents, who, aiming at the expulsion of the Manchus as a subordinate object, are intent on combatting the most cherished prejudices of their countrymen. Exaggerated representations of the iconoclasts have been sedulously disseminated among the literati, so as to excite wide concern for the safety of the existing government, and deep hatred against its enemies. Hence, there has been no rising of the people, nor any wavering of loyalty among the officers: events at Amoy and Shanghai, afford, as regards the former only apparent exceptions, while they have rendered conspicuous the fidelity of the latter to their imperial master. The insurgents in those cities like their unsuccessful fellows at Ningpo and elsewhere, have been actuated by no sense of duty, and guided by no ennobling principles: the epithet "robbers" bestowed on the Kwang-si men, aptly describes the character of all active enemies of the Ta-tsing dynasty who are not numbered among the adherents of Hung-siu-tsuen, and on account of their proceedings might be rejected from a history of the insurrection proper; it can be useful only as it throws light on the condition and prospects of the country. The circumstances attending the successful efforts of insurgents at Shanghai and Amoy are sufficiently known, but the failures of plotters against government, having occurred in districts beyond the field of foreign observation have not been narrated, and as these are not destitute of interest, we have selected for remark the cities of Hang-chau and Ningpo, as illustrating the state of those portions of the empire adjacent to or not far removed from the march of the revolutionary army.

Hang-chau, the renowned and wealthy capital of Chih-kiang, was thrown into great alarm when news of the fall of Nanking was received, the timid and peace-loving inhabitants were willing to make any sacrifice by which hostile bodies might be kept beyond their borders, and they responded to appeals from the authorities for subscriptions with alacrity; having pictured to their imagination the horrors of sieges in former ages, as vividly as if they had occurred in their own times. The panic was exceeded only by that which seized them when their maritime cities were captured by the English. Removal from the city was prohibited by the provincial officers, else it would have been deserted, every effort was also made on their part to inspire hope and to lead to the belief that the emperor would soon crush the impious host arrayed against him and his children; by measures of this kind and by the enrolment of a strong militia force, the tears of the people were allayed and the city gradually succeeded almost to its usual quiet condition. This was again disturbed when intelligence of the fall of Shanghai was received. The representatives of the people, as the literary graduates may be styled, petitioned for authority to organize an additional force drawn from their own body to aid the Manchu garrison in guarding the gates; their proposition was promptly accepted and made known in the following proclamation from the magistracy of the two districts composing the provincial city.

"An important proclamation in relation to arrangements for public safety. — Inasmuch as

Hang-chau is the resort of men both good and bad from every quarter, and those traitors the members of the Double Sword Society having gnawed their way from Shanghai to Chih-kiang and particularly into the neighborhood of Ningpo, where they are distributing checks and raising ensigns, it behoves us, although we are as yet undisturbed by these abandoned wretches to be on our guard against them, for it is hard to say what wickedness they would not perpetrate if they had the power. In view of this state of things the provincial graduates Messrs. * * *, and the prefectural graduates Messrs. * * * have petitioned for permission to establish a corps to aid in watching the gates and in observing the conduct of the military, the members of which shall be men of rank, literary and purchased. The proposition is truly excellent and timely. Let subscriptions be raised for defraying the necessary expenses. It is enjoined on soldiers and volunteers that they exercise constant vigilance, as they are now under stricter surveillance. These urgent instructions are issued that the aforesaid scholars may proceed at once with their plans, so that tares being rooted out, good plants may thrive."

Temporary buildings were erected at the gates within a few steps of the houses of the Manchu guards for the accommodation of those scholars who were able to get a place in the corps:—the pay being 300 cash per diem, there were not many who did not covet such a situation. The Manchu guards who are at all times on duty at the gates welcomed the literary assistance, and as they anticipated a massacre of their nation, they rejoiced in every measure taken for protecting the city. Every suspicious-looking person and every traveller entering Hang-chau is interrogated first by Manchu soldiers, and next by Chinese scholars. Stringent proclamations are addressed in Manchu to the garrison to avoid every cause of offence against the people and to avoid dissensions among themselves.

The local authorities from time to time addressed cautions and homilies to the people, with the design of repressing every vice and irregularity calculated to disturb the tranquillity of the neighborhood. Some of these are worth translating, as they serve to exhibit the Chinese as they are drawn by themselves. To begin with one addressed by the governor, ostensibly to Manchu and Chinese soldiers, but intended for the former whose misdemeanors are sometimes a source of discontent to the inhabitants generally.

"Stringent orders are hereby issued to the military in order to tranquillize the people. Manchus who may be on duty without the precincts of their city walls, and Chinese who have occasion to leave their quarters, are all under obligations to treat the people as their own relatives and to render strict obedience to the laws, so as properly to protect the city. There are some soldiers so vicious, as to disregard the laws, creating disturbances in the streets, concerning whom I receive daily complaints and who it is manifest, are never provoked by the people, none of whom have the temerity to seize the tiger by the beard. It is stated that you soldiers snatch things in the streets, eat and drink at refectories without payment, carry off articles from shops paying only half the price demanded and it is said moreover,

that you steal fruit and vegetables in the fields and pilfer wood from tombs and hills; prowling about in gangs of ten like wolves and tigers, making the people who are unable to obtain redress swallow their tears. How can they endure such things? Cases of this kind have come under my own observation, so that I cannot restrain my feelings; besides, therefore, enforcing the imperial laws against disorderly soldiers it is incumbent on me to make known to soldiers and people; that hereafter the military shall be compelled to conform to law, and on no account suffered to molest the citizens. If soldiers are found forcing bargains, stealing or practising any impositions, the people are at liberty to apprehend and bring them to me, when they shall be condignly punished: but let the people avoid sinning against themselves by getting up false charges against the troops."

It is a common remark of the Chinese that the sufferings they experience from the cruelty and rapacity of their own soldiers, cannot be exceeded by that of any enemy; painful corroborative evidence of which has been furnished by the siege of Shanghai.

Members of the legal profession, if the term be allowable, do not seem to occupy a higher position in official eyes than the rank and file above alluded to, as will appear from the following issued by the prefect.—

"An exhortation to the people to discard litigation, to the intent that they should quietly mind their own business. It is by following your calling that your wants are supplied, and good times preserved. How is proper application to business shown? Clearly, by avoiding law-suits:—Of important concerns, this stands foremost. Being related as it were to the people it is incumbent on me to caution you all on this matter, that you may take care of your families, and be not envious, or easily incensed and that you avoid every notion likely to lead to litigation. Beware of designing lawyers and other mischief-makers, who would cajole you into useless law-suits, and do not be intimate with police-runners, who act as agents for the lawyers, for all these are men whose demands can never be satisfied. Do not put your persons in jeopardy of being made to smart: discard not the comforts of home, for the taverns and tea-shops about the courts, nor give up the happiness of your neighbourhoods merely to saunter hither and thither. That money which is extorted by lawyers and which is absorbed in fees to officers, had much better be laid aside for the payment of taxes. By so doing your trade will prosper, you will be happy, and what felicitous times we shall have! On the other hand remember that a single word on record in court can hardly be drawn out by nine oxen [or it may take nine tenths of your property to get out of the difficulty in which a single litigious step may involve you.] It is a sure way of mispending means, wasting time, begging trouble and of adding to all other misfortunes. If a hair of your skin is plucked out, do not make it an occasion for bringing a long lying rigmarole from the lawyers; particularly on other than court days. As things are now, I can attend only to affairs involving life and death, robberies and such like grave matters; but family squabbles, wranglings about

fields, marriage portions and the like must be settled amongst yourselves, and then the occupation of the lawyers will be gone,—which is my constant desire.”

When the prefect was treating of lawyers, the intendant had a few words for seedy scholars, who were also thought to be dangerous subjects at that juncture; it was communicated in a proclamation intended for all classes.

“As industry and economy are of primary importance in a family, so these virtues are of consequence to society, and particularly among literary men who stand at its head; who though they may be destitute of property yet have sufficient ability to maintain their families, and therefore need not despond or be ashamed even if their queues have dwindled away and become grey through age, without having attained a degree. They should not allow themselves to be decoyed by gamblers or led into places of ill-fame. It is now specially enjoined on all you people, scholars, soldiers, husbandmen and traders to eschew gambling and fornication; for, besides breaking the law by these vices, you squander your property, dissipate your inheritance and entail disgrace on your persons. The springs of misery which they conceal cannot be enumerated. Moreover, these misdemeanors are sources of theft and robbery: gambling-houses and brothels are the homes of robbers; that the penal code prohibits such things every family knows, and no individual can be ignorant of their illegality. It appears that policemen are charged with conspiring to entice respectable people to those establishments, and when there seizing them as criminals, releasing them only on the payment of money: now, this matter has been investigated, and the result shows that vagabonds are in the habit of passing themselves off as policemen; none in our offices having been guilty of any such practices. All such places however shall be visited and you are cautioned to beware, as there shall be no discrimination made of those apprehended under these circumstances.”

Soldiers, lawyers and scholars having been duly admonished by the higher officers, the district magistrate undertook to address the priests, pedlars, money-lenders and various other classes. The sacerdotal fraternity were put on their good behavior and warned against harboring doubtful characters, and women were forbidden to visit the temples.

One of the consequences of the civil war raging is an increase of the rate of interest, to restrain which the following was extensively placarded.

“Strict prohibitions are hereby issued against usury that the poor may be preserved from oppression, and the rich from involving themselves in trouble. The interchange of property is in perfect accordance with human nature, and the pawning of it is most beneficial. Pawn-brokers have a safe and lucrative business; in a myriad of loans they lose nothing, and they are therefore not at liberty to demand more than two per cent *per mensem*, except of those who come empty-handed, when three cash and no more is to be charged for the use of one hundred cash each month: At the expiration of twenty-four months the deposited articles are

to be sold. Whoever lends money must conform to these rules, whether pawn-brokers or others. Truly there is happiness for the liberal and generous: let all act in accordance with these instructions and there will be no discord; no subsequent quarrel to repent of.”

The authorities of course were utterly impotent in attempting to control the money market: six per cent per month for small sums, was a common charge among money-lenders. Perceiving the honest pawn-brokers were reaping, the mandarins drew on them for donations accordingly.

In putting the city to rights, manifold were the proclamations addressed to the people whose courage began to revive in consequence at the official bustle around them; one more of these will perhaps be borne with, as it illustrates the paternal character of local government, a reflection, in theory at least, of the supreme power.

“The district magistrate issues instructions in relation to frugality, in order to provide against scarcity. It is clear that Heaven’s way is to send fruitful years and years of dearth, consequently there are seasons of abundance and of scarcity, and that men ought to act accordingly, by laying in stores for times of need; so that if perchance there should be such a flood as that of Yau [of nine years duration] or a drought like that of Ching-tung [of seven years duration] the dispersion of families would not become necessary. Now, in consequence of the beneficence of Heaven, and the virtue of the emperor, the past harvest was abundant, and wheat and rice are plenty; each family has enough, and having full stomachs all are joyful. But lest this should lead to forgetfulness of economy and extravagant habits, you are hereby instructed to part with your store for articles of necessity only: never, merely to fill up an ulcer cut out a portion of the heart’s flesh. Heaven provides men with plenty, but they perversely waste it. On this point I cannot but feel sorrowful; it is incumbent on me earnestly to exhort you, and to issue this proclamation that all classes may understand, that henceforth they are to consider that every article costs human toil, and also that voluptuousness, covetousness, intemperance, gambling or opium-smoking are entirely prohibited, and further, you are all to remember that in matters of marriage, or of funerals, you are not to be profuse. There should be no excess of ornament, but a regard to economy in these things so important in themselves. Born into the world as men, it is designed that you should enjoy the happiness of earth, to which end bad seasons must be provided against: do not therefore, readily part with your supplies of food; do not discard the voice of your officers to your own injury. Let the villagers exhort each other on these subjects, that each may acquire merit and enjoy lasting peace and happiness. Truly, I expect this much of you all.”

No. IV.

Plans for relieving the treasury: Paper money: A new coinage: Imperial assent.

Reserving for a future occasion what remains to be stated concerning insurrectionary proceedings in Chih-kiang, we shall revert to the capital, which affords a finer field of study than the camp. The hardest worked, if not also the boldest officers of the empire, are those connected with the Board of Revenue: whose duty it is, "to aid the emperor in sustaining the people, by levying and collecting dues and taxes, distributing salaries and allowances, attending to rates for receipts and disbursements at the granaries and treasuries, and to the commissariat and the transportation by land and water of public property." Of the various expedients which have been considered for replenishing the exhausted treasury, two have obtained the imperial sanction, and are now being carried into effect: These are the issue of paper money* together with a new coin, and the disposal on a large scale of subgraduate degrees. Official documents in relation to these financial schemes having come into our possession we give them a place in these contributions, not only because they exhibit an important phase of the present struggle, but for their general interest to those who make the polity of this great nation their study.

Respectful memorial of the Board of Revenue, petitioning the imperial sanction to the projects for extending the government notes to the provinces; for putting the denary coin (when cast like the model) in circulation; and to a former request, that banks should be established in every province to facilitate their circulation, and to bring them into general use. Looking up we entreat for it the sacred glance.

In the second month of the present year [April 1853], the ministers of the Board collectively memorialized to have a trial of paper money first made at the Capital; causing every separate disbursement to consist, in part of notes, and allowing payments into the treasury to be made, in the same manner; (i.e. 80 per cent in silver and 20 in notes) and to wait and observe the effects of the new circulating medium. They have again deliberated, and now memorialize for its extension to the provinces, and the adoption of regulations to render it uniform; also, that the term *chau* be no longer employed, but that *piau*, be the designation; that traders and people may put confidence in them, and use them daily as ordinary money, [*chau*, is the old name of government paper money, which was introduced six hundred and eighty-four years ago, and served a good purpose until the bad faith of repudiating emperors of the Mongolian race brought it into disrepute. *Piau*, the term now proposed for official notes, is the name given to the issues of private banks, promissory notes, pawn-broker's tickets, &c., and is connected with unfavourable associations.] This is the substance of the Board's deliberations on the experiment of silver-notes, or notes representing silver.

The Board has also considered again the memorial of the Vice-Censor Ho-shin and others, for a modification of the (former) paper currency. This

document proposes the establishment at Peking of a government bank, in which shall be deposited the castings at the mint of every demi-decade, as capital, together with the silver deducted by the Board of Revenue in disbursing funds for the payment of officers and soldiers, and in all outlays, for which notes have been given. This relates to our plans for copper-notes or notes representing copper.

Again, in April the Board deliberated on the imperially approved memorial of Hung-chung, the newly appointed minister of the Supreme Court of Judicature, *to wit*,—that one demi-decade of every month should be set apart for casting at the mint three thousand nine hundred strings of ten cash pieces, according to the accompanying pattern, [a string consists of one thousand of these denaries each being two-thirds of a cent: and the monthly amount proposed to be cast is about equal to \$20,100.] The memorial requests that this money be employed in all public disbursements, two-tenths of every expenditure to consist of the new coin, and the balance, in common, copper money: also that in all payments into the treasury, the same proportions be allowed. This is what the Board recommends respecting the large coin experiment.

Further, in the month of June the memorial of the Censor Kia Shi-ling, was considered, which proposes, that the reduction of 20 per cent in silver payments from the treasury, (for which notes are given) be deposited temporarily in the government bank, for keeping it supplied with copper coin. When silver-notes are presented, they are to be cashed either with copper-notes, or copper-cash, according to the market price of silver; that confidence may be placed in the silver-notes; but silver is in no case to be paid out. If private bankers choose to cash the notes with silver, they are to do so. The said bank, shall also procure an additional supply of copper, to increase the number of furnaces, for casting ten and fifty cash pieces, so as to give stability to the paper currency. This is what we recommend for placing silver, copper coin and notes on a par.

On these subjects the Board memorialized at different times, and the imperial sanction has been accorded to them all, for trial at the Capital. It is now clear that the plan can be extended to the provinces. The ministers find that since the assembling of the army, funds have been transmitted from place to place without the least loss, but the provincial treasuries are entirely empty, and the difficulty of forwarding revenue dues has greatly increased; so that, not only is the Board constantly straitened, but all the treasurers are embarrassed; and now, while the rebel conflagration is still raging, there has been a break in the Yellow River: there is need also of reparation offices in several provinces; and the destitution of successive years to provide for: in fine, we daily hear of want of money in one quarter or another. There is however, no method of creating wealth. Yet we dare not sit still; for we think that ancient channels of wealth may be opened: and it is to this determination that the Board arrived, and it behoves us, and all other officers to unite our energies, and to yield no slothful compliance, so that further mischief be averted. For these reasons we have decided that the creation of paper

* N.C.H., No. 182.

money should be permanently extended from the Capital to the provinces. The notes being employed to supply the deficiency of silver; reliance must be placed on small and large copper coin, so that merchants and people seeing abundance of these will have confidence in copper-notes; and in silver notes likewise in consequence of their being redeemable in copper-notes, and coin. The silver-notes therefore will circulate on the strength of copper cash; the deficiency of which will be relieved by the new coin: and by relying on each other, the whole are to be kept in harmony. All the parts of the plan are so connected together, that no portion can be dispensed with.

Since the emission of the silver-notes, copper-notes and the large coin at the Capital in part payment by the treasury, there are none among the officers, soldiers, merchants or people who have not been pleased with them; all trust in and use them. Moreover, at the public works on the Yellow River they have been asked for, and also in Shing-king: it is obvious therefore, that the ancient system of paper-money is adapted to the present exigency, and is in accordance with men's feelings. It opens channels of wealth and is profitable to the people. The ministers having maturely considered the subject, request that the Board be allowed to issue government notes and large coin for the provinces according to the rules adopted for their circulation in the Capital; and according to the calculations made for various places: 120,000 taels for the largest provinces, 80,000 for those of medium size, and 60,000 for the smaller ones, the amount assigned to these to be increased if necessary by the Board. That the ministers issue the following despatch for expediting the matter, to the viceroys and governors, who shall forthwith direct the "provincial treasurers to establish banks in their respective capitals, with branches in crowded quarters, or where money is much used, or where troops are stationed and near the offices of district magistrates and then to issue a notification to capitalists, and traders to take the government notes. They are to place the banks under the supervision of a specially appointed upright intelligent officer; also, to make careful estimates of the items annually disbursed by government in the province, including the salaries and allowances of civil and military officers, commissariat expenses, grants for public works, and the purchases on account of Manchu and Chinese soldiers,—reporting to the Board, that notes may be transmitted for immediate use; to be paid out for the twenty per cent of silver retained on every disbursement. The silver thus deducted to be employed as capital for the mints, for the erection of new furnaces, the working of mines, or the purchase of copper, or copper utensils for casting new coin according to the adopted form which shall be deposited in the government bank for cashing silver-notes and copper-notes.

Silver-notes when presented for payment, are to be cashed, not by silver, but in copper cash and copper-notes according to the market value of standard silver. Taxes, custom-house dues, the Salt-gabel and all other payments into the provisional treasury together with ordinary and extraordinary contributions, may be made to the extent of 20 per cent in copper-notes and in the

large coin. In transmitting money from one province to another, or to the Board, copper-notes and the large coin may be employed, but silver-notes are not to be sent to the imperial treasury, because it is to supply the deficiency of silver in the provinces that many tens of millions are issued, and it is necessary they should be kept in circulation among the people. Those however, which have become torn, and obliterated by long use may be sent up for renewal. Should a large number be called for, the Board is to be apprised of the circumstance without delay. As in the paper-money method of former times, so now copper coin shall be the capital, and security for the notes. Selfish scheming officers will object to this, as impracticable, preferring silver currency because advantages accrue to themselves in paying, and receiving it by weight, while copper coin is counted, which precludes all trickery. But it has already been tried at Peking by all in the imperial service, and must be carried out in the provinces." Shall such instructions be issued? The imperial sanction is requested that orders be transmitted to the viceroys, civil and military governors to require the immediate compliance of the treasurers in their respective provinces with these measures. If it be vouchsafed, the Board will then reconsider the regulations adopted for circulating paper money at the capital, and make them apply to the provinces.

The Board being unacquainted with the monetary peculiarities of each province, it is requested that the said viceroys, governors and generals be commanded to make an immediate report on these particulars.

It is considered necessary to put the notes in circulation at once in Kan-suh, Yu-nan and Kweichau on account of the heavy expenditures in those provinces; and in Fung-tien, [Moukden] Chih-ly, Shan-tung, Shan-si, Shen-si, Chih-kiang, Fuh-kiên, Kwang-tung, and Sz-chuen provinces, they are needed as a precaution, and also to aid in other provinces as occasion requires.

Kiang-su, Gan-hwui, Kiang-si and Ho-nan where the military expenses are great; and Hu-peh, Hu-nan and Kwang-si where reparation is called for—these provinces, not having recovered their accustomed vigor, all need the advantages of this measure, to which every one should give a sincere and prompt compliance. Great gain will accrue from this perfect plan; or, if defects should be discovered, they can be easily removed, without impairing the system. Sincerely carried out, its results will answer all expectations.

Besides this subject of establishing banks for circulating government notes and large coin in the provinces, the Board have prepared another report, in relation to plans for distributing the paper money to the commissariat and paymaster departments to facilitate their disbursement.

Prostrate we hand up this carefully prepared report soliciting for it the imperial approbation. Hëen-fung 3d year,—September 5th.

The same day the vermilion pencil replied—"according to your deliberations, let it be quickly done. Issue orders to military governors, viceroys and governors to act heartily in the matter. I perfectly understand it. Let it be perpetual: to the profit of the state and the advantage of the people. Respect this."

The Board of revenue has further deliberated on a former report regarding regulations for the paper money experiment at the capital. The whole amount was 120,000 taels. Commencing on the 3d of June they were completed on the 4th of August. There are four kinds respectively denominated Heaven, Earth, Space, and Time, representing one, five, ten, and fifty taels respectively, and were issued from the treasury as part of its payments. They soon freely circulated in the capital. The Board now beg that to facilitate miscellaneous disbursements, a three tael note, bearing the designation, Sun, be issued and for this purpose they present this supplemental statement. September 5th,—this day was received the imperial rescript. "Be it as proposed. Respect this."

V.

Continuation of the monetary documents: Paper money for the army: Regulations for the experiment at Peking: Enactments to prevent counterfeiting: Government bankers.

Respectful report from the Board of Revenue. The ministers have decided to pray that an additional quantity of government notes be issued for immediate transmission to the commissary-generals and paymasters of each province, to make part of the payments of officers' salaries, soldiers' rations, and rewards, in order to facilitate disbursements in the army:—Prostrate they beg for the report the sacred glance. The ministers humbly opine that the subject of supplies is at the present time, one of pressing importance; and therefore, on the 19th of July they addressed a secret communication, containing a carefully prepared report, requesting that the government notes which have been issued at Peking should to a certain amount be distributed to the respective commissariats to be used instead of silver:—as is on record.

The ministers now find that it would not be convenient for the soldiers to employ paper money for their daily outlays; but the paymasters should pay all salaries, quarterly rations, allowances and rewards and also bills for provender salt, stores and all large outlays, in notes and silver, two parts of the former, to eight of the latter. The risk and inconvenience of transporting silver with the army will be avoided by the use of paper money. On the conclusion of military operations the notes may be redeemed by silver at the reparation offices where established: before returning to their respective provinces and departments, the military should receive notes payable at the treasury or reparation office nearest their place of abode:—an arrangement which will be highly beneficial to soldiers and officers as it will save them the inconvenience of carrying silver to and fro.

No notes except those issued for the army, should be cashed with silver, but in copper coin, new and old. When the bills redeemable in silver are presented (after the war) there should not be the least abatement or discount, but standard silver should be weighed out according to the denomination of the notes. The provincial, prefectural, and district treasurers, shall then cash all notes on presentation no matter for what department of the army they may have been disbursed, and apprise the Board of revenue of the payments as they occur. They shall now receive these

notes as contributions which may be made to the imperial treasury, in the proportion of 20 per cent, the balance being in silver. By this ingenious and excellent method the officers civil and military can suffer no loss in their notes, but be able to pass them as a legal tender: while it affords relief in extremity, changes dearth for abundance, and renders as it were the military disbursements an advantage. If the Emperor vouchsafes his approbation; the Board will forthwith order the officers entrusted with the preparation of the notes to continue and expedite their work: and besides the notes for emission from the provincial treasuries; to make the same kind for the commissariat department, to which the commanding officers shall affix their seals:—to prevent any confusion between the two classes of notes. The Board will anew make inquiries, and procure estimates of the amount of present expenditure at the various commissariats; as well also of the sums disbursed at the reparation offices, to ascertain the quantity of government notes which may be made available through these channels: and distribute them accordingly, so as to afford immediate relief. Instructions will be given to the officers and men that they are to receive salaries and pay whether much or little, partly in government notes: also, the commissary-generals will be required to make all purchases, and pay out all rewards with the same. Shall these disbursements be all made according to the rule of two parts of silver and eight parts notes? The said viceroys, and governors, and commissary-generals should deliberate, and report on the peculiar circumstances of their respective regions, that the details may be all understood and arranged. If at any place there should not be a sufficient quantity of notes, early notice must be given thereof to the Board. Soldiers wishing to purchase notes are to be accommodated to any extent, at their official value. Shall what we now recommend regarding an enlarged emission of notes, in order to aid the commissariat department be sanctioned, or not? Prostrate, we pray that the Imperial behest may be made known, for respectful obedience. A reverential report. September 3d 1853. The same day was received the Imperial declaration. "Let it be, according to your propositions. Respect this."

Regulations for the Government Note experiment at Peking.

1.—It has been decided to put government notes in circulation in the capital, on trial preparatory to their extension to the provinces.

2.—The salaries and allowances of all, below the footstools,—princes and nobles, Manchu and Chinese officers,—the expenditures of (one department of) the imperial household, and those of the public offices, together with outlays on public works, and all other disbursements excepting only soldiers' rations, shall be made from the treasury in notes and silver,—two parts of one, and eight parts of the other.

3. Payments into the treasury for land-taxes, customs and the like, and also ordinary and extraordinary subscriptions, may be made in notes in the same proportion.

4. All unsettled accounts of defaulters, may be cleared up by themselves or by the purchasers.

or their sureties with government paper-money and silver in like manner.

5. The silver portion of payments into and from the treasury shall be according to the standard, and with the balance of the treasury: the silver represented by the government notes is according to the standard and balance of that department.

6. Officers who take government notes to bankers to be exchanged for silver, or for copper-money, shall have them cashed according to their denomination, in standard silver, or in copper cash at the market value of silver, without discount.

7. Persons into whose possession the notes may come, shall be allowed to write on their back the date of their reception and the name of the person from whom they were received: but no scribbling can be permitted.

8. When notes are presented to the treasury which have become torn or, obliterated from long use they shall be sent to the bureau of the Board (which is charged with making notes,) for renewal: where one corner shall be torn off, and another note of the same mark and denomination issued in its stead.

9. There shall be four kinds of notes, viz., of one, five, ten, and fifty-taels respectively; representing silver of standard touch, to be reckoned according to the bi-tael balance of the capital. The one, and the five-tael notes shall form one variety, while another shall consist of the ten and fifty-tael notes. (Distinguishable by the color and quality of the paper.)

10. The notes shall be made of Corean paper, tai-tsen paper: those of one and five taels shall be eleven inches long, and seven wide; the ten and fifty-tael-notes fourteen inches long, and eight-and-a-half wide [English measurements.] In the middle of each note shall be printed—"WEIGHABLE BY THE PEKING BI-TAEL BALANCE: STANDARD SILVER-TAELS." Over the denomination shall be stamped the seal of the Board of Revenue: above, the words, "GOVERNMENT NOTES; BOARD OF REVENUE" in Manchu and Chinese characters: On the right, the name and number; and on the left the date. On the line dividing the left margin from the bill shall be stamped the seal of the Note Bureau, and marked with its flourish: On the dividing line of the right side shall be another Seal of the Board: here the margin shall be three inches wide to contain, the denomination, name, and number of the bill, forming its root; from which it shall be cut so as to leave about one-half of the last-named seal, the remaining part being on the margin, which shall be retained in the office. About one fourth of the lower part shall be a blank space, while all sides of the bills shall be embellished with dragons [the national insignia] and water: they shall be engraved on copper with indigo ink.

[In the invention of copper-plate engraving as in many other arts and discoveries, the Chinese anticipated Europeans: The Classics are sometimes wholly printed on copper.]

The foregoing were submitted to the emperor, and on the 5th April 1853, the imperial commands were received to wit.—"Hwá-shá-náh the censor and Wang Mau-ying of Shen-si, censor and intendant who together with the Board of Revenue, were previously appointed to deliberate

and report on plans for the emission of paper money. Hwá-shá-náh and the others having now presented the result of their deliberations, together with patterns of the notes, I have fully investigated the report, and the different regulations and give my sanction to the whole. Let it be done forthwith according to your propositions; beginning at the Capital, as an experiment; afterwards extending to the provinces in a uniform manner. To make government notes circulate as ingots of silver, or copper coin; the Board of Revenue must pay them out and receive them at their nominal value. Private notes shall continue to circulate among the people, as may be convenient, that commercial transactions may be carried on without any hindrance.—Thus, the state will be enriched, and the people be in possession of a good and convenient currency; it is necessary however, that between high and low there should be mutual confidence, that the system may be without defects and permanently continue. Let this, and the rest, be done according as proposed. Let the Board forthwith comply; and engrave a proclamation, to be delivered to the gendarmery bureau, [for Manchus] and to the prefect of Shun-tien-fú for the six district cities, for promulgation and respectful obedience. Respect this."

Also, on the 17th of April 1853, the Board of Punishment presented a report on circulating bad notes; which in substance is as follows. That the foremost evil, is that of counterfeiting, from which men must be deterred by severe laws, which should be made distinctly known. The newly made notes being connected with the prosperity of the state, should be guarded by graver enactments than those directed against the private casting of copper coin; and in punishment, there should be no distinction between the counterfeiting of bills of large or small amount. With severe laws people will not dare to trifle, and thus, the system may be perpetuated without detriment. Henceforth, if any are discovered secretly making notes, or palming them on others, the principal shall be imprisoned and decapitated; and all who are accessory to the felony, by aiding in the manufacture, and in circulating the bills, or to whom these things are known, shall be condemned as slaves to the military in Turkestan or Ili. When the counterfeit bills are completed, but not put in circulation, the leader shall be punished one degree lighter; receiving one hundred blows and be banished three thousand li: if the bills are found in an unfinished state, the principals shall be punished to a yet lighter degree,—with one hundred blows, and three years imprisonment; their accomplices commensurate with their guilt. By such stringent enactments, the lawless will be restrained, and paper-money will circulate without fraud. This day was received the Imperial reply "According to your decisions, let there be obedience for ever. Respect this."

Also, on June 10th 1853, some of the government notes were completed and submitted to Imperial inspection accompanied with the recommendation, that all miscellaneous payments into and from the treasury for sums below five taels be made in silver. This day the Imperial reply was received. "Let it be according to your decisions. The specimens of notes are retained for examination. Respect this."

June 19th 1853. The censor Kia Shi-hing presented a reconsidered memorial; praying, that, in order to assist the people in using notes, and to promote the paper-money experiment, there should be deposited temporarily with the government bankers as capital, the twenty per cent of silver retained on payments from the Treasury; for if the bankers, refuse to receive them, no one will place confidence in the bills, and they will not circulate a single day. The bankers should exchange the ingots for copper coin according to the market value of the silver; so that when silver-notes are brought they may be redeemed according to the current price of silver, in copper coin, or copper-notes, as the applicant may desire, by which means confidence will be placed in the government notes; and private bankers finding them as valuable as silver ingots or copper-money will be glad to receive them, and by all they will be taken as such. Thus, circulated by private bankers, and not requiring as silver, to be weighed, or tested, and being received in payment for taxes, customs and contributions, there will be none who will not be gratified with this circulating medium, which must have a wide extension. This day the Imperial reply was received. "According to your proposition. So be it. Respect this."

VI.

Continuation of the monetary documents: Unsuccessful attempts in former ages to introduce large coins: Copper denaries to be cast and forced on government officers and employés: Regulations of the government bank at Peking.

Regulations relating to ten-cash-pieces. The Board of Revenue having prayed for the appointment of an officer to be associated with them in deliberating on the coinage, received the Imperial reply. "Let Hang-ching, minister of the Supreme Court of Judicature, together with the Board, consider the subject, and prepare a lucid report thereon. Respect this."

Hang-ching minister of the Supreme Court of Judicature reported a preamble respecting large coin. "In former ages when large coins were employed, the best copper was selected for casting them; it is requested that that plan be now adopted; and that the obverse of the coins bear the characters, 'Hien-fung's valuable money,' and the reverse, 'worth five,' or 'ten,' not going beyond, 'one hundred.' On referring to the period extending from the Han dynasty to that of the Ming, [202 B.C. to 1636 A.D.] it appears that large coins when tried proved unserviceable and were discarded; excepting the hundred-cash-pieces cast under Chau-lih of Shuh [at Sz'-chuen about 202 A.D.] which history styles 'Treasury fillers.' On examination your slave finds that a want of correspondence between the nominal and real value of large coins caused those failures, and he prays that the Imperial commands be issued to the Board of Revenue, empowering it in the monthly appropriations to the army, and in all public disbursements to make the portion payable in specie consist of silver, ordinary copper money, and the new coin in certain proportions, and authorising taxes, customs and all treasury dues to be paid in the same manner;—thus circulating above and below, the new coin will not

occasion the least inconvenience. Let the relative proportions of specie to be employed, together with the details of the plan, be entrusted to the Board for consideration. Disbursing and receiving the large coin according to the same rule, will cause it to be valued by all, and to circulate freely. Let counterfeiting and all offences against the system be strictly interdicted, and it will become permanent." Your ministers find that the large coins often cast, and put in circulation, and as often ceasing to circulate, in former times, failed, either because their nominal, greatly exceeded their real values or, they were cast too heavy, and made worth more than they indicated:—being rendered unserviceable in both cases from want of accordance between principal and interest. It is now decided that, besides the ordinary coin, there be cast a denary, to weigh six *tsien*; [5 *drams* 48 *grains* troy] to be composed of seven parts of copper, to three of lead; and to be highly polished, by being ground by skillful workmen:—Such a coin will readily pass among the people, and be free of defects. One demi-decade in every month should be set apart at the mint for casting denaries, to the amount of 3,922 strings; that the amount may increase monthly and annually [a string contains 1,000 pieces, and as the small coin are worth the fifteenth of a cent each, the former are equivalent to \$6.75. The monthly castings of the new coin at the capital amount therefore to about \$26,700.

When some of the castings are completed they shall be submitted for Imperial inspection. The proportion of these ten-cash-pieces which should be paid out shall be considered by the Board in another report. The ministers also report on their reconsideration of the memorials of the censor Tsah Siau-loh, and others, some praying that issuing large coin, they should be made to represent ten, some that there should be hundred-cash-pieces, and others that thousand-cash-pieces should be cast. The ministers having examined the subject, found that in former dynasties, the large cash were over-valued, consequently, base people immediately counterfeited them which soon caused their circulation to cease: they recommended the trial of denaries, but fifty-cash-pieces might also be tried at the same time.—Hien-fung, 3rd year, 3rd moon, 18th day. (April 25th, 1853.) This day the Imperial declaration was received. "According to your deliberations, so let it be. Respect this."

Subsequently specimens of the new coin were handed up with a memorial, asking that if they meet the Imperial approbation, the demi-decade castings should accord with the pattern, and that no deterioration be allowed; that they, be paid out together with the ordinary coin in certain proportions, and that the people be allowed to return them in payments into the treasury in like manner; in order to economise copper, and afford a convenience to the people. By this means the large coin will daily increase in circulation. June 5th, 1853. This day was received the vermilion reply. "Be it according to your deliberations. The six specimens are retained for inspection. Respect this."

Also our Board memorialized on the proportion, of denaries to be employed in different disbursements, beginning with the 6th of July next.

The monthly appropriation to the department of the imperial household of two thousand strings of copper cash [about \$1,330] to consist of one hundred strings of denaries, and one thousand strings of ordinary money, [i.e. one half of the sum for monthly use in the palace—to be in the new coin] which will tend to give them value. The Manchu troops to be paid eight parts in ordinary money and two parts in denaries. The Eunuchs, and expenses, also the payments of the mint for materials, all to be at the same rate. The disbursements to public offices, and imperial body guards, the expenses of the stud, and outlays on public works to consist, (the specie portion) of seven parts new and three parts ordinary coin; to facilitate the circulation of the denaries. June 27th, 1853. The Imperial reply was received. "Be it as you propose. Respect this."

Regulations respecting the Government Bank at the Capital.

1. There shall be appointed for managing the New Bank, a Bank bureau consisting of three Manchu and three Chinese officers, with two secretaries; who, jointly at the close of every quarter shall certify to the good standing and solvency of the government bankers; and at the close of every year send up a statement of the issues and of the profits: giving the totals of each:—At the close of every quarter, the government bankers shall certify that the officers of the bureau, and their employés, have not privately loaned, or in any way embezzled the public funds: the vouchers shall be submitted to the Board of revenue for inspection, that if there be any peculations they may be inquired into.

2. Should an officer of the Bank be promoted, or transferred to another post, his successor shall go to the bankers to examine the accounts, and if there be any discrepancy, evidence shall be laid before the Board for his action thereon.

3. The Government bankers, after receiving silver from the Treasury, according to the balance of that office and at the market value, shall issue copper-money-notes to the same amount; neither exceeding nor falling short of the silver committed to them. The market price of silver on the 29th of the month, shall be taken as the average of that month. A statement of which they shall hand to the Bank to be submitted to the Treasury.

4. Government banking offices shall be established at four different places in the Capital, and merchants who are willing to engage in the business shall be invited to do so. Those who thus become government bankers shall act as sureties for each other, their bonds being deposited at the Bank bureau. The respective heads of the banking offices, shall require bonds of all persons employed by them, which shall be given to the Bank bureau. Any changes which may take place, shall be notified to the bureau.

5. Every month on the receipt of the silver reserved from appropriations to the army, the bankers shall issue its amount in copper notes, bearing a stamp different from other notes; employing *Kwei-chai* for this year, *Kiah-yin* for the next, and so on through the cycle. An account shall be given to the Bank bureau of the amount of army copper notes put in circulation in the course of the month, and of the amount remaining on

hand. Those notes which have been cashed shall be marked, and shall not be again used; but at the close of the month, after having their corners torn off they shall be sent in a bundle to the Board of revenue to be destroyed—a record of which shall be made by the Bank bureau.

6. As the private bankers of the Capital deduct a percentage in receiving and paying, trading people would make a gain of the notes if the government bankers paid and received in full; therefore, they are to transact business in this respect as the people do, but to every string of copper money the deduction in receiving and paying out shall be twenty cash [2 per cent] Traders who exceed this shall be rigidly dealt with.

7. None of the employés in the banking offices shall be allowed to receive or pay in advance, or to employ the money of the establishment in any way for private purposes. Such offences shall be inquired into and punished with dismissal of the parties concerned, and their sureties shall be compelled to make good the loss.

8. A monthly account of disbursements of the banking offices for salaries and contingent expenses, together with the profits shall be submitted to the Board: and at the close of each year there shall be an annual account made out of the same.

9. The allowance to the Bureau, for clerk hire and stationery shall be thirty-four taels of silver per mensem, to be paid by the government bankers, commencing July 6th, and to be included in their accounts to the Board.

10. On the 3rd and 4th of every month the banking offices shall cash notes, first applying to the commander of the *gendarmery* for a detachment to prevent crowding and to preserve order.

VII.

Conclusion of the monetary documents: Banking regulations: Description of the notes: Iron coinage project: Scarcity of copper: A limited amount only allowed to families at Peking: Debased coin: Various sorts of money: Another project.

Report on the Regulations for Circulating Government Notes.

1. The right hand margins of notes circulating at the Capital shall all be deposited in the Treasury department, in order to test the genuineness of notes presented in payment: the left margins shall be deposited at the Note-bureau, that at any time the holders of notes may ascertain whether they are genuine or counterfeit: when the numbers and margins correspond, the notes shall be stamped with the seal of the bureau, so as to prevent malpractices. As the pressure of business on the days appointed for receiving dues at the treasury, is too great to allow the officers to test the notes presented; assistance shall be rendered on those days by an officer from the mercer and draper Bureau, and another from the Bureau of miscellaneous articles, who shall affix their seals to the notes which correspond with the severed margins, when they shall be received by the Treasury. By this means subsequent confusion will be prevented.

2. There shall be five classes of notes, viz: of one, three, five, ten, and fifty taels: in every ten

thousand taels, issued, there shall be one hundred notes of fifty taels, four hundred of ten, one hundred of five, one hundred of three, and two hundred of one tael notes, in all nine hundred bills. Proportioned thus, they can all be conveniently employed in the part-specie payments, and they shall be transmitted to the commissariats and provincial treasuries accordingly. It is now decided that two million taels of silver be first issued in eighteen thousand notes: those designed for commissariats and provincial treasuries to be printed on Corean and *tsien* paper, and to be distinguished from those for circulation at the Capital; which are to be on *tai-tsen* paper.

3. The notes for immediate distribution among the commissariats shall be of a greater or less amount according as these may be large or small; the whole sum for the ten places, to be two hundred and fifty thousand taels, in twenty two thousand five hundred bills. The one tael bills shall be designated "Benevolence;" the threes "Integrity;" the fives "Propriety;" the tens "Intelligence;" and the fifties "Sincerity." Their faces shall be stamped in red characters "Commissariat" in order more easily to distinguish them from the notes disbursed through the provincial treasuries.

4. The portion of the first issue for distribution among the provincial treasuries shall be proportioned to the size of their respective provinces, Fung-tien, [Mouk-den] Kan-suh, Yu-nan, and Kwei-chau they although belonging to the smaller provinces, afford facilities for circulating a large quantity, therefore, there shall be transmitted to those places one million seven hundred and fifty thousand taels to be used in part-payments instead of silver, in one hundred fifty seven thousand five hundred bills. On the face of each shall be stamped in red, the name of the province for which they are issued. The first half of the words in the Thousand Character Classic shall be used as designations for the notes circulated at Peking; the other half for those in the province:—the ones bearing the name "Palace," the threes "Temple," the fives "Trencher," the tens "Incense," and the fifties "Terrace," for this year; next year the five following characters shall be employed as names for the notes.

5. The notes designed for the commissariats, being of pressing importance; those of them which are now being prepared shall be forwarded in the same manner as silver from prefecture to prefecture, commencing at Shun-tien-fu, the prefect of which place shall receive them in a sealed packet from the Board-of-Revenue. At every stage of the journey the packet shall be under an escort. The notes designed for Provincial treasuries shall at first be transmitted in the same manner. Afterwards officers shall be sent from the provinces who shall receive and convey them to their destination.

6. With the Commissariat, and Provincial treasury-notes shall be sent their uncut margins, (or roots) on their reception of those designed for the Provincial treasurer, the said officer shall affix his seal beneath that of the Board and cut them off through the sealed portion, reserving the margin for comparison with the note when occasion requires. The Commissariat-notes shall also on reception be stamped with the seal of the com-

manding officer, and be severed in the same manner;—the margin to be deposited at the nearest Provincial treasury, and the notes to have stamped on them the name of the treasury in which their margins may be found, to facilitate reference when necessary.

7. The expense of notes prepared by the Note-bureau, for use at the Capital, and for the Commissariat, shall be paid from the Treasury; but to defray the cost of notes for the Provinces, the viceroys and governors shall order the Provincial treasurers, on the receipt of paper-money to credit the Board-of-Revenue at a reduced rate, and to transmit to the Capital three taels of silver for every thousand taels of paper-money received. One tael for the Board to defray the first cost of the notes, and two taels for the Note-bureau to defray expenses for furniture, stationary, wages, &c. Should any excess be transmitted, it shall be returned, or divided between the Board-of-Revenue, and the Note-bureau on account.—Submitted. Hien-fung, 3rd year, 7th moon, 21st day, [August 25th, 1853.] Imperial reply. "Let it be as proposed. Respect this."

This concludes the fasciculus of monetary documents published at the Capital in relation to the new circulating media. In accordance with the above, proclamations were speedily issued in the provinces: the one promulgated by the treasurer of Chih-kiang dated Dec. 29th, 1853, contained a summary of the foregoing memorials and reports, and an exhortation to merchants to establish banking offices for receiving and exchanging government notes. The plan has been before the capitalists of Ningpo for nearly three months, yet none have hitherto shown an inclination to take part in such an enterprise: it is however reported that in some places, the project has been received with favor, particularly in the great cities of Hang-chau and Su-chau.

Among the plans submitted to the Board for meeting the present emergency, that of the governor of Shan-si, which contemplated the issue of an iron coin is the most singular. It does not appear that any report was made in relation to it; the members of the Board were doubtless better read in history than the memorialists for iron coin, and knew that previous attempts of that kind had signally failed. Chinese writers on numismatics bring evidence from history showing that from eleven to fourteen centuries before our era coins both of iron and lead were used to some extent. The experiment of iron coinage by the founder of the Liang dynasty, in A.D. 523, is best known. In 650, coins of iron and lead were common, ten of the former being equivalent to one of the latter. About this time a prince in Foh-kien issued an iron coin, stamped with his name—*Tien-teh*. In general, it may be stated, that from A.D. 523 to 960, many attempts were made to introduce the Spartan metal for money, during which period fruitless efforts were made to preserve a fixed relation between it and copper, but the law of supply and demand was stronger than imperial edicts, and rendered the artificial enactments of government entirely nugatory.

Some recommended that certain silver mines near Peking should be worked with more efficiency. Others again, were so bold as to propose that the copper vessels preserved in the imperial

palace should be melted and cast into cash. The Board-of-Revenue brought the subject before his majesty in an argumentative memorial and refer to a period in the reign of Kang-hi when the images of Buddha were converted into coin. As regards the despoiling of Buddhist temples to supply the wants of the treasury, the memorialists might have referred to another period in Chinese history (in the middle of the tenth century) when the monasteries were cleared of bells and images for casting into coin. At one time copper bells and statues were so common as to render money made of that metal very rare. Even at this day one of the temples at Puto contains a number of copper images weighing in all above 3,000 catties. It is probable that no such collection exists near the Capital, or has existed since the period referred to. The emperor, evaded the proposition to part with his bronze articles of *verru*, and, to use a parliamentary phrase, laid it on the table, or wrote in vermilion "Let a distinct record be made of this."

It is currently reported that orders were promulgated last summer at Peking, limiting the amount of copper utensils to five catties to each family and requiring every householder to send the excess to the Precious Spring, i. e. the Mint: the government paying sixty cash per catty, or about one fourth the value of the unmanufactured metal. With less than that amount of copper, culinary operations could not be well conducted in a common Chinese family; the prohibition was a serious inconvenience to all except the poor, as that indispensable article everywhere, — a tea-kettle, weighs about two catties. Although very few complied with the demand, it had not been issued many days before it was followed by another restricting the amount to two catties. This was carrying arbitrary proceedings beyond the endurance of the people; the "Respect this" of the vermilion pencil, was set at naught in the capital itself, and with so much spirit, as to cause the Board to recommend a reversal of the last decree — and five catties were allowed to each family, in which the Pekingers acquiesced. There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of this account; former dynasties have resorted to the same measure, extending the prohibition even to the amount of copper coin which an individual might possess.

The scarcity of copper is attributed to a deficiency in the supply from the mines of Yu-nan and Kwei-chau, which provinces since their subjugation have been very productive of this precious metal: to what extent this cause has operated, we have no means of ascertaining, we know however, that within a few years thousands of tons in the form of copper coin have been exported, a portion to the Malayan Archipelago, where it is used as money; and a portion to India, where it is manufactured into various utensils. It is still being carried off in ship-loads; the largest and purest coins being selected for exportation. Notwithstanding this; copper, for reasons sufficiently obvious perhaps to those conversant with the laws which regulate currency and exchange, has become relatively more abundant, or cheaper than silver of which the country has also been drained. Eighteen years ago a Carolus dollar was worth no more than one thousand and fifty copper cash;

its value has been steadily rising and it may now be quoted at seventeen hundred and fifty.

It is thought that the new coin if cast as proposed by government as regards weight and composition will be equitable and useful, and there is no reason to suppose, that the mint at Peking will ever fail to conform issues to that standard. The ordinary coin cast at the Capital is strictly according to law: it is from the mints in the provincial capitals that debased coinage is issued and which, mixed with the execrable little counterfeit coin, if that term be applicable to such trash, constitutes the sole money of the country: the Peking castings being rarely seen.* Penalties for clipping the coin, or for counterfeiting already exist; hence, the Board of Punishments in framing enactments adapted to the new monetary system, made only such additions to the code as were rendered necessary by the adoption of a paper currency.

Attempts are made from time to time to prevent the circulation of counterfeit coin but with only partial and temporary success. A proclamation on this subject is now before us, issued by the treasurer of Chih-kiang, inviting the holders of "small coin," to bring it to the offices of the district magistrates to be exchanged for the less base coin cast at Hang-chau; and at the same time, threatening condign punishment to all bankers who, after a certain period were discovered dealing in the counterfeit. The offer was not accepted, as none knew how long the better coin would be delayed, nor on what terms the small coin would be taken.

It is singular that no Chinese government has yet attempted to coin silver. Private individuals have at different times manufactured "Spanish dollars," but the imitation was imperfect and they never became current. Dr. Williams, in his Middle Kingdom mentions a silver coin issued by the treasurer of Foh-kien which also proved a failure. *En passant* we may remark that a full history of the circulating media of China, would form a curious monograph, which, besides throwing much light on the march of civilization, would be found replete with facts of no small interest to the political economist; tortoise-shells, and the shells of mollusks, silk, cloth, buskin, paper, tin, lead, iron, copper, silver and gold, separately, and some in combination, have all been used as money; and, (to eke out the list,) brick tea at present circulating among the northern Nomads.

A Colbert or a Morris is sadly wanted in the Cabinet of Hien-fung; for besides the badly con-

* Since writing the above, some denaries cast at the Su-chau mint have come into our possession: they conform in size and weight very nearly to the specimens submitted by the Board and approved by the emperor, but analysis would show a wide difference in the composition of the Pe-king and Su-chau coin: instead of 7 parts copper and 3 lead, the provincial money appears to consist of equal portions of the two metals. Being in the constant habit of debasing the ordinary coin, the high provincial officers could hardly fail to defraud the emperor, and the people, in the new issue; subsequent castings will probably be worse still, and as private counterfeiters will soon be at work, employing as usual but one tenth of copper, withal making a great reduction in size, the denary is not likely to confer any benefit: affording like the paper money, merely temporary relief to an effete government.

trived schemes which they have adopted, the financiers at Peking have decided on selling forty thousand sub-graduate degrees, which are now being forced on the people. This bold or rather reckless measure by which above four and a half millions of dollars will be realised, shall be described in detail in some future number of this series. Having already occupied much space with monetary schemes, we shall be less tedious; we leave their further consideration in abeyance and recur to the insurgents and to insurrectionary proceedings.

VIII.

The insurgents at Nanking: The eastern prince or military chief of the patriot army: Tobacco: Persecution: Imposture: Opium: Proselyting.

When the authorities were seconding imperial appeals for contributions, they adopted with other measures less effective the plan of issuing anonymous proclamations admirably calculated to stimulate the people to greater sacrifices for the state by depicting the sufferings, real and imaginary, experienced by those who were wanting in loyalty and courage. As a great portion of the people have formed their opinions of the insurgents from papers of that description, the translation of at least one of them will be useful.

The placard copied for us had this caption in very large characters. "In order to avoid future evil observe the consequences of former proceedings. Let the rich subscribe of their wealth and let the poor aid with their strength, that, by united action the robbers may be killed, the state served, and your families protected." Beneath this preamble is the title of the paper. "A discourse on the misfortunes experienced at Nanking.—Alas! Alas! Yang Siu-tsing, the Kwang-si marauder has subdued Nanking, embittering the lives of the inhabitants, whose miserable condition cannot be described. Truly the people of Kiang-nan have disgraced themselves, as is shown in the proclamation of the high officers, who say that,—'the wealthy clenched their money; and they poor withheld their strength' which is a compendious expression, descriptive of the spirit of that province. That further mishap may be averted, this distinct admonition is addressed to the rich, inviting them promptly to contribute funds, and to the poor urging them quickly to exert their strength, that volunteers may be raised to make up deficiencies in the army. Is it not evident that your cities are defenceless, and your families unprotected? Are you so wanting in courage, and so destitute of principle as to invite distress and misery, by waiting till the banditti enter your cities or lay you under contribution for millions of silver ingots, plundering your valuables, clothing, and stores of grain? Let me ask you, Ye men of wealth, would you avoid all this? and you, of the proletary class could you endure such things?

I was imprisoned above one hundred days in Nanking by the robbers when they captured that city, and saw with my own eyes able-bodied husbandmen and mechanics thrown out of their usual vocations, and compelled to serve as soldiers, before placed in the front ranks during every fight!

in consequence of these things there has

also been a great dispersion of families and many bitter trials. I am particularly anxious that all classes should promptly take part in the organization of militia, in order to repress the power of the robbers, and also, that the whole empire should fully understand the whole matter that the miscreants may be forthwith repelled. Before arriving at Nanking they issued seditious proclamations, professing love for the people, and disclaiming any design of doing harm: thus the simple inhabitants were deceived and failed to make preparations, deeming them uncalled for. On the 8th of March the thieves reached the city, and on the 19th of the same month it fell, when they entered killing countless numbers [all the Manchus] and then, separating men from women in parties of fifty each, they appointed rude fellows to guard the former, and big-footed women to guard the latter, giving but half an allowance of rice to each mouth; next, they appointed one day in seven for meeting together for worshipping and preaching. They have all things in common, and make prayers over every meal.

During two months I was employed among the thieves in following the purveyor to purchase vegetables, but one morning I managed to effect my escape from the net, and reached the encampment of general Hsiao, whence I returned to my home. I think that information concerning these things should be spread to places which have not yet been visited by the banditti; and therefore I publish this, exhorting you who have money not to be niggardly with it, lest it cause you mischief hereafter; and you who are able-bodied not to husband your strength, lest you be captured. Who among you is without parents, wife, or children? Then, why not spare a little money, or some strength, instead of willingly receiving damage, or contentedly remaining insecure? Alas! how is it that money is not heaped up for volunteers; and that the braves do not rise to repel the danger? Let these two things be regarded and all will be well, moreover, by subscribing money you insure respectability; and by lending strength your families are kept in peace. I do hope that benevolent and respectable men will devise means of defence to avert further harm. This is what I fully expect."

Yang Siu-tsing, mentioned above as the capturer of Nanking is said to be a brother-in-law of the aspirant for the "Dragon Seat," his titles are eastern prince, chief minister-of-state and commander-in-chief of the great army; with, or without reason the credit of conducting the war is attributed to him by the people; he is the author of nearly all the religious proclamations which have appeared, and of several of the tracts translated by Dr. Medhurst. Hung Siu-tsuen the Ta-ping-wang, great pacificating king, while he is always found with the advanced part of the army, does not seem to have been engaged personally in any action: his mental calibre appears to be less than that of his military minister; the last accounts represent him as holding his court at *Pau-ting* not far from Peking.

It is not a little remarkable that neither in the foregoing nor any other paper bringing charges true and false against the insurgents, no allusion is made to their fanatical prohibition against the use of tobacco. Probably there is not one

man in a thousand, not addicted to the use of the American narcotic, and the attempt to deprive Chinamen of its consoling fumes, would be as futile as a crusade against the use of tea. The habit is unquestionably a pernicious one, yet it is so slightly detrimental to health, and seems withal, to afford so much enjoyment to man in every state of society that no good is likely to result even by bringing moral suasion to bear against it, and its interdiction by law can only be attended with serious evil: indeed we are inclined to believe that the prohibition has to a great extent become a dead letter even in the camp, and that like the separation of the sexes, and their practical communism, it was not designed to be permanent. In exciting popular animosity against the revolutionists, the imperialists lay most stress on their ferocity, concerning which there has been much exaggeration. We would fain hope that this may prove to be the case regarding the massacre at *Yang-chau*, a large city in Kiang-su, situated on the Grand Canal between the Yang-tsz and Yellow Rivers. The statement which has been long credited by the people respecting the miserable inhabitants is, that not content with gallantly defending their city, they sought, after its fall, to restore it to the imperial authorities, for which they were nearly exterminated. Making every allowance for the misrepresentation of their enemies it must be admitted that the insurgents have been guilty of acts revolting to humanity; at the same time, it should be remembered that their barbarous treatment of enemies, is in accordance with Chinese warfare, in which cartels are never thought of,—extirpation being the avowed object of almost every appeal to arms, and also, that, supposing the least favorable accounts to be correct, they find a parallel in the annals of communities which have long possessed the faith which these misguided men so suddenly adopted, and so imperfectly comprehend. So true is this, that if man were a consistent being, we might predict that in putting unbelievers to the sword, they would meet with the scarcely qualified approbation of a great part of Christendom. Surely the millions of the Protestant, Papal, and Greek establishments who hold that the civil power should exercise control over conscience in matters of faith, will to a greater or less extent justify the summary proceedings of this new defender of the faith; or if not, it will be owing to the unsoundness of his doctrines, rather than to the coercion employed in propagating them; for as the immortal Milton expresses it in one of his sonnets—

To know
 "Both spiritual power and civil, what each means,
 What severs each, thou hast learned what few
 have done."

Not a few since his day have learned to respect rights of conscience, or "Soul-liberty" as the noble and truly Catholic founder of Rhode Island styles it, yet how many remain ignorant of those two powers! Until then, we out with the spots, so intensely damning in our own blades, let us be guarded in condemning the weapons of men who are battling not only for a faith which they do not comprehend, but to free their land from foreign thralldom. While something may be said in ex-

tenuation of their persecution, the blasphemy and imposture which have marked the course of the revolutionists, admits of no apology. Much of it however, perhaps all that is traceable to the leader, is doubtless referable to hallucination consequent on the sickness from which he suffered when engaged in religious reading. Yang Siu-tsing, is clearly an arch impostor, as has been shown by Dr. Medhurst in his Critical Review of the Books of the Insurgents, and it is possible that Hung Siu-tsiuen may have been duped by his unscrupulous kinsman and lieutenant: who, if not restrained, will impose on the plastic body a system little better than Mormonism. Of the sincerity of Hung Siu-tsiuen, there can be little doubt; and the purity of his motives, those at least by which he was originally actuated should not be questioned. An adventurer striving for mere personal aggrandizement to overthrow a powerful dynasty, would not studiously array against himself as our hero has, so many of the cherished prejudices of his countrymen; it is not a political, but a moral revolution which the Ta-ping-wang has undertaken to effect: it is not alone the superstitions of the vulgar, or the system of Budha which he aims to suppress, but the *culte* of the literati; he would extirpate at one fell swoop, Buddhism, Tauism and all-potent Confucianism.

It is the firm conviction of all classes, or rather of all who take any interest in public affairs, that attempts to suppress the traffic in opium would involve the country in another foreign war; and the inability of government to cope in any manner with the gigantic evil is tacitly admitted. A deplorable evidence of this is exhibited in the increasing cultivation of the poppy for its insipidated juice. There are many fields on the terraced hills within sight of the walls of Ningpo, which for unnumbered ages yielded the staff of life, but which now are made to bring forth its bane;—instead of being enlivened in harvest by golden panicles of rice, they blaze with the scarlet colored corollas of the noxious opium. It has lately invaded Chusan and Chinghai, and doubtless its cultivation will continue to extend in various directions so long as it can be made remunerative, unless the Kwang-si patriots succeed in repressing it together with the vice it fosters, after the manner of the model state of Maine. The obstacles, real and imaginary, attending efforts to put down opium-smoking are sufficient to appall the stoutest heart, yet Hung Siu-tsiuen encounters them without dismay, arraying himself alike against the strongest vices and most revered superstitions of his countrymen. Such a hero must be sustained by the conviction that he is acting under Divine direction. There is a simplicity in many of the proceedings of the whole party, indicating that the honesty of purpose claimed for the leader is characteristic of his followers. The Communism which they have developed in an original form, that is to say, conformably to the strictest chastity, is a remarkable evidence of this. Another instance may be adduced from a multitude of incidents, all illustrative of the same feature. It comes to us from foreigners and natives, who served in the imperial fleet in the abortive attacks on Ching-kiang. Soon after the repulse of schooners, lorchas, and junks from that city by the

rebels, and when the latter had returned to their anchorage; the attention of the imperialists and their subsidies was attracted by the appearance of a boat, which had put off from the insurgent batteries into the middle of the Yang-tsz', presently the boat returned to the shore having first set adrift a small boat bearing a streamer inviting attention to a package which had been placed in the vessel. On being examined by the imperialists, the bundle was found to contain a large number of religious tracts; copies of those which have been translated by Dr. Medhurst; and a letter addressed to their erring fellow-countrymen, advising them to return to their homes, because God was aiding the religious party, and that therefore further opposition would not only be unavailing, but even destructive in the end. Mingled with many words to that effect, were exhortations, and admonitions, such as men in arms seldom administer to their enemies. This novel mode of distributing tracts was frequently resorted to the officers of the imperial fleet having no fears of the conversion of such characters as their motley crews, tolerated these attempts at proselytizing. We have been credibly informed by a foreign commander under the imperialists, that the insurgents, were, to use a trite expression, so *verdant*, as to send in the same manner written expostulations to English and Americans, in the government service, to the effect that, as co-religionists they ought not to be thus engaged, and intimating that it was an unseemly strife leading to fratricide.

Testimony by no means unfavorable to the insurgents and their leader is borne by Póh-leh-kung-wú, the late *ti-tuh*, a commander-in-chief of the forces in Hu-peh province, in a memorial addressed to his imperial master about a year ago. This unfortunate Manchu general, was degraded for inefficient conduct against the rebels, when in that region. To retrieve his character he drew up a paper which embodied the result of his experience. In this document he had the boldness to represent the "thieves" as formidable, on account of the extraordinary discipline which prevailed in their ranks; the earnestness which they manifested in propagating heretical doctrines; and their contempt of danger. This last that was expressed by the same terms which the commissioner Sin Kwang-tsing employed in his report to the emperor in 1852, which we have already translated; the words are, "they regard dying as merely going home." He recommended the immediate recall of the officers then entrusted with the campaign. The memorial cost Póh-leh-kung-wú his life. His former delinquencies, his aspersions on those enjoying the emperor's confidence, and partly also it may be, because of the good character he unwittingly gave to the revolutionists, fired his master's anger, who ordered his immediate decollation.

IX.

Soldiers benevolent club: Executions at Hang-chau: An insurrection suppressed: Caution to rippers and catch-quick: Malpractices of officials and their subordinates: A village Hampden.

There being no provision by government for overmanned soldiers in the Chinese army, clubs

have been formed in a few of the wings for affording relief to members disabled by infirmities or age, which seem to be in a measure under the control of civil functionaries: the following, from an intendant makes us acquainted with one of these societies. "I am of opinion, that works of merit are likely to be imitated by those who come after us; and that the good we do may be easily perpetuated. Now, it is known that in the army, there are often found poor and distressed soldiers, who are liable to sickness and death, who when ill, suffer much and when dead, are without means of having a coffin or burial! The loss of rations exposes them to cold and hunger; such sights are painful to the eyes, harrowing to the heart, and truly lamentable! But thanks to general Sian, who instituted a noble remedy for this evil, by forming a mutual-aid-society in your brigade; there is some help for you. Yet, as the regulations were formed twenty years ago, they can be improved, in relation to the dispensing of aid to those having claims on the fund. The present plan permits disbursements to be made only on the quarterly pay-day; so that in the interim there is often much inconvenience. Let there be a clause in the rules, that this may be rectified; authorising the banker with whom the fund is placed at interest, to pay it out on order to the needy at any time. By making it thus available to suffering members, the benefits of the club will be fully experienced, causing unmixed delight to the generous. Select trusty men to see that the hundred-and-seventy dollars now in the treasury is safely, and profitably invested; and that it is disbursed only to the deserving. To prevent any future misunderstanding, be sure to have regulations, carved on a stone-slab, put up in your quarters for guidance hereafter."

In the face of this sombre representation of the condition of Chinese soldiers, it may be safely asserted that their lot is better than that of any soldiery in the world; judging by those at Ningpo, for their places are at a premium. The meanest man in the ranks can at any time get about twenty dollars for his situation: the family of one who dies in the service, gets however but a portion of that sum. Generally speaking the soldiers are petty shop-keepers, mechanics or pedlars, who are on full pay only when in active service.

A few weeks after the fall of Shanghai, the capital of Chih-kiang was thought to be in danger from a band of adventurers from the mountains bordering on Foh-kien, who were detected in firing the city. Sixteen were apprehended, and almost immediately executed. On this occasion the governor issued a proclamation which was placarded throughout the province, to make known that the authorities of each city were empowered by the emperor to decapitate on the spot, and at once, all persons found arrayed against the laws. It was in consequence of this special decree, that magistrates in several cities put many riotous persons to death, and thereby averted the calamities which befell Shanghai and Amoy, from local marauders. This gives the document sufficient importance to be placed amongst these contributions.

"Whereas in April last Imperial commands were received, to wit, 'The time has arrived when all rebellious miscreants should be extir-

minated; and as in every place there are local banditti, there is no security that they will not embrace opportunities for rioting and plunder. Let the viceroys and governors issue orders to their subordinates, to be unremitting in searching out such persons, and whenever found assembling in crowds to apprehend them. After clearly investigating each case, the said officers shall immediately execute the guilty; that all marauders may take warning and the quiet of every city be secured in daily peace. Respect this. Respectfully comply." The above is on record.

Moreover, several incendiaries have been apprehended in the provincial city, and suburbs, and in accordance with the imperial decree they have met the traitor's doom; their heads being suspended, to intimidate bad men. All this is on record. The imperial mandate, and this proclamation are published to inform the intendants, prefects, and district-magistrates of the entire province how they are to manage affairs at the present time. Plunderers of every kind are to be put to death at once, on conviction. A special decree. Oppose not." To the above is appended the names and residence of sixteen persons beheaded at Hang-chau. The unhappy men were natives of *Wan-chau*, in the mountainous region on the southern boundaries of the province.

A few days before the receipt of the imperial decree, a sort of martial law, a serious insurrection broke out in relation to taxes, at Sing-chung, an agricultural district of Hangchau. It was quelled with considerable difficulty. The following account of it from the *Peking Gazette*, though meagre and one-sided, is the best we can gather;—it formed a report to the emperor from the Board of Punishment:—"A despatch was received from Wang chung-han, governor of Chihkiang, on the suppression of a revolt at Singchung, and the apprehension of the ringleaders.—"Several miscreants in the village of Nansing, in the district of Sing-chung who were in arrears for taxes, prevailed on the people generally of that region to resist the tything-men; and when the magistrate Shen-shi-tsung went out to apprehend them, they collected over a hundred men armed with knives, and fell upon that officer killing him, his followers and his family." Thus, alas! a whole family was cut off. Governor Wang, ordered the prefect of Huchau to lead a detachment of braves to approach the villains on one side; and colonel Wang from Shaohing, to come up on the other; in this manner they were surrounded. Inducements were then made to the people to seize the gang: whereupon they brought in six leaders; and a few days after the two chiefs delivered themselves up. The district is now quiet." In reply to the above the emperor wrote "Let the criminals be severely dealt with for the intimidation of bad men. Let the case of Wang chung-han [governor of Chih-kiang] be laid before the Board of Punishment for suitable reprimands, for not having prevented the outbreak. The district magistrate Shen, was a good officer, he fell in the discharge of his duty, and deserves pity. Let him be considered as having fallen in battle. Respect this."

Two more proclamations issued lately at Hang-chau possess some interest, as they tend to throw light on the municipal affairs of that Capital,

which, in these respects resemble that of other large cities.

"To prohibit Ripping, in order to quiet the city. I have heard that within and without the city, the thieves who cut purses have become very audacious. Collecting every day in parties of, from three to five, in crowded places, they surround travellers or other persons, and when unobserved cut away whatever is within their reach; and before the theft is discovered they are out of sight! When gentlemen who come up from other districts are thus dealt with what are they to do? To whom are they to apply for the restitution of their property? I am told that the rippers always reside with receivers of stolen goods, and that when one meets with a loss of this kind, application is forthwith made to the catch-quick of the locality: who is apt to scrutinize the applicant, to ascertain whether he is a bold, or a timid man, a person of consequence, or a nobody, and to commence chaffering about a reward for recovering the missing articles; and when a sum has been promised, to go in search of the goods, bringing however but one half; at the same time compelling the gentleman to give a treat of whiskey or a dinner for the trouble of collecting, besides the reward! Or, giving then something in advance, the loser, after many delays has nothing but vain regrets! It is clear that the catch-quick and the rippers, stand to each other as paws and claws, and that all are connected with the receivers of stolen goods, who nourish thieves, to the injury of travellers. It is certainly a detestable business. I have directed the district-magistrate to require the attendance of all catch-quick at his office on the 2nd and 16th of every month, to inquire if in the interval any of them have been thus engaged; and now, he is further directed not only to apprehend the guilty, but to issue a proclamation informing citizens and strangers that if they meet with losses from rippers, they are immediately to apply to the catch-quick of the place, who if at all remiss shall be arraigned before the said magistrate. If that officer fails to attend to the case and several days elapse without recovery of the property a complaint shall be lodged against him;—the catch-quick shall be put to death, and the rippers, thief-harborers and the tything-man of the place shall all be condignly punished. Mind that."

Rippers and catch-quick, two classes of men related accordingly to the above as "claws and paws," are not altogether what their names indicate, original characters; they possess some peculiarities it is true, but one soon recognises them as congeners of certain *mauvais sujets* met with in Western cities. For the operation of extracting the contents of a wallet slung over a countryman's shoulder, or of removing a tobacco-pouch, spectacle-case, fan, purse and such-like articles appended to gentlemen's dresses, the ripper is generally provided with no other implement than a copper coin made very sharp at its edge, and which from its size is easily concealed. These *Cherubiers d'industrie*, have not only a good understanding with those limbs of the law denominated catch-quick, but with each other also. Each man, or small party, is restricted in labor to certain well-defined limits, and it is said, so nice is their sense of honor, that if these who start game fail to bag

anything in their own best, they keep up pursuit in the next, until they meet with those who enjoy the prescriptive right of operating in that particular quarter, when the unconscious stranger is introduced, and exposed anew to danger. Several instances have occurred where foreigners while witnessing a procession, a theatrical exhibition, or a fire have lost watches, which to their astonishment have been restored to them after a few days, through the police. The recovery of articles lost in this manner is attended with no difficulty, provided the neighbourhood in which the theft occurred can be ascertained. The magistrate summons his catch-quick for the district in question, and orders him to restore the stolen article within a limited period. Forthwith the catch-quick or "paws" strides in search of his "claws"—the ripper, and compels him to relinquish his grip; when further proceedings are stayed,—policemen, paws and claws all coming in for a share of the reward; the latter however receiving barely enough to keep him from being discouraged. Generally the thefts are so trifling that they are allowed to enjoy their gains without molestation, which enables them to see their overseers the catch-quicks. It not unfrequently happens that these appendages of the local government deliberately submit to flogging rather than part with the recovered property, which they can well bear, for repeated application of the bamboo have rendered all of them, topically, quite pachydermatous: hence, in the foregoing proclamations his worship threatens them with capital punishment.

Having given the admonitions addressed to all classes at the provincial capital,—soldiers, merchants, priests, scholars, vagabonds and the people generally, we cannot conclude this part of our subject without glancing at a picture of the authorities drawn by one of themselves.

"To prohibit offences against shop-keepers and traders in order to preserve the people from any injustice. It is obvious, that those who keep stores in market-places and crowded thoroughfares, are obliged to scheme day and night to turn their capital to advantage, and that their gains are few. They are moreover, obliged to pay taxes, and have various vexations incident to their calling. It is incumbent therefore, on the authorities to commiserate them and to spare their gains; a place having officers thus disposed will prosper, and the people will thrive. 'As I sit in my office, I often sigh, that articles which heretofore have been needed here for public use have been taken from traders without any or with very partial remuneration.

The abuses of former incumbents, have been numerous. Articles have been borrowed, and if returned at all they have been damaged; and goods were often purchased on credit and never paid for; shop-keepers were made to consume much time in futile calls for payment; or, if they drew up a statement of their grievances; the underlings demanded large fees for presenting it; either making a deduction of one half in those payments which were made, or paying in base coin: thus there was a loss of capital, which caused the streets to resound with angry complaints. Such malversation I have uniformly abhorred, and I cannot but issue this proclamation that shop-keepers and trades-men may be informed, that I am never extravagant in the quality or quantity of food and raiment, and that my servants are properly supplied with money for every day's marketing that purchases may be made at the ordinary price. If they should be guilty of forcing alloyed silver, or debased coin in their dealings with the people, or if they forge orders for articles of any description, they should be punished severely, as soon as informed against."

The author of the foregoing is doubtless an upright magistrate,—for such there are, notwithstanding the wide prevalence of venality and corruption; the malpractices against which he declaims, and which he charges against the subordinates, are carried on with the sanction of their superiors, who not unfrequently receive a percentage on these gains of *their paws*.

Nearly every thing required by the Mandarins is furnished by mechanics at about half price. Every calling has its guild, whose foreman is compelled to execute any commission pertaining to his vocation which may be required by the magistrates.

A few years ago a number of tubs were needed at the *Yamun* of the Ningpo district magistrate, and a requisition was accordingly made on the head cooper, who, in virtue of the authority with which he was thus invested, endeavored to compel a country journey-man to undertake the job. The latter refused to perform the work unless properly remunerated, and being threatened with punishment for contumacy, he seized a cleaver, and with two blows severed his left hand at the wrist! This village Hampden was carried to town by his friends, and laid at the gate of the *Yamun*, with a view of exciting the compassion of the officers, and the indignation of the people. Something was done for him by the magistrate, and the writer was called to dress the stump.

X.

Attempt of native Christians to visit Nanking; Distribution of Christian tracts by imperialists: Shanghai news at Suchau: Capture: Imprisonment: Anecdote: Release.

Several native Christians at Ningpo partaking the anxiety of their instructors to become acquainted with the character of the religious movement now agitating the land, it was deemed advisable to send the most competent of the number, a literary man and a preacher, to Nanking and Chih-kiang, not so much for any information he might acquire, as with the hope that he might impart some useful instruction to the erring-patriots. Soon after the fall of Nanking the same individual started for that city with the same objects in view, but meeting with an injury he was unable to proceed far. On the present occasion as in the former journey, he was accompanied with a Christian brother, named Chü, and was provided with a document stating the objects he had in view in attempting to visit those cities. The narrative of the unsuccessful enterprise throws some light on the subject before us, so far at least as to make known the state of the country near the seat of war:

CHIU's journal states—

April 14th, 1851.—In company with a scholar named TSING, we engaged a boat to *Tsz-ki*; on reaching the country seat where he is employed as teacher, we stopped a few hours and partook of refreshments, at the same time we distributed several books.

15th.—Arrived at *Peh-kwan*, crossed the river [T. . . .] and took passage in a boat to *Hang-chau*. There were nine passengers, to each of whom we presented a New Testament. In conversation some of them said "Yuh-huang-ta-ti is the creator of all things." A literary man remarked, "Our gods are too numerous, but your religion sir, reducing them to one, is beyond all reason. Many of the gods were merely good men of olden time, and of great numbers of them we know nothing at all."

17th.—On arriving at *Hang-chau*, we took lodgings at the boat-office, and on the following morning visited the military quarter to ascertain the post assigned to the Ningpo regiment at the seat of war, having been instructed to visit if possible our brother TUNG [a church member belonging to the imperial army stationed with his corps on the lines near Chih-kiang]. We got the information from a relative in the office, and heard that Tung had been promoted to the commissariat for his steadiness and good behavior. We distributed some books among the military. [Tract distribution had been conducted in this great provincial capital, on a grand scale not long before the visit of our travellers. The governor's secretary superintended the block-cutting and printing of several of the American Tract Society's publications, copies of these having been procured for that purpose from Ningpo. Large numbers were put in circulation by the authorities in a semi-official manner. A late applicant for baptism from *Hang-chau* stated that his knowledge of Christianity, (which was not inconsiderable,) was obtained from these tracts. This new proceeding on the part of the subordinate officers

at *Hang-chau*, is said by natives to have been occasioned by rumors which represented the conquerors of Nanking as being identical in character with the Missionaries at Ningpo; and as it was feared that the two parties might effect a junction under the walls of that city, one of the measures adopted for allaying the panic, was to hold up the foreign teachers as inculcators of peace and benevolence who could not, according to their books, be found engaged in anything incompatible with reason and consequently, could have no connection with the murderers from *Kwang-shi*."]

18th.—Hired a boat to take us and a friend named WANG from *Hang-chau* to *Su-chau*. At both custom-houses we were closely examined, our names, places of residence, destination and other particulars were all written in a book; the certificate of the keeper of the house in which we lodged was also examined. At a military station only three *li* further on we were again examined. Still another examination was made at a guard-house one *li* beyond the last place. Here, owing to my carelessness, my letter was discovered; whereupon the soldier seized all my money—\$12, but seeing an officer approaching, he slyly gave me back \$8 and the letter telling us to pass on.

20th.—Arrived at the city of *Ping-wang* where were two batteries of 40 guns each, one on either side of the Grand Canal. Five hundred soldiers were stationed at this place. In the middle of the Canal a huge grain junk was anchored, bearing a flag with the inscription "Appointed by the governor, for the detection of traitors. All travellers must be rigidly examined." Our papers were examined, our boxes searched and the usual questions were asked, but no notice was taken of the pile of books in one corner of the boat.

21st.—Came to *Wu-kwang* where were two small batteries and a detachment of troops. In making search the soldiers were very rude, one of them thrust a spear into a bale of drugs belonging to Mr. Wang.

22nd.—Arrived at *Suchau*, at night, being five days in going 400 *li*: local banditti being so numerous that boats are not allowed to sail by night. We underwent a military examination at the *Wu* gate, but avoided the custom-house at the *Chang* gate. At the former was a flag with the characters "By appointment of the viceroy of the Two Kiang, for the apprehension of traitors. Boats are prohibited sailing by night." After reaching *Suchau* we did not converse with people except by asking questions. We remained a day and two nights in that city. There was a battery on the walls over the gate: tents were to be seen on every part of the walls. On the walls near the gates were suspended implements of war of every description. A guard-house for military officers had been erected adjacent to each gate for the discovery and detection of robbers, and at a short distance from these were offices of the literati and gentry whose business it is to examine persons suspected of traitorous designs.

23rd.—Walked about the city. It was quiet. A man was beheaded in the morning on the parade ground for robbery. We inquired if there was any news from Nanking or Ching-kiang, but no one was inclined to talk about those cities. They told us, however, the daily news from Shanghai, and among other things, that about a fortnight

before, the imperial soldiers from that city created great alarm by suddenly appearing at Suchau, which they failed to enter, the Cantonese who kept guard having promptly closed the gates. No body knew the cause of the flight until a despatch arrived from their commander ordering the immediate return of the fugitives. Meanwhile they perpetrated dreadful enormities on the poor villagers employing the time in rape and robbery. Three were apprehended and executed, but they proved to be local robbers.

[Mr. Chiu copied several proclamations issued at that time in Suchau, among which are the following:—

"In consequence of an offence having been committed by some rascally camp-followers against the Western barbarians at Shanghai they were pursued many *li*, whereupon our braves took alarm and hastened on to the provincial capital. Now the great officers having caught and killed the miscreants, are on good terms with the Western barbarians. The soldiers who came thither were not defeated, you have no occasion to be anxious about affairs at Shanghai: the insurgents there are enfeebled, and will be quickly subdued. There is a perfect concord between our officers and the Western barbarians."

Several proclamations related to patrols, the detention of strange-looking people, and various municipal regulations all evincing fears for the safety of the city. We translate but one more, it was intended for the instruction of the military:—

"Besides the scamps who follow the army, and in the name of the troops perpetrate gross outrages, there are many in the army whose conduct is perfectly detestable. Every day I hear complaints concerning robbery and rape by the regular soldiers. Robbers even, who have nothing to eat, and who have no wives are thought unfit to live when detected in committing these crimes; but you soldiers who eat the people's taxes, who have money and wives, how can you so much less excusable than robbers, expect to escape death if you persist in such flagitious misdemeanors? Are your hearts at ease? Dare you look up to heaven? If your property were carried off and your wives ravished would you not be incensed? I exhort you to repentance. If you do not give heed to what I say, but continue your evil practices you shall be put to death for certain."]

24th.—Hired a boat and proceeded 30 *li* when we came to the *Husz'* custom-house, where were fortifications and a large military force. The search here was for traitors only; it was very rigid: having been told that this would be the case, we previously gave away the greater part of the books, scattering the remainder loosely about, under our clothes, beneath the boards, and thus we passed safely towards the place of our destination. Half an hour afterwards we were subject to another examination at a station of the literati.

25th.—Reached Wüsih where the search and examination was carelessly conducted.

26th.—Engaged a boat for Chang-chau, but being informed by Mr. Li a Shang-tung man who came to us for information about Ningpo, that the military at Chang-chau scrutinized travelers with extreme severity; examining even the soles of their shoes, and stripping the arms (as by marks of some kind in these places Kwang-si men are said

to be easily distinguishable) we determined to avoid that city by a circuitous course. We spent the night at a custom-house 30 *li* distant to

27th.—We had already passed the military examiners of this station, and expected no trouble from the literary guards. At length two literary men came out of the temple,—their guard house on the margin of the canal, inquiring whence we came and whither we were going. We replied that we were going from Suchau to the lines at Ching-kiang. They then sent attendants to the boat, who turned the contents of our boxes on the matting. Some New Testaments having turned up, they were passed to the scholars for inspection. After a few moments examination of the sacred book we were ordered ashore. We now saw that we were discovered, and we prayed mentally that God would protect us. Do you intend to give these books to the rebels? That is what we were sent to do, if it were found practicable: look at this letter and you will discover our precise objects." In a moment a crowd of soldiers assembled making a great noise about the detection of traitors. No notice was taken of brother Chü whose name happily was not in the document. I was seized by three men, one holding my queue, the others my arms and taken into the temple of the god of war. Over the entrance was the streamer of the commanding officer from which I ascertained that his name was ———, that he had formerly been ——— of the city of ———, and that the viceroy had entrusted him with the charge of the post at ———. On being brought into his presence he accosted me in an angry tone, called me a traitor. "Sir" I said "I am no traitor. I belong to a religion which inculcates respect for the emperor and obedience to his officers. I am in the service of foreigners at Ningpo who worship Shang-ti. (He would not easily have understood the term we usually employ for God) who, hearing that the rebels of Nanking and Chih-kiang are spreading erroneous doctrines and misleading people about the worship of Shang-ti wished to supply them with books calculated to make them better men, as you will perceive by inspecting this document." When I spoke of imparting instruction to the rebels he laughed heartily, and asked, "Do you think they would give a moment's attention to any good thing?" I replied that "our religion was adapted to make all men better" "so you intended to hold conversation with the rebels?" "I was sent to see if that were practicable, but as the paper states, on arriving at the lines, the attempt is not to be made if communications are wholly cut off." He then said "I see you are a scholar. I am surprised to find one of our class disposed to hold any correspondence with traitors, were I to send you to the general he would take off your head at once: observe that proclamation offering rewards for the capture of persons like you" I answered that "as my design was a good one, and could not harm the state, and as I only came to see if the way were open, I trusted he would show mercy and permit me to return." He then conversed aside with the scholars present after the consultation I was placed in one of the priests' dormitories: the servants were about to chain me when I expostulated promising not to make any

attempt at escape. In the meantime, a bachelor of arts came in and said I should not be bound but only locked in. He informed me that the commander, himself and the other scholars were willing to release me, but that the soldiers would be clamorous for the reward offered by the viceroy for the apprehension of persons consorting with traitors, and that the lowest sum which they might claim for my capture was fifty taels of silver. "Now" said he "if you can pay that sum you shall be released," I then asked for Chü to be called in, and it was arranged that proceedings should be stayed until he could go to and return from Ningpo. An abatement was made in the sum demanded for my ransom. Before ——— quitted my prison I begged him to request two favors of the magistrate viz, that he would examine for himself the books I brought with me now in his possession, and that he would not style me a "traitor."

[The stigma inflicted on his character by that epithet gave Mr. Chiu almost as much concern as his imprisonment. During the English war he acquired by several public-spirited acts a reputation for patriotism which he valued. One of his performances may be mentioned *par parenthèse*. He devised a machine charged with several poisoned arrows which was designed to be secreted by night in a house or bush; from its centre a cord was stretched across the street or road, and which, if the unwary traveller in passing happened to touch, would bring on him one or more of the messengers of death. When it was completed he took it to Peh-kwan, the nearest military station, for trial before the officers in command at that important post. A court was assigned him for his experiments. One goat after another was made to pass in front of the machine, by which they were nearly all pierced and killed. Chiu was highly complimented for his ingenuity, and a sum of money given him sufficient to defray the expenses incurred in contriving the implement of destruction. He was invited to remain until officers higher in command than those who had witnessed its operation should examine and report upon it, when it was supposed he would be recommended to imperial regard. This was the last he heard of his project; a proclamation of peace was proclaimed a few days subsequently, and it is yet with some matter of conjecture whether the celestial machine when brought to bear against Britishers, would prove as effective as it was when goats were its subjects.]

On the next day I was summoned into the presence of the magistrate, who had our books spread out on a table before him. Observing that the scholars present would not be seated so long as I remained standing, he permitted me to take a seat. "Here" says he "is a book that is really of some use," holding in his hand a copy of 'The Law of Storms,' "I have called you in to explain some of the diagrams." [This the prisoner was well able to

perform, having had much to do in the composition of the little volume.] He asked many questions such as "Is it true that there is land on the other side of the equator?" Showing that he had not studied geography. He also wanted to know how the things mentioned in the book were discovered. After conversing a long time on these subjects he remarked that there "was some reason in distributing such books as the one in question, that they were fit for scholars to read." I told him that the followers of the religion of Jesus hold that their sacred books are the best of writings, because they came from Heaven, and that though other books might be useful and good, yet being human compositions they could not be compared with those. "He seemed angry at this and said, 'the books of Jesus are false, and hurtful. Ever since their introduction the minds of the people have been unsettled. Ever since the English war people have been made to think about that religion. The Kwang-si rebellion took its rise in consequence of that same religion.'" I answered, "Sir, the religion is truly excellent, but there are two classes of men who adhere to it: the first consist of those who aimed to be good men: the second comprise those who aim by it to promote selfish and wicked ends." I then quoted the edict of toleration, which distinguishes between those who become sincere christians, and those who are impostors. "Hence learning that the men at Nanking were going astray." "I said 'we were anxious to set them right.'" "Do not talk" said he of teaching such men, that is perfect nonsense. How did it happen that you a literary man versed in the doctrines of Confucius could embrace another religion?" "I have not discarded the moral teachings of Confucius, but his doctrines convey no instruction on the state of the soul after death; they do not tell us how, we may escape misery, and enjoy happiness in the world to come. It was owing to this omission that our emperors have allowed the foreign doctrines of Budha to enter China, these, Sir you know to be false and foolish." In this manner we conversed three hours, when his worship went to dinner. After this he sent for me frequently to converse on geography, astronomy, and the like, but he was disinclined to listen to anything about the doctrine. Once he inquired if foreign steamers did not go to Nanking to succor the rebels. I answered all his questions as well as I was able. One day when he seemed pleased I begged him to burn the letter of instructions I had brought with me, and also that he would cause my bedding and clothes to be restored, this last was partially done which made me comfortable. I heard afterwards that he burnt the letter.

On May 16th.—Brother Chü returned with my ransom money, and I was released after paying for my poor fare, and making presents to the servants in charge of the place. The officer was a benevolent and reasonable man.

XI.

*Attempts to capture Ningpo: Vassals' recruiting
hoax: Failure of the triads: Declaration:
Standing to death.*

Since the fall of Shanghai, Ningpo has been twice on the eve of experiencing the fate of that city. On the first occasion, a party consisting of a few adventurers from Chusan, and Wanchau, professing to hold authority from the Shanghai Chiefs, formed a club, bearing the name, Double Sword Society; the members of which were provided with a certificate similar to those in general use among Secret Societies. Seven of the leading conspirators visited the city, to secure the co-operation of the daring, and reckless, and particularly of all, who for any cause were disaffected toward the authorities. Unfortunately for the conspirators they were referred to an ex-officer, named Le, who, impatient to be again among the "ins," eagerly embraced the opportunity of ingratiating himself in imperial favor, by betraying the Shanghai emissaries. Inviting them to a feast he plied the party with whisky, relying on the Chinese proverb, "whisky discovers the sentiments of the mind" answering to, "*in vinum veritas*" and having obtained all the information sought, he summoned some attendants who had been hired for the purpose, to bind the guests whom he took to the provincial city, and delivered up to the governor. After being subjected to much torture with the design of eliciting information concerning the Shanghai rebels, they were all beheaded. As a reward for the service rendered by Mr. Le, the governor promised that his son, a master of arts, should receive the degree of L. L. D., without an examination, and, that the emperor should be memorialised to confer on him an honorary title.

There is observable in China, especially in the mountainous districts where clanship most prevails a custom analogous to that which prevailed among German tribes in the early stage of the feudal system. It is a common practice for any one having a feud, who can afford the expense, to engage the services of labouring men, either for making predatory raids into the possessions of his enemy, or to repel such attacks: and, during the prevalence of war or insurrection the formation of independent corps like these, is encouraged by government, which offers privileges, honors, or emoluments more than sufficient to compensate for the expense incurred in retaining vassals. There is now pending a strife in the adjacent prefecture of Yu-yau between some landlords and their tenants illustrative of the private warfares ever waging in one quarter or another of this seemingly quiet country. By a failure in the cotton crop the tenants were unable to pay the stipulated portion to the landlords; the latter though willing to make an abatement refused to concede all that the former demanded, and knowing the futility of an appeal to the magistrates they determined to enforce their claims with the aid of a body of retainers whom they enlisted for that purpose. The tenants also armed themselves. In vain the prefect, and even the governor of the province interposed exhortations to stay hostile proceedings, encounters are frequently taking place without any prospect of a compromise.

Instances exhibiting the working of this system as regards its employment by the state have occurred during the progress of the Kwang-si insurrection; some of them are worth recording. A daring adventurer residing in Fuh-kien near the borders of Canton possessed sufficient capital, or credit, to raise a body of three thousand soldiers, with whom he proceeded to the seat of war in Hunan, where he espoused the imperialist cause. Being unprovided with any testimonials from the authorities in Fuh-kien he was suspected of entertaining treasonable designs, and was required to evince his loyalty by making an attack on an advanced post of the rebels, whom he assaulted with great vigor; but apprehensive that it was a ruse of the enemy, the imperialists still feared to trust him; whereupon he went over to the rebel camp with his whole force, making a proffer of his services. There he was regarded with such mistrust by those who had encountered him in battle, that while his followers were employed it was thought safer to put him to death. The case was reported at some length in the *Peking Gazette* from which it appears, that in accordance with common usage the family and immediate relatives of the traitor, were all destroyed by the authorities at his native place, several of his followers having made their escape from Hunan, united with his exasperated friends and joined in the attack on Amoy; indeed, it has been stated, on good authority, that the captors of that city were in the first place instigated, by those who sought to revenge the death of that unfortunate adventurer.

There are perhaps few places in the empire where, since the commencement of the insurrection, camps like the above have not been enrolled by individuals or families; the willingness of people to enlist is illustrated by the following anecdote. A Ningpo man, who had been thrown out of employment at Shanghai, by the insurrection in that city, returned home to live by his wits. Accosting a friend, he asked "have you heard the news, that the missionary . . . is acquiring great merit by organizing a body of braves for the defence of the city?" On receiving a negative reply, he proceeded to explain the details of the whole plan, which he stated had been entrusted to his management. The eager listener very naturally believed the story, for like his towns-men generally he was ready to credit any good thing reported of our friend. "Now," says the wily schemer, "I have been so long absent, that I am not well known, and cannot readily manage this affair myself; if you will go into the country, and bring up recruits I will register, and organize them, and you shall be my adjutant." Accordingly, on the appointed day above one hundred countrymen were brought to town for registration, each of whom paid as usual on such occasions a fee; for in China where things generally go by contraries, recruits, instead of receiving a bounty, pay for the privilege of enrolment. Pocketing the money, the swindler, directed his simple adjutant to dismiss the men for a few days, to increase their number in the interim; and to meet him at a given time with all the braves. When that time arrived, a large number of clothed men came up with their fellows to join the missionary militia, but the leader could not be found! The adjutant finally

repaired with some of those who had been duped to • • •'s residence, where they were informed that the patron of the enterprise was absent at Chusan, and also, that they had been hoaxed. The braves would not credit this, but hastened to the house of another missionary who succeeded in convincing them of the nature of the whole transaction. The poor fellows quietly returned to their fields, in better humor than the peasants of any other country would have done, in similar circumstances.

Among the speculators in patriotism which the times have brought forth, Mr. Kú, a manufacturer of spurious carbonate of ammonia, has been the most useful and successful. The article which he fraudulently imitates is procured from the decomposition of urea, and is in much demand for certain soils in the southern parts of Chih-kiang and Fuh-kien, in the same manner as hair shaved from heads, is sought after for other regions; the Chinese having without the aid of organic chemistry, by mere observation, acquired great skill in the treatment of soils. Mr. Kú and a few others make with little labor and expense, a compost from decomposed granite, which so nearly resembles the urates as to deceive many purchasers. Like many other enterprising men Mr. Kú commended himself to the authorities by raising a body of "braves," for whose support he was permitted to tax the villages near his suburban residence. His exactions had well high driven the country people into rebellion, when an accident suddenly rendered him famous, as the deliverer of the city, and the preserver of society. Several adventurers who had taken part in the capture of Shanghai, had organized a band of desperadoes in the mountainous districts of Chih-kiang, among a people remarkably brave and turbulent, for an attack on Ningpo. Rumors respecting the contemplated invasion by this formidable force had long been rife in the city, occasioning great alarm to its timid inhabitants. In addition to the ordinary precautions of raising patrols, and of strengthening street-gates by the people, the military officers caused every available soldier to be encamped on the city walls; the extra allowance to the soldiers for being in active service, was raised by contributions of the citizens. Cannon were planted at the gates bearing inscriptions, such as "Red Jacket cannon cast at the Chih-kiang foundry Hang-chau, by district magistrate, Wang; weight 1,000 catties examined by inspector Li, Taukwang, 1841." No progress appears to have been made in the art of casting cannon since the days of Verbiest, those which the good father founded serve as models to the present day: there being this difference only; instead of being baptized and named after some western saint, they are sent out on duty with some undignified pagan ceremonies.

Mr. Kú had a rival in chemical fraud, who also aspired to political distinction, but being destitute of credit or capital, he could raise but a small body of men, and being thwarted by Kú in some of his patriotic plans, he proffered the services of his force to the insurgent leaders from Shanghai. The chief of these, hastened over the mountains with a few followers to hold a conference with his new ally, but mistaking the temple to which he had been directed, he suddenly found himself a

prisoner in the hands of Mr. Kú's party; the men were immediately sent off, but many of his adherents being at hand the captors were in danger of losing their prize, until the authorities apprized of the state of affairs, despatched a party of subsidized Canton pirates to follow up the advantages already gained. According to a proclamation issued the following day by the prefect, "about forty of the insurgents were killed by the reformed pirates, and twenty made prisoners. The dagger-men, above 3,000 in number arrived soon after, and hearing of the fate of their chief fled beyond the reach of our troops." Thus was happily averted from Ningpo a calamity similar to that which befel numerous cities in other parts of the country. It was at a great cost however, as the pirates increased their force so as to become virtually masters of the city, which they would have captured, but for the large sums which the Tautai paid them as its guardian, and not content with this they often robbed the citizens and violated their families; perpetrating so many enormities that a general massacre of them was proposed by the Foh-kien men, whom they had plundered. Had the authorities declined the services of these miscreants, a greater evil would undoubtedly have befallen the defenceless city. The services of our ammoniacal patriot were not forgotten, he got "a name in the district," and in consequence is now in the enjoyment of *otium cum dignitate*.

On the morning succeeding the battle the unfortunate prisoners underwent the usual preparation for execution. They were led to the image of Siau Ho, before which they were required to make various prostrations. Siau Ho was a statesman, and most distinguished jurist to whom the Chinese are indebted for the foundation of the existing code of laws: he died 192 years before our era. The ceremonies were concluded by giving to each prisoner a meal of rice, with choice condiments, and a potation of whiskey, or *samsu*, the latter being medicated, less with the design of mitigating suffering, than of preventing resistance on the journey to, and at the execution ground. Many portook freely of the viands set before them those who loathed the feast had a small portion of it forced into their mouths, the attendants supposing that the ghosts, if hungry at starting on their journey into hades might first pay them an early and unfriendly visit. Sedans were in readiness to convey them to the parade ground; the bearers who were compelled to perform the service gratuitously fled, the instant the policemen dragged out the wretched culprits, hastening from the scene with the greatest precipitation fearing that the vindictive spirits of the decapitated would pursue them. For the most part a single blow severed the head from the trunk, but in some cases the operation was too shocking for description. Being under the influence of nervines administered with the food, they knelt down turning towards Peking, to receive the stroke with apparent composure a shout from the lieters followed each blow; and as is usual at executions many spectators rushed into the arena, to dip cloths, and handkerchiefs in the blood, great value being attached to articles thus stained for their supposed efficacy in warding off evil spirits. The trunks were thrown into rude boxes and borne off to the hills; each head was placed in a tub on the top

of a pole with the queue hanging outside, either at the residence of the deceased or at some thoroughfare as a terror to the disaffected. On completing his bloody work, the executioner hastened to the temple of the tutelary divinity of the city, to secure by a round of ceremonies the protection of that god against malicious attack of the ghosts of the slain. His next step was directed towards the shambles, to collect his fees from the butchers, it being understood, that this useful class of men are bound to support these ministers of justice. Besides paying a small sum per annum, the butchers are obliged to pay several hundred cash to the executioner for each case of beheading.

A muster-roll having been found in possession of the chief, many arrests were made, executions followed for many successive days in Ningpo and other adjacent cities, the whole number being not less than 70.

The decollations took place in winter; but in a short time the decayed brown turf which had been saturated with the vivifying fluid, was quickened into preternatural vigor, presenting patches of beautiful green several weeks before the surrounding vegetation experienced the genial influence of spring.

In addition to those who were judicially executed, there were others who received intimation that they were at liberty to make away with themselves, a privilege sometimes extended to persons whom it is not convenient to execute publicly; it is a favour which is rarely declined as the end will be gained by some form of torture; that now in use for such purposes is called, "standing to death." It is with grave misgivings that we venture to lift the veil of a Chinese prison, lest the mode, of torture there employed should find favor

with the minions of state-craft and priest-craft in some lands, or with those in others who hold their kind in bondage. We shall merely describe the newly devised form of punishment which pertains to the subject before us. The miserable creature who is made to "stand to death" is placed in a cage about five feet high and two square. A stool at the bottom is so adjusted that his shoulders are on a line with the top of the contracted prison house: at this place the cage is covered with a board, having an orifice which admits his neck. Thus, with his body enclosed in the cage, and his head above it, the victim of magisterial vengeance is exposed in the street or court of the prison—standing till death by starvation terminates the punishment, which sometimes does not take place before the third or fourth day. A "standing to death" is a form of punishment unknown to the criminal code; it has not been in general use a dozen years. The imperial government retains with jealous and humane care the exclusive right of taking life, except in the case of pirates and insurgents; and from remote antiquity, law and custom have decided that justice may be thus rightfully appeased, only towards the close of the year, when vegetable nature is passing into decay and returning to the earth. In consequence of the delays and trouble which this practice occasions in obtaining warrants for capital executions, the local authorities have devised various methods of putting prisoners to death without the inconvenience attending reference to the provincial and imperial courts." The torture just described is the most approved of these modes, and is employed chiefly in cases where the guilt of the culprit is apparent to the magistrate but destitute of sufficient proof to condemn him in a higher court.

XII.

Another Hung in the field: Consulting the spirits:

Proclamation of Hung the Second: His execution: Piratical insurgents: Collision with "Christians": Ningpo cannonaded: Panic: Foreign mauvais sujets in China.

Relief from the pain occasioned by a review of the executions and tortures of the past few months, is found in the consideration that half a million souls were thereby saved from anarchy, which in China is always attended with consequences of a most heart-rending nature. The efficient tautai, or intendant, who saved the city several times enjoys the credit also of having suppressed an incipient insurrection, the object of which was not plunder, but empire. Its hero, it is true, was a mere mad man, but history shows too clearly that such men may obtain an ascendancy over ignorant masses, and become for a time at least, irresistible. His family name *Hung*, is the same as that of the Kwang-si leader, he resided in the district of Chinhai on the hill or promontory known on the charts as Friendly Bluff. Like Mahomet he was subject to epileptic fits, and on recovering from one of them, he told his friends that he had been to heaven, that the Emperor on high had ordered him to return to earth, and save the people, directing him at the same time to adopt the costume of the Ming dynasty. He pondered much upon the vision, and having allowed his hair to grow according to the order of the day (as mourning on the occasion of the death of Taukwang), resolved never to shave again. His habits, dress and whole appearance caused him to be regarded with reverence by his neighbors. About the time that the fall of Nanking was generally known, a *quid nunc* in the southern part of the Ningpo district, put an enquiry to a noted necromancer "Who will be emperor?" The latter consulted the spirits in the manner we have elsewhere described, receiving a response, not by raps, but by writing, to the effect that the empire would devolve on a man named Hung, living at Friendly Bluff. A party immediately proceeded in quest of the candidate whom they found in the dregs of poverty, but having the appearance and demeanor of an extraordinary character. He was conveyed by his discoverers to the hills of the *Funghua* district where he was secreted and supported for about one year, when the adherents, who had been confided with the secret of his mission, felt themselves sufficiently strong and numerous to bring him into the field; which was done through the following proclamation.

"The sacred founder of our great Ming dynasty, originally a poor feeble man, enjoyed the aid of worth and upright officers and succeeded in driving the Mongolian tribes beyond the mountains, and in scattering to the seas all robbers. Thus he became a great emperor dispensing favors upon men of courage and intelligence. The succeeding Ming emperors reflected his lustre, until their glory was extinguished by the Manchus, whose troops were allowed to enter through the remissness of Wu Shankwei. The usurpers overturned in a day the venerable Ming dynasty. Truly the Manchus are as detestable as vicious curs, or as voracious fish. For their own selfish gratification they draw the blood of the people;

ever pressing for money; without fixed laws; raising compulsory contributions: chaffering about the sale of offices; calling away the military and leaving the people to defend themselves: depressing business, like the noted tyrants of olden time: their depravity has truly become manifest to all men. It is incumbent therefore on the brave and virtuous to assemble from all quarters for the redress of these evils. Although my own virtue and talents are small, yet my followers embody the excellencies of former patriots, and I further invite the coöperation of capable men, both in a civil and a military capacity. Let all such come like clouds to the rescue of the people."

"First year 2nd month 10th day, (March 8th, 1853), of the great Ming dynasty.

Issued at the Kwan-ti (God of War) temple. Sien-shan Fung-hwa.

The unfortunate man, soon after he issued the above, was betrayed and taken before the district magistrate by whom he was instantly beheaded: two of his main supporters who enjoyed the title of "Kings" were sent to Ningpo for decollation. A great number of persons were imprisoned and beaten on suspicion of being followers of Hung, but were acquitted for want of sufficient evidence.

Long anterior to the Kwang-si insurrection, government found itself unable to repress the growing power of pirates on the Foh-kien and Chih-kiang coasts; still less has it been able since that outbreak to cope with those maritime insurgents, whose depredations have extended to countless villages and cities on the coast, occasioning hardly less distress to the unfortunate inhabitants than they would experience if placed at the seat of war. It was for their services in repressing piracy that the Portuguese first obtained footing in China, and of late years they have found it a lucrative business to employ lorchas in conveying native junks and in protecting vessels engaged in fishing. Unhappily too many of the men thus occupied exceeded in avarice and cruelty the miscreants whom they were employed to subdue. In levying blackmail, in attacking villages, in deeds of rape and plunder, they did not show the moderation of local pirates, whose policy was to leave something as seed for a future harvest. This buccanniering has been checked by the appearance of formidable fleets of pirates from Canton, who are monopolizing the wrong-doing of the whole coast. The Macaoese are not disposed quietly to relinquish a business in which much property has been invested, consequently the fights have been numerous, if not severe. Too few, in fact have been killed on either side, in the opinion of peaceable natives:—when craven meets coward then is the caricature of war. Religion, as it is called, is an element in these encounters, adding much to their animosity, in illustration of which, the following incident may be adduced. In dressing the wounds of a party that had been roughly used by the "pagans." One of the number, a Manila man could not be induced to submit to the operation necessary for extracting a ball, which had lodged deeply in his thigh; until a ship-mate from the land of Dante, after an imprecation on the pagan butchers in whose hands they had been, cried out—"Be quiet, you ugly devil, is not the Doctor a Christian like yourself?" This curt address act-

ed like an anæsthetic agent on our Chocolate colored brother, who suffered the bistoury to pursue its way quite to the bone with as little shrinking, as if he had inhaled a full-dose of chloroform.

Several "grasshopper vessels" (so named on account of their shape, by the Chinamen) or Cantonese pirates were anchored a few months' since in Shih-pú harbor, where they were discovered by the Macaoese, who thought to make easy prizes of the whole force; but the former showed so much disinclination to be taken, that our friends hurried from the place with a right good will leaving the pirates to catch the hindmost, which in truth they did, adding her to their own squadron.

Soon after that occurrence the intendant of Ningpo, whose jurisdiction extends over nearly the whole maritime part of the province, was compelled either to take these pirates into his service, or to relinquish the place to their entire control; thus they were brought side by side with the Portuguese who after the Ship-pu fight had come to Ningpo. The unfriendly feeling was gradually subsiding and there was a prospect of an amicable arrangements being effected of which none would have complained—save the people and traders of the coast, when a "religious" event destroyed all prospect of a reconciliation. Religion and women are often charged with occasioning terrestrial discord and mischief, yet few will have the hardihood to assert that either, in a state of purity are sources of evil. It was "Good Friday"—those whose peculiar piety led them that way, the lorchamen, made a representation of Judas Iscariot, of old duck stuffed with straw and oakum, and then made an onslaught, by spitting and hooting, kicking and cuffing, thumping and pommelling, slashing and stabbing and the like till the figure was knocked out of all shape, when it was strung up at the yard-arm, where after dangling a while between heaven and earth, it was cut down, a spectacle to the gaping "pagans"—So that Judas was fairly done for until the next time. So exhilarating were the effects of the ceremony, and its accessories that they were still visible in the "Christians" on the following day, so much so, that, quarrelling with some of the Cantonese whom they met, they deliberately killed one, as a warning to others. The pirates could not be restrained by their chief from wreaking vengeance on their old rivals for this unprovoked murder of their comrade, and on "Easter Sunday" they made an attack on a house into which the Portuguese fled for safety, and seizing a man who was firing at them coolly chopped his head off, and then, having taken life for life quietly retired.

In consequence of this riot the Macao government despatched a corvette to demand apology, and indemnity of the local authorities,—(the pirates being in the imperial service).—Owing to gross mismanagement and improper interference a collision was the consequence. Without a moment's warning the defenceless city was cannonaded, innocent people pursuing their vocations in various places were shot dead, the lives of English and American residents jeopardized and such a panic created as to drive from their homes a large portion of the inhabitants. Although the firing was kept up for nearly half-a-day from the ship-of-war and a score of lorchas not a pirate was

hit: their vessels however were taken and well. If the Portuguese had confined their attack to the pirates, they would have earned the lasting gratitude of the citizens who groan under the rule of these oppressors who have forced themselves on the authorities. But unfortunately the Cantonese have scarcely been humbled. They believe that if they had not been taken by surprise they would have gained an easy victory; in proof of which they refer to an action which took place a few days later lower down the river opposite Chin-hai.

Five lorchas officered and manned from the Corvette were sent to destroy three piratical "grasshopper vessels" belonging to commander Apak's fleet anchored off the city; but the Cantonese were prepared for a contest and fought so vigorously that although the odds were against them, it soon became evident that they could not be easily annihilated. At length one of the "stink pots" as a combustible composition is styled on the coast, thrown from a mast-head into one of the lorchas blew her out of the water, which answered as a signal to the remaining four to return to Ningpo which they did without waiting for the flood. So much recklessness was displayed in the cannonade that Americans whose lives and property were in extreme peril, esteemed the accidental visit of Captain McCluney of the *Powhatan* a most fortunate occurrence, as that officer demanded a guarantee that his countrymen should not again be endangered by the proceedings of Captain Lopes of the *Don João* 1st.

It is hardly necessary to add that the pirates have not been less audacious since their encounters with the men-of-war: they have nearly expelled their rivals from the coast. Had these miscreants (whose hands it is believed have been imbrued in foreign blood) not been tampered with, and flattered by the visits and palaver of foreigners, they would have acceded to the not very unreasonable demands of the Portuguese, but having been led to suppose governments would stand by them, they became extremely obstinate and insolent rendering the attack made on them perfectly justifiable.

The real sufferers in this grossly mismanaged affair were the people of the city, whose terror cannot be well described. At first they put up placards imploring the Portuguese to send their Corvette away, earnestly, expostulating against their cruelty: subsequently placards appeared of a menacing character in which it was intimated that if the English and Americans (whose uniform benevolence was handsomely acknowledged) did not drive away the intruder, the whole community would be involved in irremediable calamity.

Having had frequent occasion to animadvert on the conduct of Portuguese on this coast, we would here earnestly disclaim entertaining any unfriendly feelings towards the countrymen of Camoens and Albuquerque. We reprobate only what all right-minded men among them would unhesitatingly condemn. A far outlying dependency of any other Western state placed in the same circumstances as the Lusitanian colony at Macao, would perhaps harbor quite as many desperate characters. There is not a maritime state in the world which has not sent some of its *mauvais sujets* to China. At Shanghai, an American of the medical profession gained considerable notoriety as an official among the desperadoes who hold possession of that

city, and in this quarter we have an abortive representative of the New York bar engaged in the service of the imperialists, enjoying the privilege of levying a little black-mail on his own account. The lawyer called on a townsman of his at Chusan, who was in the healing line, ostensibly to be prescribed for, but in fact to while away a few hours and get a dinner. His figure was tall and gaunt, with a hatchet-shaped visage; the hair of his head like that of his face had not been disturbed except by a comb for years; he was bedizened with gold lace, chains, rings and buckles all of the same precious metal, (he had been rather successful at the diggings before crossing the Pacific;) he was decorated also with armlets and rings of jade, and other Chinese stones in such profusion that space could be found for no more; accompanying him was a bit of locomotive property in the shape of a native youth dressed in duck trousers, a monkey jacket, and a tarpaulin.

The boy "was worth," said the lawyer "or rather, he cost \$30." The owner of this questionable chattel had the notion that the mere accident of a man having no African blood in his veins, was no valid reason why he should not be converted into property. This bit of casuistry was not controverted.

A short examination sufficed to show that the visitor was shamming, but the feigned disease was formally prescribed for, and the patient allowed to proceed with his story; from which it appeared, that he had been an active partner with some Portuguese and Chinamen in certain enterprizes which yielded lots of booty, and plenty of excitement, without any risks. For the past year he had acted as body-guard and first assistant to a doughty imperialist major engaged in doing nothing

at a convenient distance from the Kwang-si outworks near Nanking. He had got a furlough, and had taken a run down to Chusan for the purpose of collecting money due in various islands from his native friends. The case which promised most trouble was one in which a title to a woman had been given as a guarantee for the payment of some fifty dollars. The debtor having absconded, the lawyer was bent on pressing his claim, which according to the asseverations of the dame and her friends was not valid. The doctor (a missionary) saw much in the affair that indicated trouble, and being fearful of compromising his character in the estimation of a party of natives who were assembling for daily religious instruction, he resolved to get rid at once of his dangerous townsman, and to that end, ordered dinner to be brought up, which mode of treatment signally failed, as the lawyer had come determined to have a home-like meal. Finding that he was not asked to sit down, he was about making a rush at the viands, when the doctor after an expetive cough says—

"With regard to that medicine I would just add my dear sir, that it is to be taken fasting, you are to confine yourself to spoon diet for forty-eight hours." The Lawyer replies—

"Oh, it is all the same sir—it makes no difference with me—I assure you."

Doctor—"I can assure you dear sir, that abstinence is absolutely necessary to one suffering as you are; in fact there is nothing like it, and you see therefore that I cannot be a party to the transgression of the laws of hygiene." On hearing this he retired, instead of carrying out his purpose of siezing the woman he re-embarked at once for the seat of war on the Yang-tse.

XIII.

Plans for raising money at Peking: scarcity of copper money: iron and lead coins cast: Report of the Revenue Board in favor of an extraordinary sale of honors: its adoption and details: the sale of offices attended with advantages.

The strenuous exertions made by the Board of Revenue to replenish the imperial treasury by issues of paper money were attended with only partial success; owing to doubts entertained by bankers and merchants in the honesty and stability of government. Various additional expedients were resorted to for meeting the emergency. Among these was the re-opening of copper mines in Manchuria which had been found unremunerative. Apart from the general demand for money for carrying on the war, there is an increasing scarcity of copper coin in consequence of the large quantities exported to the Straits, where it is sent in ship loads, a drainage which cannot but continue, so long as a dollar here, will purchase nearly two thousand *tsien*, or cash, worth a dollar and a third in the great rice market of Bali.

Another expedient, that of casting iron money was adopted at the instigation of the Wei-tsing-wang, a member of the imperial family, who got up a subscription chiefly among Manchu notables for that purpose, and in the month of May last collected from 299 persons about \$130,000. The emperor was assured by the projectors of this Spartan currency that people were so eager to subscribe, it was desirable to decline all gifts proffered later than June 10th. At a more recent date lead coins were cast and forced into circulation. Numismatologists are the only persons likely to prize the new money.

Various projects were proposed relative to the sale of honorary distinctions. An imperial censor recommended that persons on whom titles had been conferred, should be allowed to transfer them to others who would pay government for the honors.—That people should be encouraged to purchase distinctions for their defunct ancestors as usual, and also, that they should be allowed to purchase the same for relatives generally. It is not strange that Chinese statesmen should endeavor to increase the national revenue by the sale of posthumous honors, which are often coveted for the departed by filial children and attached friends.

A new appeal for a general subscription was advocated by several censors, but recent experience had demonstrated that mode of raising funds to be one which could not be safely repeated except at long intervals of time.

At length imperial assent to a report of the Board in favor of a project for raising above four and a half millions of dollars by the sale of the rank of *Kien-sang*, a term signifying "Overseer," some times incorrectly rendered "sub-graduate"—"Licentiate*" will perhaps be found a more expressive and convenient term.

The *Kien-sang* take a lower rank than the *Siu-tsais*, or district graduates, yet they enjoy the privilege of wearing a knob on the top of the cap, and of presenting themselves as candidates for the degree of *Kiu-jin*, or provincial graduates. At that examination however, they stand on their own merits, and can go no further except in virtue of superior scholarship.

It is a rank chiefly sought on account of the protection it affords from annoyances of petty officials, and to some extent also for the impunity it affords its possessors who may be inclined to oppress the untitled. It is the first step by political speculators in purchasing office. Many distinguished officers of the present as well as of the Ming dynasties entered public life through this channel.

Subjoined is the "imperially approved Report of the Board of Revenue, as published by the governor of Chih-kiang:—"

"On a Reduction in the Charge for Licentiate Diplomas, in Order to Augment the Resources of the Military Department. Let blank forms for the title of Licentiate be distributed among all the provincial treasurers, that through the intendants, prefects, and district magistrate, they may be extended to every quarter of their respective provinces. It shall be incumbent on these local officers to exhort the gentry and scholars to subscribe and at the same time to guard against impositions on the part of their subordinates by personally attending to the receipt of fees and the distribution of diplomas. Purchasers are to enjoy the customary privilege of preventing themselves at the examination for the provincial degree, while an abatement of twenty taels shall be made in the charge, reducing it to eighty-eight taels. Diplomas shall be apportioned to provinces and districts according to the revenue they yield;—One hundred diplomas for every hundred thousand taels. The restriction which requires persons wishing a licentiate degree to make the purchase thereof in their native districts shall be removed, to enable merchants and others residing abroad to embrace the present opportunity. Forty thousand diplomas shall be issued for the empire, by which above three million five hundred taels of silver will be realized as a contribution to the necessities of the army. Diplomas shall be specially prepared and issued in accordance with the plans to be fixed upon; but on the close of the present military operations these documents and the charge for them shall be as before. The imperial reply to the foregoing is, Let it be according as you propose. Respect this."

Chief Justice Wang, provincial treasurer *ad interim*, in communicating the above to the prefects and district magistrates, says, I have received 3,000 blank diplomas for distribution, and send them in due proportions for you to dispose of within a limited time: no procrastination can be allowed. And as is incumbent on me I hereby issue a proclamation to inform the gentry and scholars, merchants and people of the province that besides making an abatement for the time being in the charge for licentiate degree, special facilities are afforded to all who may desire to attain that distinction. It should be clearly understood that on paying the fee, instead of waiting until the diploma can be written for to Peking, the pur-

* For the literary degrees 秀才 *Siu-tsai*, 舉人 *Kiu-jin*, and 進士 *Tsin-sz*, usually rendered A.B., A.M., and L.L.D., we prefer the more descriptive terms District Provincial and National Graduates, with the prefix of literary or military: reserving for the *Han-lin* degree, the title of Imperial Academician.

clasher shall be put in immediate possession of the document. How facile is the mode now, compared with the ordinary one!

There are doubtless many men of repute who aspire to an opportunity for attending the examinations for the provincial degree, or who are desirous of the honor of wearing a knob, or who may wish to subscribe for office, and it is therefore not necessary to say more, than that the Board have limited the time for purchasing the degree to two months. Apprehensive lest some worthy persons may miss the opportunity, by delays or indifference, I admonish you all to be strenuous in the matter, and to resolve to be foremost in subscribing according to rule. I ardently desire that you may be stimulated to seek representation, that thereby the army expenses may be provided for; a most important consideration.

The charge for the diplomas, and the fees pertaining to the Board of Revenue are as follows, for each purchaser one tael, six mace, and seven candareens, besides which, there shall be no charge whatever. If clerk, policemen or others attempt to impose on gentlemen applying for diplomas, by demanding extra sums; or, if those who receive the subscriptions charge for its transmission, information thereof may be given to me, and the swindlers shall be summarily dealt with. Oppose not."

The acting treasurer appends to his proclamation the following particulars—

"Gentlemen applying for degrees shall pay 88 taels, and be charged on account of the incidental expenses of the Board of Revenue 1 tael 3 mace and 2 candareens; also 1 mace and 5 candareens, for the cost of paper and printing; and 3 mace for sundries,—making the whole cost of a licentiate diploma 88 taels 6 mace and 7 candareens. Such are the regulations of the Board: gentlemen who subscribe are to regard no other. A deduction of 1 tael out of every hundred may be made by local officers on account of the expense of transmission; but this does not concern purchasers; should clerks or others make it a pretence for additional charges they shall be punished.

Two months being the limit assigned for these subscriptions, they shall be open to those who may be in mourning.

Persons wishing to present themselves for examination for the military provincial degree, may purchase the title of "military licentiate."

Regulations for the Sale of Licentiate Degrees.

I.—Blank forms prepared in the manner directed by the Board of Revenue shall be issued, for transmission to the provinces in the proportion of one hundred, for every hundred thousand taels of Revenue paid into the imperial treasury; they shall all be offered on sale within a limited period. The number to be disposed of at Chih-kiang according to this rule is 2193. There shall in addition be a reserve of 807 to be distributed among those cities, in which merchants are congregated from various distant regions. Ningpo having the largest number of strangers shall receive of these extra diplomas 200: Wan-chau 107: Hang-chau Kian-hing and other cities in due proportion.

II.—This special issue of diplomas having for its end the raising of money, requires extra diligence on the part of the prefects, whose duty it

shall be on the receipt of the blank forms to join with district magistrates in exhorting the gentry and men of wealth to make immediate application for these honors. Details may be entrusted to sub-chancellors whose reports shall be transmitted to the provincial treasury.

III.—The sale of this issue of diplomas being at a reduced rate, making a saving of several tens of taels, there is danger that swindling subordinates may conceal the fact, and extort larger sums from the unwary thus impeding the operation of the plan; to prevent such malpractices let notice be posted up at every crowded thoroughfare in great numbers clearly setting forth the precise nature of the arrangement.

IV.—Two months is the limited time for the sale of diplomas: every two weeks the sums received shall be transmitted to the provincial treasury; no money shall be retained beyond that time.

V.—Ordinarily none are allowed to subscribe for the titles whose period of mourning has not been completed. On reference however to the case of Sing-maou of Hina-ting in Kiang-su, it appears that in the 15th year of Kia-king (1811) imperial permission was obtained by that person to purchase a degree while in mourning; and thus an imperial rescript has just been obtained to dispense with the restriction, by which all may avail themselves of the privilege of becoming licentiates and of assisting the army.

VI.—(A mere repetition of the above, designed to induce persons in mourning for deceased parents to apply for diplomas.)

VII.—This sale of licentiate diplomas being designed to confer special respectability on purchasers, it differs from ordinary subscriptions in aid of the state, therefore those gentlemen who have already contributed money to the imperial treasury shall not receive their diplomas in acknowledgement, but the emperor will confer other rewards upon all such.

VIII.—According to the expressed decision of the Board of Revenue, one per cent of the money accruing from this sale shall be deducted by the provincial treasurers for the cost of stationary and for postage of the silver. Blank diplomas having been already transmitted to the provincial treasurers, the usual fees to clerks and secretaries for corresponding with the Board in behalf of applicants are not called for: the following are the only fees to be charged at the present time, viz—1 mace 6½ candareens for clerks in the government office: 2 mace 9 candareens 2½ mills for the treasury clerks: 3 candareens 9½ mills for the writers in the specie department, and 3 mills for the porters in said department: also 6 mace for freight, amounting to 6 mace: of the balance 4 mace, 1 mace 5 candareens is to be paid to the prefects' officers, and 2 mace 5 candareens for subordinates in the district magistrate's office. Thus all will be paid for their extra labor.

IX.—(The first paragraph names the days of the month when the money is to be paid, and the days when diplomas are to be issued.) Applicants for the degree shall send in a statement containing name, residence, age, profession, stature, degree of hirsuteness, and the complexion, together with age and calling of father if alive, family name of mother and the same respecting grandfather, great grandfather, and great great grandfather.

X.—Young men of worth and ability who have devoted themselves to archery horsemanship and other military exercises, (but failed to attain the military district degree), shall be allowed to subscribe for the degree of military licentiate, which shall entitle them to present themselves as candidates for the provincial military degree. The present issue of diplomas being hastily prepared for the sustenance of the army, the same forms are used for military as for civil graduates, but under the words "this document is deliverable to,"—shall be inserted, "the military graduate,"—"over which shall be stamped the seal of the district magistrate."

This vast number of diplomas were all printed from the same block, consequently the greater portion of them are perfectly illegible, we have seen none that can be read by their professors. A correct idea of the general form of these documents may be obtained from the following certificate of admission into inferior official rank.

Certificate of Board of Revenue.

"The Board of Revenue in accordance with the imperial will, have carefully considered the memorial of the talented Wang-ping dated Taou-kwang 173d year 3d month 30th day. The petitioner states that he is a native of the city of Ningpo in the province of Chih-kiang aged 47 years, of middling stature, with a spare body, and fair countenance and wears a moustache. Having subscribed eighty taels of silver, he is hereby admitted into the lower class of the ninth official rank. That fee having been received at the treasury on the 20th of the 6th month of the 17th year of the reign of Taou-kwang, this instrument is to be delivered to Wang-ping and by him to be retained: his great grandfather was Shen-liang, his grandfather was Lun-jú, and his father is Ching-hun. Delivered Taou-kwang 173d year 6th month 28th day, (1838). From the Board of Revenue."

The purchaser of foregoing is an aged physician who has for some years been in the service of the Medical Missionary Society. Envious neighbors sometimes question the validity of his claim to a place in the lower post of the lowest rank, owing to the fraudulent circumstances attending the issue of diplomas about that time. Three members of the Board of Revenue were convicted of surreptitiously employing its seal for stamping their documents, and appropriating to their private use the fees procured through them. Decapitation followed the discovery of the fraud. Dr. Wang's patent of distinction was among those issued by the dishonest ministers.

Besides the cheapening of honors, there were other novelties in this measure of government which attracted attention, as indicative of extreme financial embarrassments at Peking. The dispensation extended to persons in mourning for deceased parents, contravenes the teaching of Confucius, as well as the practice of the sage, and is so little in accordance with what filial piety enjoins that its propriety is questioned by not a few among all classes.

In extending the licentiate degree to include military men, an impulse was given to many youth of martial aspirations from which the state will doubtless reap advantages of a permanent character, in addition to present aid to the treasury. By purchasing the military licentiate-

ship, a young man is at once placed on an equality with a *Wú-siu-tsai*, or military district graduate: this, although a low grade, is attainable only by those who through a course of tonics, severe hygienic training and painful gymnastic exercises acquire great physical strength united with extraordinary power of endurance. Like the purchase of the civil licentiateship, that of the military grade confers no advantage in examinations for the provincial degree:—Superiority in athletic accomplishments, and in knowledge of tactics being then requisite to further advancement.

In public estimation, and social position licentiates occupy a lower standing than scholars who have attained the lowest or district degree, and consequently, they are not objects of jealousy to the literati; but as the government presents in express terms as an inducement to political aspirants, the right to purchase office which the rank confers, the measure is not regarded with favor by that all important class: Literary men however, for the most part complain, not so much that men who have never toiled successfully for a degree, are allowed to purchase office, as that places of honor and emolument are attainable only by those of their own class who are possessed of wealth: all officers excepting those higher than that of a *tautai*, or intendantship being sold. By the sale of office to men of no literary pretensions, whose lives have been spent in the pursuit of wealth, a defect in the justly extolled system of examinations, is provided, though perhaps unintentionally:—revenue apparently being the only object which the government has in view in this venal practice. The appointment to office of none but successful students is calculated to deprive the state of the services of some of its ablest subjects, of men who by knowledge of the world are best fitted to discharge the duties of magistrates and statesmen. It cannot have escaped observation from any conversant with this people, that men of large mental calibre, and extensive information, frequently fail in every attempt at the examinations for the first degree, and that literary graduates are often met with whose intellectual faculties are below mediocrity, and whose general knowledge is extremely limited.

In fine there is a large class consisting of extensive proprietors, opulent bankers, successful merchants and original thinkers, men eminently qualified to discharge political functions to whom but for the sale of offices all avenues to distinction in the state would absolutely be closed. Conscious of their power and ability, such characters would prove discontented and troublesome subjects, were they debarred from this made of gratifying their ambition.

Until the qualifications for the attainment of literary degrees become radically modified, the abuses complained of can hardly fail to exist, as while it affords a revenue, it is manifestly not an unmitigated evil.

All the diplomas issued for the province of Chih-kiang were speedily disposed of, and additional ones have been sent down, and the time for making purchases indefinitely extended. A much larger sum has probably been raised in this manner than was, at first contemplated, notwithstanding that owing to the troubled state of the country there are many districts in which the honors were not on sale.

XIV.

Loco of distinction: New order of Performers: Supernatural intervention of Kwan-ti: Rise and subsidence of the Yellow river at Kai-fung-foo: Rebels are compelled to raise the siege: New title asked for the assistance rendered by Kwan-ti: Proceedings in regard to obtaining subscribers to the new order: Annotations.

The main stay of government at the present juncture being its financiers rather than its generals, the measures of the Board of Revenue form an important portion of current history, and hence, he who aspires to be historian to the historian, has frequent occasion to refer to the proceedings of that body. Of all the imposts which the ingenuity of Chinese statesmen has devised, the one which imposes a tax on the love of distinction is most cheerfully borne and that this mode of raising revenue has been carried to a great extent is shewn by the number of titles of various grades, and prices which are proffered to the ambitious. On a late occasion, instead of bringing into market a new issue of petty titles for the accommodation of those who could not spare the sum necessary for purchasing a licentiate'ship, a scheme was proposed of establishing a new order which, besides contributing to the imperial treasury, should also commemorate the supernatural intervention of an apotheosized hero in behalf of the beleaguered forces at Kai-fung in July 1853. Kai-fung is an important City of Honan, on the Yelly River, in olden time the capital of the empire, better known at present as the residence of Chinese Jews.

A series of documents has been issued by the various grades of local officers, each communicating instructions from his superior in relation to the order of "Performers," which the provincial treasurer received from the governor, accompanied with a despatch from the Board of Revenue, enclosing a report of the Board of Rites, and copies of certain memorials, all pertaining to the same subject. The original narrative having received annotations from the numerous hands through which it passed from him who wields the vermilion pencil, down to the holder of the ferule,—the district chancellor—it has become a ponderous document. Divested of the accumulated verbiage, it appears from the memorial of Tsiang-yung, chancellor of Kai-fung, that the siege of that City was suddenly abandoned by the rebels in consequence of the manifestation of extraordinary efficacy by Kwan-ti; there was a heavy rain, and a sudden rise of above thirty feet in the level of the river, by which the rebels' powder was destroyed. Availing themselves of these advantages, the imperialists rushed out of the City and speedily scattered their panic-stricken adversaries, many of whom were drowned by the violent flood, and not a few were captured owing to its sudden subsidence. The memorialist in conclusion prays that the god may be rewarded by votive tablets to be placed in his temples, and that an additional title be conferred upon him. This memorial was endorsed by the governor and submitted to the emperor by the Imperial Academy, which proposed also that Kwan-ti should be further honored by being advanced from the inferior, to the middle class, in the vernal and autumnal sacrifices: that is, the rites to be the same as those offered to

the sun and moon, to the gods of wind and rain, and to imperial ancestors and to Confucius. His Majesty referred the subject to the Board of Rites directing that body to report favorably on the above-named propositions.

Two reports were subsequently drawn up on the subject, one by the Board of Rites, the other being the joint production of that Board and of the Board of Revenue. A translation of the former has already appeared in this paper, in "Extracts from the *Peking Gazette*," but may be repeated here. "The Board in reply say—'that they conceive that Kwan-ti has at different times during the present dynasty had several titles conferred upon him such as "the Most Faithful and Upright of all the mortals who have passed into the Spiritual World," "the Efficacious Protector," "the Benevolent and Brave," "the Dignified and Exalted," "the Defender of the Country," &c.' Now considering that Kai-fung is the screen of the capital, and that just as the rebels were vaunting of their success, this supernatural being interfered to put them to death; considering also the various instances in which Kwan-ti has displayed his glory, thus shewing that our dynasty is destined to be successful. All which supernatural aid is comparatively small towards the people, but great towards the imperial family; considering further, that in every district large and small throughout the empire the temples and images of Kwan-ti are to be found, where people are presenting their prayers; and that he displays his favors both far and near, like the sun and moon suspended in mid heaven, much more than the host of spiritual beings who only protect a single region and manage a single affair,—considering all this, it is the stupid opinion of His Majesty's slaves that not only should a new title be conferred on Kwan-ti, but that he should be elevated in the scale of sacrifices offered on state occasions: we therefore request His Majesty to elevate the sacrifices offered to Kwan-ti from the third or lower to the second or medium rank at the period of the Spring and Autumn sacrifices; and that the ceremonies used towards him as well as the capitalizing of his name in the sacrificial registers should all be according to the medium sacrifices. We also leave it to His Majesty himself to specify what the new title of Kwan-ti should be."

No decisive action was taken concerning the brevet extraordinary until late in December last, when the following report was addressed to the emperor by the Board of Rites—

"We have recently considered the divine manifestation of Kwan-ti under the walls of Kai-fung by which the robbers who had invested that city were dispersed; we have deliberated also on the proposition of governor Luh-ying-kuh, and chancellor Tsiang-yung regarding votive tablets to his honor, and on that of—of the Imperial Institution petitioning for his advancement in sacrificial rank: and unite in advising that in the temples dedicated to Kwan-ti the same ceremonies shall hereafter be performed as in the temple of Confucius. To accomplish this an Order of Performers shall be instituted to play on instruments, and make postures on occasions of sacrifice, the number for each district to be limited to forty, but any number may be added as supernumeraries. Opportunities shall immediately be afforded in every

province, prefecture and district to persons desirous of attaining a place in this newly formed class by the payment of a moderate fee, which shall authorize them, to wear a brass knob (on their caps) as an honorary distinction. To display a reverential recognition of the spiritual intervention of Kwan-ti in behalf of the empire, and to give dignity to the sacrifices to be offered in his temples, the Board will further consider and report on the instruments, music, and hymns proper to be employed in the service. It being decided that the sacrifice shall be according to the form used for departed emperors, it is not proper that persons unskilled in music and posture-making should take part in them, therefore let genteel and clever young men be duly instructed by the district chancellors for the right discharge of these duties. The fees for entering the order shall be paid into the hands of that officer who shall transmit quarterly, to the provincial treasurer all moneys thus accruing, and send an annual statement to the Board of Rites of the number of Performers. On referring to the reduced subscription price for a licentiatehip, it appears, that the charge of fifty-four taels of silver should be charged to those who apply for papers certifying admission to the order of Performers."

Applicants for this distinction shall send to their respective district chancellors, their names, surnames, ages, appearance, profession, and place of residence, also fathers, grand-fathers, and great grand-fathers, together with the fee; a copy of the statement shall be transmitted to the Board, when diplomas shall be filled up and returned. These proposals shall be carried into effect as soon as the imperial sanction is obtained. Approbation is respectfully asked by the Board of Rites; handed up December 27th, 1853. "On the same day the emperor wrote. "Let it be as proposed."

After giving the above the treasurer of Chih-kiang says,—“Let persons of intelligence and respectability be invited by the chancellors to send in applications, with fees for admission into the Order of Performers. Delay not.”

A few annotations seem called for in this place. Kwan-yü usually called the God of War, was a native of Shan-si, and flourished during the Civil War which prevailed in China in the early part of the third century of our era. He was a valorous generalissimo of the prince of Shuh whom he raised to the throne, and in the defence of whose territories he was slain near Chang-yang in Hu-

peh. Defeated by the prince of Wu, (whose capital was Nan-king), and refusing submission to his conqueror, he was beheaded for his contumacious fidelity. His exploits with those of his two brothers in arms, form the subject of the most popular of Chinese novels and of many dramas. After death he was successively promoted to be Earl, Duke, Prince, and finally Ti or Emperor, besides having conferred on him a long list of high sounding titles. Temples to his honor are numerous in every city; which are prepared above all others for thespian exhibitions. The reigning family claim to enjoy his special protection. A story is current at Ningpo, that the emperor Kang-hi had a revelation from Kwan's military brother, to the effect that Kwan, had by the process of metempsychosis appeared again in his, the monarch's person.

As in our antiquity the Orphean lyre was employed to soften, pacify and exalt savage minds and the strains of Tyrtæus to improve the Spartan character, so ancient Chinese sages and statesmen have considered music as one of the essential appliances of good government. To the present day there is connected with the government a Bureau of Music, whose members in virtue of their office, take part in composing the pieces to be employed in the worship of Kwan-ti. Nevertheless it should be added, lest the Chinese be considered a musical race, that perhaps no people have less appreciation of true harmony: their melody is unmitigated discord.

At Ningpo and adjacent cities the plan proved a failure, none cared to purchase the proffered distinction, but as a matter of form a subscriber from each of the six cities of the prefecture was procured for the new order. Perhaps greater efforts would have been made to popularize the project, but for delays which attended the preparation of a ritual. The forms prepared by the Institute, with the aid of the musical bureau, recommended by the Board of Rites and sanctioned by the emperor, were found unsuitable, and at the instigation of the governor of Shang-tung, and the viceroys of Kwang-tung and Fuh-kien, the volume was revised, and a new set of blocks cut, the impressions of which have just been distributed throughout the empire. It appears from a circular lately addressed to the district chancellors, that in the province of Shang-tung an order of Performers has long been in existence, and that the music and poetry now sanctioned have been assimilated to that already in use.

THE NESTORIAN TABLET IN SE-GAN FOO.*

(CONTINUED FROM LAST ALMANAC FOR 1855.)

* In the Province of *Shen-se* Lat. 34° 16' N., Long. 108° 57' E.—According to WILLIAMS'.

The frequency and precision with which names of places and persons together with dates are employed in any document, has been considered a fair test of its genuineness; as experience has shewn that cases of imposture are marked by extreme vagueness in this respect. This we might naturally expect when we consider the intricate labyrinth, which the mention of even a few historical incidents involves. Where however the mention of such facts mutually support and throw light on each other; and where not only the open assertions, but the more latent inferences preserve a general consistency together, and harmonize with known history, this must form a strong chain of presumptive evidence in favour of the document in question. Applying this test to the Nestorian monument, we find almost every line marked by some period of history, some geographical allusion, or the notice of some custom; and in drawing attention to a few of these, it will be observed, that while there is no single quotation, which taken as an isolated statement, might not perhaps be introduced by a modern hand, yet the harmonious sequence in a long train of facts, is such as a forger would scarcely manage without tripping in some matter.

The tablet speaking of the priest Alopun, says,—"In the year A.D. 626, he arrived at Chang-gan: the Emperor sent his prime minister Duke Fang Heuen-ling, who taking his subordinates to the west border, conducted his guest into the interior." On referring to the (*Tang-shoo*) "History of the Tang dynasty,"* we find *Fang Heuen-ling* spoken of as one of the earliest and most attached servants of *Tae-tsung* the founder. Born in 580, being the son of a government officer under the declining *Sui* dynasty, at an early age, he foretold the downfall of the reigning house, and resolved to cast in his lot with the new aspirant. His attachment to his prince, and his qualifications as a statesman soon procured his promotion; in 627 when *Tae-tsung* assumed the imperial dignity, *Heuen-ling* was made Duke of Hing, and in 631 he was promoted to the *Duke-dona* of Wei. In 626 the year he is spoken of on the tablet, being that also of the demise of *Kaou-tsou* the father of the emperor, we find him receiving the confidential commission of an appointment to superintend the operations at the royal sepulchre; and at the same time, an acknowledgment of his merit in the additional title of *Triumvirate Associate of the Rising state*, and also emolument equal to the revenue arising from 1,300 people. During an incursion of the *Too-kuh-liwan Tartars* the same year, *Fang Heuen-*

ling is spoken of as holding audiences of great importance, on behalf of the emperor.

The tablet states,—“In the year A.D. 699 the Buddhists gaining power, raised their voices in the eastern metropolis;” This apparently alludes to some act of intolerance practised by the Buddhists towards the Christians; but history makes no mention of this; an attentive consideration of the state of affairs however, at that period, will show that such is by no means an improbable event. It should be borne in mind that this was during an interregnum in the Tang dynasty. On the death of the emperor *Kaou-tsung* in 684, his empress named *Woo* seized the reins of government, and assumed the supreme power with the appellation of *Tsih-teen*. Fixing upon *Lo-yang* the eastern capital as the seat of government, she banished the rightful heir to the throne, and changed the name of the dynasty from *Tang* to *Chow*. This princess in her early days, having submitted to the Buddhist tonsure, was admitted as an inmate of a nunnery, whence she was taken by *Kaou-tsung* to be his consort, and eventually empress. While residing in this religious establishment, her mental character and tastes probably received much of that bias which particularly marked her after progress. Once alone and free to sway the imperial sceptre, her partiality for the Buddhists soon developed itself in the liberal patronage she bestowed upon that class. Much of the state revenue was expended in building religious houses, and casting brazen images; and it was only at the importunate solicitation of an influential minister *Teih Jin-kee*, that she was dissuaded from going in state to visit a pagoda containing relics of Buddha, at the request of a foreign priest. When about to proceed, *Teih Jin-kee* cast himself on the ground before her, imploring her as she cared for the national welfare, to desist; the desired effect was thus obtained.* This took place in 699, the year referred to on the tablet, and may show the great influence the Buddhists had then obtained at court. Shortly after this, we find a spirited memorial presented by *Jin-kee*, in which he enters in detail on the various measures adopted by her majesty in reference to the Buddhists, and sets forth with a degree of freedom, the national calamities which such a course was likely to produce.† In 705 the government of this princess was overthrown, and the Tang succession resumed in the person of *Chung-tsung*.

The tablet again says,—“In the year A.D. 713, some low fellows excited ridicule, and spread slan-

* Biographical section, vol. 16.

* *Tung keen kang muh*, vol. 42.

† *Tang shoo*, Biographical section, vol. 39.

ders in the western capital." Respecting the persecution here hinted at, history is entirely silent, as it is about almost everything connected with this sect. All we can assume is that there is nothing improbable in the statement.

On the tablet we read,—“The high principled emperor Heuen-tsung caused the Prince of Ning and others, five Princes in all, personally to visit the felicitous edifice.” From the Tang history again, we learn that the Prince of Ning was the elder brother of Heuen-tsung, and had given way to the latter in the imperial succession. He was promoted to the *Princedom of Ning* in the year 716. Besides these two, the emperor Juy-tsung had four other sons, the Prince of Shin, the Prince of Ke, the Prince of See, and Prince of Suy. When Heuen-tsung arrived at Chang-gan from Lo-yang in 701, he appointed a residence for his five brothers in the Hing-king Way, and named it the Residence of the *Five Princes*. These six brothers appear to have lived together on the most amicable terms, the intercourse of the emperor with the other five being frequent and harmonious.*

Again the tablet states,—“In 742, orders were given to the great general Kaou Leih-sze, to send the five sacred portraits (of the Tang emperors) and have them placed in the church, and a gift of a hundred pieces of silk accompanied these pictures of intelligence.” In the section of the Tang history devoted to the Biography of Eunuchs, Kaou Leih-sze occupies the second place on the list. From this memoir, we learn that he was a native of Pwan-chow, originally surnamed Fung, that he was born near the end of the 7th century, and having become a eunuch, was admitted into the palace in his youth; some time after, he was adopted as the son of an officer in the palace named Kaou Yen-fuh, whence he assumed the

surname Kaou. The great favour he enjoyed with Heuen-tsung may be inferred from a remark which that emperor was in the habit of making,—“When Leih-sze is in attendance, I can sleep in security;” hence, the biographer adds, he was constantly in the palace, only going out on rare occasions. In 741, he was made Army controlling Great general, and also Guardian of the right palace door *Great general*, being at the same time promoted to the dukedom of Po-hae.* In the biography of the Prince of Ning, it is said that on the death of that prince in 741, the Great General Kaou Leih-sze was deputed to place on his shrine, an inscription written by the emperor.† Heuen-tsung being the sixth of the Tang dynasty, the five sacred portraits alluded to must be those of the preceding five emperors, Kaou-tsoo, Tae-tsung, Chung-tsung, and Juy-tsung.

The tablet says,—“When the Duke Koh Tsze-e, secondary minister of state, and prince of Fun-yang, at first conducted the military in the Northern region, &c.” In the Tang history there is a long biography of Koh Tsze-e, from which it may be seen that he was one of the principal historical personages of the period. According to this he was born in Hwa-chow in 696, and was made Military commissioner for (*So-fung*) “the Northern region” in 755, on occasion of a revolt by Gan Luh-shan, a general under the imperial government, in the suppression of which he took a very active part; and as a reward for his service, was created Duke of Tae-kwoh in 757. In the beginning of 762, he was made (*Fun-yang keun wang*) *Prince of Fun-yang*, and was still alive at the date of the inscription, having died in the 6th month of the same year, at the venerable age of 85.‡

* *Tang shoo*. Biographical section, vol. 134.

† Do. do. vol. 45.

‡ Do. do. vol. 70.

* *Tang shoo*, Biographical section, vol. 45.

THE NESTORIAN TABLET IN SE-GAN FOO.

(Continued.)

Among the geographical allusions on the tablet, the name of most frequent occurrence is 大秦 *Ta-tsin*, which we have translated Syria, as there is little room for doubt, that this is the term most applicable to the eight several occasions on which the name is introduced. That the author of the inscription himself, had not a very clear notion of the country indicated, one may be inclined to surmise, from the quotation which he introduces from the Chinese historical books, written several centuries prior to the period in question. A reference to the histories of the Han and Wei dynasties, as indicated, proves peculiarly unsatisfactory in determining the precise country intended. The information furnished by these authorities has the appearance of a miscellaneous collection of statements from various sources; it being left to the sagacity of the reader to discriminate, between that which is trustworthy, and some which is evidently bordering on the fabulous. A statement in the History of the After Han, points unequivocally to the Roman empire as *Ta-tsin*, in which it is said that the emperor Gan-tun (Anthony) sent an ambassador to China, A.D. 166. Other parts of the account however are exceedingly difficult to reconcile, and it is scarcely probable that the Nestorian missionaries would select Rome as a national designation for their church. The account however may be somewhat harmonized, by supposing that as Syria once formed a part of the Roman empire, the name and glory of that great empire may have attached to it in oriental history, down to later times. The After Han History corroborates in the main, the description of *Ta-tsin* given on the tablet; we find it there stated that the country is famed for its coral, curious gems, fire-proof cloth, life-restoring incense, bright-moon pearls, and night-lustre gems. It is also stated that the country is entirely free from alarms, robbery, theft, and brigandage. The care of the sovereign in the administration of justice is noticed, and the practice of selecting the princes on account of their virtues, as also the great extent of the land. But while the tablet states that "on the west it extends towards the borders of the immortals and the flowery forests; on the east it lies open to the violent winds and weak waters," the Han History on the contrary says,—“To the west of this kingdom are the weak waters and moving sands,* near to the residence of the *Se wang moo* (Mother of the western king), almost at the place where the sun sets.”†

* This is an evident adaptation of one of the most ancient of Chinese traditions, which records that the residence of the *Se wang moo* is inaccessible in consequence of its being surrounded by waters so weak as to be incapable of floating the lightest object, and sands which are continually shifting. The “weak waters and moving sands” are mentioned in the Yu kung chapter of the Shoo-king.

† *Hou Han shoo*, vol. 118.

The account of *Ta-tsin* in the Wei History is substantially the same as in that of the Han, but much condensed. The author of the inscription however mentions another book, on which he seems to have relied, 西域圖記 *Se yih too ke*, “Illustrated Memoir of the Western Regions.” Although there is little probability of obtaining this work now, yet we find in the Catalogue of books, given in the cyclopædia 玉海 *Yuh hae*,* a work of that name is said to have been presented to the emperor in the year 661, by Wang Ming-yuen who was sent as commissioner to Turkestan; which it may reasonably be supposed is the book referred to. On the heading to the tablet† this is called “the Illustrious religion of *Ta-tsin*,” in the title to the inscription, King-ting is said to be a “priest of the *Ta-tsin* church;” and in the emperor Tae-tsung’s proclamation, he says,—“let the proper authority build a *Ta-tsin* church in the capital in the E-ning Way.” Now although it might be inferred, that in the first two of these instances, the name *Ta-tsin* must necessarily be used, in compliance with the edict issued by Heuen-tsung, thirty-five years previously, “that all the temples of Persian origin should henceforth pass under that designation;” yet it cannot well be supposed that the same argument would apply to the imperial proclamation, issued a hundred and seven years prior to the said edict; hence we are naturally directed to Syria, as the cradle of this religion. It is said “the Most Virtuous Alopun arrived from the country of *Ta-tsin*,” and Tae-tsung in his proclamation, calls him “The Greatly Virtuous Alopun of the kingdom of *Ta-tsin*.” Again the tablet says,—“In 744 the priest Kei-ho in the Kingdom of *Ta-tsin*, looking towards the star (of China) was attracted by its transforming influence, &c.” In reference to these it may be remarked, that although Nisibis was then the chief seat of the Nestorian church, yet Syria was still within their ecclesiastical jurisdiction, there being a metropolitan at Damascus and also at Jerusalem. It is possible however, from the loose way in which *Ta-tsin* is spoken of, that its limits may have been extended even far to the east of Syria. The only other instance in which *Ta-tsin* is mentioned, marks the spot intended with much greater precision even than all the others; where it is said,—“a virgin gave birth to the Holy one in *Ta-tsin*,” the birth of our Saviour leaves little room for question as to Syria being the locality alluded to. There is still indeed another reference on the tablet, to the same locality, though from the figurative language employed, it is much less definite

* Vol. 16, p. 7.

† In giving the translation of the inscription, in a previous part of this paper, the heading of the tablet was omitted; it consists of nine large characters in three lines, signifying,—“Tablet of the dissemination in China, of the Illustrious religion of Syria.”

than any of the above-mentioned instances. It is said,—“At that time there was the chief priest Lo-han, the Greatly Virtuous Kie-leih, and others of noble estate from the (金方 *Kin fang*) ‘golden regions.’” It is well known that the Chinese in their cosmic theories, have allotted each of the four cardinal points respectively to one of their original elements, in which category the west is said to belong to gold; hence the force of the above paragraph, where the “golden regions” appears to imply those countries to the west of China.

The next geographical allusion on the stone reads,—“a bright star announced the felicitous event, and (波斯 *Po-sze*) ‘Persians’ observing the splendour, came to present tribute.” This name was well known to the Chinese of that time, being the designation of an extensive sect then located in the empire, and the name of a nation with which they had held commercial and political intercourse for several centuries. The statement here is in admirable harmony with the general tradition of the early church, that the Magi or wise men mentioned in Matthew’s gospel were no other than philosophers of the Parsee sect.

Further down we read, “In the year A.D. 636, Alopun arrived at 長安 *Chang-gan*.” This scarcely requires any remark, as it well known that Chang-gan of the Tang dynasty, is the modern 西安 *Se-gan* foo, where the stone was found and is preserved to the present time; and although there is nothing in the inscription to indicate the locality of its erection, yet were it left to conjecture, there is no place could be selected with a greater shew of probability than this. Another allusion to the same place however, occurs on the tablet, which is not so obvious to the foreign reader, who is unable to consult the Chinese original. We have translated it,—“in the year A.D. 713, some low fellows excited ridicule, and spread slanders in the western capital.” A translation by M. Léontiewski* gives,—“and in the western state of Chao they attempted to decry it.” An English translation in the *Chinese Repository*† gives,—“and in Sfkáu spread abroad slanderous reports.” A French version by M. Dalquié‡ gives,—“et la calomnierent dans *Sy Kao* (c’est l’ancienne Cour du Roy *Uen uam* dans la Province de *Xen sy*).” A Latin version by Kircher§ gives,—“calumniatione sunt in *Sy Kao* (antiqua est Regis *Uen uam* aula in *Xen sy* Prouincia).” While the last two of these versions are in error in saying that this was the residence of Wan-wang, the two preceding leave the locality undefined. The characters we have translated “western capital” are 西 鎬 *Se Haou*, literally “western Haou;” Haou being the name of the site, within 5 or 6 miles of the present Se-gan, where Woo-wang established his court, after the subjugation of the Shang dynasty, about the end of the 12th century before the Christian era. In B.C. 196, Kaou-tsoo of the Han dynasty removed his court to this vicinity, then known as Chang-gan. Two years later, Hwuy-te, the next emperor, surrounded it with a wall, and raised it

to the rank of a city. From that period down to the Tang, Chang-gan continued, with various intervals, to be occupied as the imperial residence.* It is known to be the practice of the literati to give the preference to the antique names of places in their elegant compositions; hence this designation of one of the two then existing metropolises. A singular corroboration appears to have come to light recently with respect to this site. The Syriac legend at the foot informs us that this tablet was set up by “the Lord Jazedbuzid, Priest and Vicar-episcopal of ‘Cumdan’ the royal city.” Following this record, are the names of four dignitaries in Syriac, the last of which is,—“Gabriel, Priest, Archdeacon, and Ecclesiarch of ‘Cumdan’ and Sarag.” The Roman Catholic fathers were sorely puzzled to apply this name to any definite locality. While Renaudot in his “Anciennes Relations,” endeavours to prove this to be Nanking, Premare denies his position, in an article published in the “Lettres edifiantes;”† and it is only since the publication of Reinaud’s Travels of the Arabians in China, that we learn that during the middle ages, the place known to the Arabs as Kumdân, was no other than Chang-gan.‡ If then this place was the Kumdân of Arabian travellers, no argument is required to identify it with Cumdan in the Nestorian inscription. A topical notice of Chang-gan occurs again in Tae-tsung’s proclamation, which says,—“let the proper authority build a Syrian church in the capital in the (義 摩 坊 *E-ning fang*) ‘E-ning Way.’” The fragmentary work above referred to, “New Record of the two capitals,” states§ that, in the 3rd street west from the imperial city, the third *fang* from the north end is called “*E-ning fang*,”|| and remarks on the next page, that “on the north east of Cross street is

* *Chang-gan che*, vol. 1, p. 1-4.

† “Lettres edifiantes et curieuses,” Tome 3, p. 579. New edition. Paris.

‡ “On the genuineness of the so-called Nestorian Monument of Singan-fu,” by Edward E. Salisbury, p. 413. Not having the original work at hand, we take this statement on the authority of the above learned Professor.

§ Page 14.

|| The *Chang-gan che* gives an elaborate detail of the streets and buildings in this ancient capital, from which we learn that the city was composed of three principal parts; 1st the *Kung ching* or “Palatial city,” 4 *le* in extent from east to west, and 2 *le* 270 paces from north to south; 2nd the *Huang ching* or “Imperial city,” on the south of the preceding, 5 *le* 150 paces east to west, by 3 *le* 140 paces north to south, containing 7 streets longitudinally, and 5 transversely; 3rd the *Wae koh ching* or “Suburban city,” enclosing the two preceding on three sides, being 18 *le* 115 paces from east to west, and 13 *le* 175 paces from north to south. The whole of this space was parcelled out into *fangs* or solid squares, each square being equally divided by two streets, one longitudinally, and one transversely in the form of a cross, and hence termed Cross streets; with the exception of those *fangs* to the south of the imperial city, in which there were no streets dividing them longitudinally. South of the imperial city, the space was occupied by 4 *fangs* from east to west, and nine from north to south=36. On the east and west sides of the imperial city respectively, were 13 *fangs* extending the whole length from north to south of the suburban city, while the breadth of each was occupied by 3.

* See “The Cross and the Dragon,” p. 28.

† For May 1845.

‡ See *La Chine Illustrée*.

§ See *China Illustrata*.

a Persian foreign temple."* The *Chang-gan che* states† that the original name of this was *He-kuang fang*, but was changed to *E-ning fang* in 617, the national designation for that year being *E-ning*. Another local allusion runs thus,—“The emperor commanded the priest Lo-han, the priest Poo-lun, and others, seven in all, together with the Greatly Virtuous Keih-ho, to perform a service of merit in the (興慶宮 *Hing-king kung*) ‘Hing-king palace.’” In the *Chang-gan che*‡ we find, on the east side of the 3rd street east of the imperial city, the 4th *fang* from the north end, was originally called *Lung-king fang*, but the name was changed to *Hing-king fang* on the accession of the emperor Heuen-tsung in 713. Within this *fang* was the residence of the five brothers of Heuen-tsung. As the inscription reads, we are led to believe that the occurrence there noticed, took place in 741, or shortly after. Now on referring to the *Tsui foo yuen kwei*, under the section on “Imperial residences,”§ we find it recorded, “that in the year 714, the Prince of Sung|| and his brothers memorialized the emperor, requesting that he would occupy their former residence in Chang-gan as a royal palace, which was henceforth by imperial decree designated the (*Hing-king kung*) ‘Hing-king palace,’ and was decorated with mottoes written by the emperor. In 728, this palace was first used in transacting the business of the government.” Frequent mention is made of this edifice in the history of that period. In the *Ta Ming yih tung che*, it is said to be five *le* south east from the official residence of the Prefect of Se-gan foo.

One of those antithetical sentences with which the inscription abounds, and which has already been noticed, introduces another name requiring a word of explanation. It is,—“In the year A.D. 699 the Buddhists gaining power, raised their voices in the ‘eastern metropolis.’” The characters which we have translated “eastern metropolis” are 東周 *Tung Chow*, literally “eastern Chow.” It has already been stated that the empire was at this time under the government of the empress Woo Tsih-teen who had removed her residence from Chang-gan to Lo-yang¶ in Ho-nan. By reference to the (洛陽縣志 *Lo-yang hsen che*) “Topography of Lo-yang,”** we find the earliest notice of this city as a royal seat, during the reign of Ping-wang (B.C. 770—720) of the Chow dynasty, which monarch it is said being pressed upon by the Western Tartars, fled from the capital Haou, eastward to the city of Lo, which was hence denominated Eastern Chow.

* A quotation from the *Chang-gan che* in a preceding part of this paper, in which this temple is said to have been erected for the Syrian foreign priest Aloze, can leave no doubt as to this being the temple alluded to on the tablet.

† Vol. 10, p. 9.

‡ Vol. 9, p. 2.

§ Vol. 14, p. 8.

|| This was the elder brother of the emperor. He was created Prince of Sung in 710, and promoted to be Prince of Ning in 716.

¶ Within the present Ho-nan foo, the capital of the province.

** Vol. 10, p. 1.

The dynasty of Woo Tsih-teen being also named Chow, might afford a still further reason for restoring the ancient appellation.

The next local reference is as follows,—“The accomplished and enlightened emperor Suh-tsung rebuilt the Illustrious churches in 靈武 ‘Ling-woo’ and four other places.” The Tang History states that this prince was proclaimed emperor at Ling-woo in 756, while his father was seeking refuge in the country now known as Sze-chuen, on occasion of the rebellion of Gan Lo-shan. Ling-woo is the present 靈州 Ling-chow in Kan-suh. These five places are called 郡 *keen* on the tablet. This *keen* is the name of an ancient territorial division of the empire, which had changed its signification seven times previous to the Tang dynasty. According to the geographical section of the Tang History, about the year 618, the name *keen* was exchanged for that of 州 *chow* throughout the empire; about 742, the name *chow* was again exchanged for *keen*; and in 757, being the 2d year of Suh-tsung, the term *keen* was finally abandoned and *chow* again adopted instead.

The term *keen* occurs on one other occasion on the tablet, in the title of Koh Tsze-e, who is designated Prince of 汾陽 Fun-yang *keen*. Although this title was conferred in 762, five years after the geographical abandonment of the word *keen*, yet as it is exactly confirmed by the biography of Koh Tsze-e, there is no room to doubt its authenticity; the term being probably retained in titles of nobility, long after the other application had ceased. Fun-yang in the province of Shan-se is still known by the same name.

A little lower down, there is another part of the empire referred to,—“When the Duke Koh Tsze-e at first conducted the military in 朔方 *So-fang* ‘the northern region,’ &c.” This is the present prefecture of 寧夏 Ning-hea in Kan-suh, which was known about the time spoken of, by the names of Hea-chow, So-fang, and Ning-so, one of the districts it included being also named So-fang. The same name occurs again in the title of the priest E-sze, who is called the “Associated secondary Military commissioner for *So-fang* (the Northern Region).”

The last line states that this inscription was “written by Lew Sew-yen, formerly Military superintendent for 台州 *Tae-chow*.” This is the same as the present *Tae-chow* in Che-keang, which first received that name in 622.

Another geographical notice occurs on the Chinese part of the inscription, where it is said of the priest E-sze, that—“from the distant city of (王舍 *Wang-shih*) ‘Radjagriha,’ he came to visit (中夏 *Chung-hea*) ‘China.’” *Wang-shih*, literally “Royal residence” which is also the translation of the Sanscrit word *Radjagriha* is the name of a city on the banks of the Ganges, which occurs in a number of Buddhist works. In the cyclopædia *Fa yuen chao lin*,* an extract from the (*Shih-urh yew king*) “Classic of the twelve excursions,” states that the city of (羅閱祇 *Lo-yue-ke*) “Radjagriha” is called in the (晉言 *Tsin yen*) “language of China,” the city of “Wang-

* Vol. 44, p. 13.

shih;" and that it is reported to have been the city where the first kings of (摩迦陀 *Mo-ka-to*) "Mogaddha" lived. The Buddhist traveller Heuen-tsang writes the name of this place 曷羅闍姑利咽 *Ko-lo-chay-keih-le-he*, which is merely another orthography of Radjagriha. As this was one of the most important of the Buddhist cities in India, it is natural to suppose that E-sze was a Buddhist priest.

There are many precedents in the national literature, for the use of *Chung-hea* as a designation of China. We find this term as early as the 3rd century, in an ode by Pan Koo, the historian of the Han; and the two parts of the name are used separately in the same sense, in the *Shoo king*, one of the oldest books in existence.

One of these, 中國 *Chung-kwo* (the middle kingdom) occurs in the Section *Tsze tsae*, of that classic,* and has been retained unchanged down to the present time, now more than 2,000 years, as an unfading tradition of those early times, when the ruling state was surrounded on all sides by a cluster of small feudatories, obedient to the commands of the sovereign. This name is also found twice on the tablet. The heading is,—*"Tablet of the dissemination in 'Chung kwo,' of the illustrious religion of Syria."* The title gives,—*"Tablet eulogizing the propagation of the illustrious religion in 'Chung-kwo.'"* The name given for China on the Syriac portion of the tablet, is *Zinstan*. Those who discover China in the "Land of Sinim," in Isaiah, will probably find here an independent testimony in favour of their view, while the arguments that have been brought forward on that question, leave no doubt as to *Zinstan* here applying to China. Kircher's "China Illustrata" may be consulted

with advantage on the subject, and also an article on the "Land of Sinim" in the *Chinese Repository* for March, 1844. It may be noticed moreover that the name used for China in Buddhist books long anterior to the date of this monument, is 支那 *Che-na*.* In an extract from a Syriac breviary, given by Kircher, the name for China only differs by one letter from that on the tablet. At a subsequent part of the Syriac, the term *malche dizinio* occurs, which we have given "king of China;" but the more literal rendering would be "king of the Chinese."

In the Syriac subscription above noticed, the priest Gabriel is called Ecclesiarch of Cumdan and "Sarag." It is very doubtful what place is here indicated by Sarag. Mosheim† says it is a city of southern China, quoting Ptolemy as his authority for the statement.

In a previous part of the subscription, mention is made of "Mailas, Priest of Balach a city of 'Turkestan.'" We find in the work of Mosheim above quoted,‡ a table taken from Assemani, of the Metropolitan seats of the Nestorians, in which Turkestan forms the 19th on the list.

There is still another national appellation in the Syriac portion, where it is said,—(*Besanath alf utisaain varten 'diavanoid.'*) "In the year of the 'Greeks,' one thousand and ninety-two," It will be observed that the name *Iavanoir* (Ionians) employed here for the Greek nation, from *Javan* the ancestor of the race, is quite in harmony with the usage of oriental literature, where this ancient term has been retained, long after it was given up in the west.

* See *Notices of Chinese Buddhism*, by Rev. J. Edkin's, in the *Shanghai Almanac*, for 1855.

† *Historia Tartarorum Ecclesiastica*, Appendix, p. 28.

‡ Appendix, p. 2.

* See Medhurst's translation of the *Shoo-king*, p. 240.

THE NESTORIAN TABLET IN SE-GAN FOO.

(Continued.)

Some official designations occur on the tablet, which it may not be out of place to mention. It is said,—“the Emperor sent his (宰臣 *Tsae chin*) “Prime minister” Duke Fang Heuen-ling.” In the “Tang History” the same term *Tsae chin* is applied to the prime ministers. At the establishment of the Tang dynasty, the duties of the (*Tsae seang*) “Prime minister” were performed by the chief officers of the three (*Sing*) “tribunals,” denominated respectively (*Chung-shoo ling*) “Secondary minister of state,” (*She chung*) “Imperial attendant,” and (*Shang-shoo ling*) “Chief president;” who deliberated together respecting the government of the state, without the appointment of *Tsae seang* as a separate office. At a later period, the inferior ministers declined the duties of *Shang-shoo ling* in consequence of the emperor Tae-tsung having himself formerly sustained that office. Hence the *Puh-yays* became Chief officers of the (*Shang-shoo ling*) “President’s tribunal,” and these with the *She chung* and *Chung-shoo ling* were entitled *Tsae seang*. (a) According to the Biography of Fang Heuen-ling in the “Tang History,” he was made (尙書左僕射 *Shang-shoo tso puh-yay*) “Senior prime minister,” in 630, five years previous to the time alluded to in the above quotation, which so far presents a perfect agreement with facts.

Lower down, we read,—“When the Duke Koh Tsze-e, (中書令 *Chung-shoo ling*) “Secondary minister of state,” &c.” The office of *Chung-shoo ling* was first established during the Han dynasty, and underwent a variety of changes both with regard to the incumbent duties, and the name, previous to the Tang. At the commencement of that dynasty, the designation was *Nuy-she ling*; in 620, it was changed to *Chung-shoo ling*; in 662, this was abandoned for that of *Yew seang*; in 670, the name *Chung-shoo ling* was again restored; in 685, the name *Nuy she* was adopted instead; in 705, *Chung-shoo ling* was renewed; in 713, this was changed for *Tsae-ue ling*; in 717, the name *Chung-shoo ling* was again adopted; and was once more changed to that of *Yew seang* in 742; this last was replaced by *Chung-shoo ling* in 757, the same year in which the Tang History informs us that Koh Tsze-e was promoted to that dignity, and just about the time alluded to on the tablet, when he was gaining honours by the reduction of the insurgents in So-fang.

Again it is said,—“In 742, orders were given to the (大將軍 *Ta tseang-keun*) ‘Great general,’ Kaou Leih-sze, &c.,” and his biography states that in that same year he was made (冠軍大將軍 *Kwan-keun ta tseang-keun*) “Army-controlling Great general,” and (右監門衛大將軍 *Yew keen-mun wei ta tseang-keun*) “Inferior

guardian of the gate Great general.” The *Ta tseang-keun* was a military title first used during the latter part of the 3rd century B.C. and employed in later times, with a great variety of prefixes. We find the first mention of the *Kwan-keun ta tseang-keun*, about the end of the 5th century, and after a number of changes, the name was re-established in 637. The title *Yew keen-mun wei ta tseang-keun* was first used in 624. (b)

Again the tablet has,—“Our great benefactor the (賜紫袈裟僧 *Tsze tsze kea-sha seng*) ‘Imperially conferred purple gown priest’ E-sze, (金紫光祿大夫 *Kin tsze kwang-luh ta foo*) ‘Titular Great statesman of the Banqueting house,’ (同朔方節度副使 *Tung So-fang tsee-too foo sze*) ‘Associated secondary Military commissioner for the Northern Region,’ and (武殿中監 *She Teen chung keen*) ‘Examination Palace Overseer,’ &c.” Without hazarding a conjecture as to who this priest E-sze was, it seems evident from the elaborate array of titles appended to his name, that the writer intended to mark it with peculiar honour. Near about the time indicated here, we find the practice commencing of the emperors conferring gowns on members of the priesthood. The first notice of such occurs in 778, when it is said, the emperor sent a purple robe on occasion of the death of the foreign priest Sun-to. The following year, a gown was conferred on the priest Ko-tsing, as a special token of imperial favor. (c) Another instance of the same distinction occurs in the subscription at the foot of the tablet, where the Assistant examiner is called the “*Tsze tsze kea-sha* (Imperially conferred purple gown) priest.” The reader of middle age Chinese history does not need to be informed, that it was no rare occurrence for priests to occupy civil and military offices in the state, during the Tang and preceding dynasties. Of the three titles here given, the first is merely an indication of rank, by which the bearer is entitled to a certain emolument from the state; the second is his title as an officer actively engaged in the imperial service; and the third is an honorary title, which gives to the possessor a certain status in the capital without any duties or emolument connected therewith.

Ta foo is a dignity of very old standing in China, having been used during the Shang dynasty, at least 1200 years before the Christian era. The origin of *kwang-luh* as prefixed to titles is to be found in the *Paou jin* (Caterer) of the Chow. (d) The name *kwang-luh* itself was first used about a century before the Christian era; (e) and the title *Kwang-luh ta foo*

(b) *Tsui foo yuen kwei*, vol. 340, p.p. 1, 5, 19, 20.(c) *Do.*, vol. 52, p.p. 2, 3.(d) *Do.*, vol. 620, p. 1.(e) *Do.*, vol. 620, p. 3.(a) *Wan keen tung kaou*, “Antiquarian researches,” vol. 49., p. 5.

was established in the beginning of the third century after Christ.^(f) Those who bore this title were privileged to wear a silver signet suspended from the waist by a blue tie; in 268 a new order was created, a grade higher, who wore a golden signet suspended by a purple tie, and were designated *Kin tsze kwang-luh ta foo*, while those of the old order were called *Yin tsing kwang-luh ta foo*.^(g)

The *Tsee-too sze* was a military office introduced early in the seventh century, for the purpose of more effectually guarding the border territories; the first appointment having been made in 610.^(h) With each *Tsee-too sze*, ten subordinate officers were appointed with the title of *Tung tsee-too foo sze*.⁽ⁱ⁾ The office of *So-fang tsee-too sze* was established in 721 with the object of keeping in check the Tartar hordes in the north.^(j) Koli Tsze-e received this commission in 754;^(k) so that it is probable E-sze received his appointment as *Tung So-fang tsee-too foo sze* soon after.

The office of *Teen chung keen* was first established by the Wei dynasty, towards the end of the 3rd century, for the purpose of taking cognizance of various duties connected with the imperial household. The name underwent several changes previous to the Tang. In 662 it was changed to *Chung yu keen*; and in 670 the original name was restored, and continued to be used throughout the dynasty.^(l) The practise of selecting a class of men by examination to fill the offices of government began with the Tang, and in 703 nominal offices were first conferred upon the successful candidates, with the word *She* (Examination) prefixed to the official title;^(m) hence the designation of E-sze, *She Teen chung keen*.

Another instance of the above-mentioned use of *She* occurs in the Chinese part of the subscription, where the Assistant Examiner is styled (試太常卿 *She Tae-chang king*) "Examination High statesman of the Sacred rites." The duties of the *Tae-chang king*, which are of very remote origin, appear to have risen from a desire to propitiate the spiritual powers. So early as the time of the ancient emperor Shun, we find two officers, Pih-e and Kwei, appointed to take charge of the sacrificial rites, and sacred music; and after more than a thousand years, the various charges connected with this branch of the public service during the Chow, were all under the control of an officer styled the *Ta Tsung-pih* or Minister of Rites. During the Tsin dynasty which succeeded, the name was changed to *Fung-chang*; and this was again changed to *Tae-chang* at the commencement of the Han. From this to the Tang, the name was several times changed, the office being always deemed one of high importance in the government. In 661 *Tae-chang* was changed to *Fung-chang*; but *Tae-chang* was again adopted in 670; in 701 this was replaced by the title

Sze-le; and in 704 *Tae-chang* was again restored, one officer with this title being termed *King*, while there were two inferiors named *Sraon king*.⁽ⁿ⁾ But the priest Ye-le whose name is inscribed on the tablet, having the word *She* prefixed to his title, it is seen by this that the title was merely nominal in his case, indicating a degree of rank far inferior to the officer above spoken of.

The inscription is said to be "written by Lew Sew-yen (朝議郎 *Chaou e lang*) 'Secretary to Council,' formerly (司士參軍 *Sze sze sau-keun*) 'Military superintendent' for *Tae-chao*." The *Chaou e lang* was a supernumerary office established during the Suy, and continued throughout the Tang, but was not retained after the extinction of that dynasty.^(o)

The office of *Sze sze san keun* appears to have existed as early as the Han, but there is no record of the duties pertaining to it at that time. From the time of the Northern Tsié, the post was filled by those distinguished for merit. During the Tang, they had charge of the construction of public buildings.^(p)

The Chinese titles and designations of members of the hierarchy used on this tablet are all taken from the Buddhist vocabulary. Alopun the Nestorian apostle seems to have enjoyed great favour under both the emperors *Tae-tsung* and *Kaou-tsung*, by the latter of whom he was made (鎮國大法主 *Chin kwo ta fa choo*) "Great conservator of doctrine for the preservation of the state." The title *Chin-kwo* was conferred on various occasions during the Tang, not only to members of the priesthood, but also to military officers, as a high mark of honour, indicating a degree of merit. A monastery in the district of Wan-nien, in the capital was also distinguished as the *Chin-kwo sze*. The title *Ta fa choo* is obviously of Buddhist origin. The title in full is apparently the equivalent of the Syriac title given on the right side of the Chinese inscription,—*Papasi de Zinslan*, or "Metropolitan of China;" and if so, the priest Adam mentioned here, must have been a successor of Alopun.

A class of officers subordinate to this is noticed in the ode, where it is said that in the time of *Kaou-tsung* ("法主 *Fa choo*) 'Overseers of the church' were appointed in due form;" and at the end, it is said that "the *Fa choo* Ning-shoo had the charge of the congregations of the Illustrious, in the east," at the time the inscription was written. The first name on the margin in Syriac is "Mar Johanan, *Apiscupo*." The identity of the Chinese *Fa choo* and the Syriac *Apiscupo* is no unreasonable supposition, both being appropriately translated by the term "Bishop."

Another name of office occurs in the Chinese subscription, in the title of the priest Ye-le who is called (寺主 *Sze-choo*) "Chief presbyter." In the Syriac subscription, the title "*Curapiscupo*" is four times applied to the names of individuals, i. e. the Priest Adam, the Priest Jidbuzad twice, and the Priest Sargis. The latter name with the same title again occurs among the Syriac names on the margin. The *Sze-choo* of the Chi-

(f) *Do.*, vol. 620, p. 5.

(g) *Do.*, vol. 620, p. 10.

(h) *Wan heen tung kaou*, vol. 59, p. 12.

(i) *Sin Tang shoo*, vol. 49, part 2, p. 4.

(j) *T'uh she fang yu ke yaou*, "Geography of the Hsi-torians," vol. 5, p. 41.

(k) *Tung keen kang muh*, vol. 44, p. 23.

(l) *Wan heen tung kaou*, vol. 57, p. 1.

(m) *Sin Tang shoo*, vol. 45, p. 6.

(n) *Wan heen tung kaou*, vol. 55, p. 2.

(o) *Yen keen luy han*, vol. 97, p. 38.

(p) *Wan heen tung kaou*, vol. 63, p. 14.

nese here naturally suggests itself as the translation of the Syriac *Curapiscupo*, giving the meaning of "Suffragan Bishop."

The term *Seng* being the transfer of the Sanscrit *Sanga*, which is the common designation for Buddhist priests, is used here in the title, where the composition is said to be the work of *King-tsing Seng* (priest) of the Syrian church. In Tae-tsung's proclamation, he orders that the Syrian church in the E-ning Way be governed by twenty-one *Seng*. The same word is used on six other occasions in the inscription with the same meaning; it is applied to three names in the subscription; and fifty-nine names on the margin also have this term prefixed. The word "*Kasiso*" is used in the line of Syriac on the right side of the inscription, in the name Adam *Kasiso*; and five names in the Syriac part of the subscription are termed *Kasiso*; twenty-eight names on the margin also have this word appended. There is no doubt about the identity of the Chinese *Seng* and the Syriac *Kasiso*, the translation of both being "Priest."

On the inscription, we read again, that about the year 713, "there was the (*僧首 Seng-show*) 'chief priest' Lo-han, &c." At another part, Lo-han is called simply a *seng*, but the previous quotation evidently marks a superior station in the Church. Probably the Syriac of this term is to be found in the subscription, where the Priest Gabriel is called *Risch* or "Ecclesiarch" of Cumdan and Sarag.

In Tae-tsung's proclamation, it is said,—“The (*大德 Ta-tih*) 'Greatly Virtuous' Alopun of the kingdom of Syria, &c.” At another part of the inscription, it is said that about the year 713 there was “the *Ta-tih* Kie-leih, &c.” Lower down, the emperor Heuen-tsung is said to have commanded seven priests “together with the *Ta-tih* Keih-ho to perform a service of merit, &c.” Among the names on the margin also, there is one “*Ta-tih* Yaou-lun.” This *Ta-tih* is a term of very frequent occurrence in Buddhist books written during and previous to the Tang, being applied as a title of courtesy to the Buddhist priests. An instance occurs on the tablet commemorative of the Indian Buddhist priest Puh-kung, in Segan foo, which was erected the same year as the Nestorian tablet, according to the dates. In the title, he is called the *Ta-tih* Ho-shang. We find something nearly corresponding to this also, in the use of the Syriac prefix (*Mar*) “Lord.” This occurs once in the single line down the left side of the inscription, in *Mar* John Joshua; twice in the Syriac subscript, in the names *Mar* Jazedbuzid, and *Mar* Sergius; and five times in the margin, in the names *Mar* John, *Mar* Sergius three times, and *Mar* Joseph.

In the first instance where Alopun is mentioned on the tablet, he is called the (*上德 Shang-tih*) “Most Virtuous” Alopun, which appears to be merely an intensification of the preceding term.

Among the Chinese names on the margin, there is one styled “*老宿耶 Lao suh-ya Keu-mo*,” which is equivalent to our term “Doctor,” *Keu-mo*.

Some other Syriac titles occur among the Ecclesiastical dignitaries. On the left side line, we

find (*aba dabaholha Mar Hanu Jesua Katholiko patriarchis*) “The Chief Father, Lord John Joshua, the Universal Patriarch.” The identity of this title as the Patriarch of the Nestorians is at once obvious.

In the subscript, we have “Gabriel, (*Arcodia-kun*) ‘Archdeacon,’” and the same title occurs again in the margin, in “Aggeus, Priest and *Arcodiakun* of the city of Cumdan.”

Again in the subscript, there is “Adam, *Meschamschöno*” ‘Deacon.’”

It is deserving of remark also how the author has contrived to vary his expressions in noting the several dates, thus giving evidence of a master hand in this style of composition. The first noticed is the arrival of Alopun, which took place in (*貞觀九祀 chin-kwan keu sze*) “the ninth year of *Chin-kwan*,” this being the national name for the term of years beginning with the reign of Tae-tsung A.D. 627, making the year in question 635. The word *sze* which is employed here for year, was the term used for that during the Shang, and is found in the history of that dynasty in the Shoo-king, B.C. 1753.(q)

A little lower it is said,—That Tae-tsung issued the proclamation in (*十二年秋七月 Shih urh nien tseu tsee yue*) “the twelfth year, autumn, in the seventh month.” This corresponds to the year A.D. 638.(r) The word *nien* which represents year here was first brought into use in the Chow dynasty B.C. 1134.(s)

Again it is stated, that—“In (*聖歷年 Shing-le nien*) ‘the years of *Shing-le*,’ the Buddhists gaining power, &c.” *Shing-le* is the name for the period commencing from the beginning of the Chinese year corresponding to our 698, and ending on the 4th day of the 5th month in 700.(t) This was the fifteenth time the name had been changed during the reign of the empress Woo Tsih-teen.

Immediately following the last quotation, we read,—“In (*先天末 Seen-teen mo*) ‘the end of *Seen-teen*,’ &c.” We find the term *Seen-teen* lasted from the beginning of the 8th month in 712, till the last day of the 11th month in 713; being just about the time of the accession of Heuen-tsung. On the 1st day, of the 12th month, the name of the whole year was changed to the “1st of *Kae-yuen*,” so that the name *Seen-teen* is omitted in some of the national chronologies.

Again it is said,—“In (*天寶初 Teen-paou tsao*) ‘the beginning of *Teen-paou*,’ orders were given to the Great general Kaou Leih-sze, &c.” The term *Teen-paou* began on the first day of the first month, of the year answering to our 742, which is no doubt the year alluded to here.

The next date mentioned, is—“In (*三載 San tsae*) ‘the 3rd year,’ the priest Keih-ho in the kingdom of Syria, &c.” It is a fact noted in the Chinese annals, that on the 1st day of the 3rd

(q) See Medhurst's “Shoo-king,” p. 140, &c.

(r) In the former part of this paper, the date 636 should be 635, and 639 should be 638.

(s) See Medhurst's “Shoo-king,” p. 182.

(t) Where the date 699 is given above, it should be altered to correspond to this.

year of *Teen-paou*, 744, the word *nien* "year" was exchanged for *tsae*, which last continued to be used till the 4th day of the 2nd month, of the 1st year of *Keen-yuen*, 758, when it was abandoned for *nien* by authority of the emperor *Suh-tsung*. *Tsae* was the word used for year in the time of the ancient emperors *Yaou* and *Shun*, upwards of 23 centuries before the Christian era.^(u)

The tablet is said to have been erected in (建中二年歲在依墨太族月七日大編森文日 *Keen-chung urh nien, suy tsae tso-yo, tae-tsuu yue, tseih jih, ta-yaou-san-wan jih*) "the 2nd year of *Keen-chung*, the year being in the sign *tso-yo*, the month *tae-tsuu*, seventh day, being *ta-yaou-san-wan*, day." The term *Keen-chung* began on the 1st day of the Chinese year answering to our 780, which makes the date on the stone, the 2nd year, correspond to 781. The word *suy* for year appears to have been first used during the *Hea*, twenty-two centuries before the Christian era.^(v) When the year is said to be in *tso-yo*, this is a tradition of an ancient practice, according to which the year was chronicled by the progress of the planet *Jupiter* through the 12 signs of the zodiac. As it was found that the course of *Jupiter* through the whole circle occupied nearly twelve years, it was termed (*suy sing*) "the year star," each of the 12 years having a special designation, according to the sign then occupied by the planet. These 12 designations were made to correspond with the terms of the duodenary cycle, *Tsze*, *Chow*, *Yin*, &c., and in order to counterbalance the deficiency caused by the more rapid progress of *Jupiter*, one term of the cycle out of every 145 was abandoned. But in the course of time, the accelerated velocity of *Jupiter* showed this to be insufficient, and after the Western Han the terms of the cycle were continued uninterruptedly, without regard to the place of *Jupiter* in the heavens. The same phraseology however has been preserved down to later times, although the law that gave rise to it was lost to the Chinese for many centuries, and has been only recently recovered by the researches of modern native scholars. So that when this formula is met with in Chinese taken as a synonyme of the ordinary terms of the cycle, and not in any way indicative of the place of *Jupiter* at the time given. The name *tso-yo*

documents later than the Han, it is only to be is the equivalent of the term 酉 *yew*, the tenth in the cycle, being that of the date 781. The meaning of these twelve ancient designations is now unknown to the Chinese.^(w)

The month is here called *Tae-tsuu*. This is a vestige of an extremely ancient terminology, to the origin of which it would be difficult to give a date. *Tae-tsuu* is the name of one of the twelve musical tubes; but these were also by a special contrivance used to determine the temperature of the earth during the twelve months of the year, and the seasons were fixed accordingly.^(x) In an ancient calendar "*Sze ling*," found in the *Le ke* or "Book of Rites," the *Tae-tsuu* is called "the temperature tube of the first month of spring." Although these names have now gone out of general use in the calendar, the literati still frequently employ them as an embellishment to their compositions. The seventh day of this month is also called *Ta-yaou-san-wan* day. No satisfactory explanation of this term has been given; it is possibly the name of some day peculiar to the sect. Some have given it as Sunday, which may be correct; for we find by calculation that the 7th day of the 1st month of that year being February 4th, actually fell on a Sunday. An independent calculation of the same problem, by a Chinese, according to the native method, giving the same result, may be seen in the Hongkong Chinese Serial, 選通寶珍 *Hea urh kwei chin*, for September, 1855.

A further means of verifying this date is given in the Syriac at the foot, where the tablet is said to have been set up "in the year of the Greeks, one thousand and ninety two." There is no difficulty in identifying this date, for it is well known that the Greek or Syro-Macedonian era, being the one used by the Syrians, Arabs, and Jews, commenced in the autumn of the year B.C. 312.^(y) So that the 312th year of that era ended in autumn of the year A.D. 1. Carrying the series down to the February of 781 reaches to about the middle of the year 1092 of the Greek era, exactly agreeing with the statement on the tablet.

(u) These are to be found in the *Urh-ya*, probably the most ancient dictionary in existence, composed more than a thousand years before the Christian era.

(x) The names and proportions of these 12 tubes may be seen in Medhurst's "Shoo-king," p. 21.

(y) See Pridaux's "Old and New Testament connected," vol. 1, p. 514.

(u) See Medhurst's "Shoo-king," p. 10.

(r) Do. Do. p. 126.

THE NESTORIAN TABLET IN SE-GAN FOO.

(Concluded.)

Among the various doctrinal subjects which are touched upon in the introductory part of the inscription, there is one especially deserving of notice, as furnishing strong presumptive evidence of the Nestorian origin of this monument, where we find the expression, 我三一分身景尊彌施訶 *Ngo san-yih fun-shin king tsun Me-she-ho* "Our Triune, Divided in nature, Illustrious and Honourable Messiah;" and again in the Ode it is said, 分身出代 *Fun-shin chuh tae*, "Divided in nature, he entered the world." The occurrence of the term *fun-shin*, "Divided in nature," twice in the inscription, is sufficient to attract attention from the uncommon character of the expression; but when we remember the peculiar doctrines, on account of which the Nestorians separated from the church of Rome, there can be very little doubt as to the origin of this term. For had the inscription been composed by partizans of the Roman church, we cannot conceive that they would have been so inconsiderate as to employ an expression which, although by a forced interpretation they might accede to, yet would always be liable to construction in favour of the doctrine which they termed heresy, and that too just at the time when their opponents were making great efforts, and spreading widely through the countries of the east. For the same reason, there is as little ground to think that it was composed by Roman Catholics of later times, as some are prone to believe; for had it been so, it is incredible that they would designedly introduce an element, calculated to destroy the fact it was their intention to establish. The Jesuit Father Kircher has written a work to prove the genuineness of this tablet, in which he speaks of the Syrian preachers as tainted with the heresy of the detestable Nestorius.^(a) The characters *fun-shin* cannot be taken in the sense of "to give a body," as some have suggested; for although in some cases, *fun* may mean "to distribute," yet the violence done to the language by such a rendering here, is too obvious to be admitted. The Chinese language is not wanting in terms, fully to express such an idea; while were a concise term descriptive of the Nestorian tenet required, it is doubtful whether a more adequate expression could be selected than *fun-shin*.

It should be observed in the second of the above phrases, that the word *tae* is used instead of 世 *she*, which is the usual term; this phraseology is peculiar to the Tang, and was employed in consequence of *she* being one of the characters in the name of the emperor 太 "Tae"-tsung; his private name being *She-min*, and Chinese etiquette requiring that no subject of that dynasty should

make use of such characters. This rule is observed even in the title of one of the succeeding emperors, who is designated (代) "Tae"-tsung, while under other circumstances his title would have been *She*-tsung. The same remark will apply to a sentence in the former part of the inscription, where it is said 同人出代 *Tung jin chuh tae*, "he appeared in the world as a man."

It has been remarked that for aught that there is peculiar to Nestorianism, the account of the incarnation might as well have proceeded from a partizan of the much disputed appellation *Theotokos*. But it may be added, that if there is nothing which can be viewed as peculiarly Nestorian in the plain scriptural account which is given, 室女誕聖 *Shih neu tan shing* "a virgin gave birth to the Holy one," there is at least as little that can be taken controversially against that party, or even against the probability of its having emanated from them.

A Buddhist influence is observable in the term employed for "angel," 禪天 *Shin teen*; the *teen* being the generic name for the various classes of *Devas* or Celestial beings, in the Buddhist mythology, and the qualifying term *shin* marking the essentially spiritual character of the agent.

Some interesting notes respecting the Sacred Scriptures are found in this inscription. After noticing the completion of the ancient dispensation, it speaks of the "preservation of twenty-seven Sacred Books," exactly the number we have in the New Testament. It states further that when Alopen arrived from Syria, "he brought the True Sacred Books," and adds, "the Sacred Books were translated in the imperial library." *Tae*-tsung also in his proclamation, states that "Alopen has brought his Sacred Books and images from Syria, and presented them at our chief capital." In the ode again it is stated that "the Scriptures were translated and churches built." From the prominent way in which the Scriptures are here mentioned on several occasions, it was probably considered a matter of importance with these Nestorian missionaries to have them disseminated among the Chinese. The mention of their being translated under imperial surveillance harmonizes very accurately with what history informs us of the state of translatorial labours about that time under the imperial patronage, the Buddhist traveller Hsuen-tsang being engaged about the middle of the 7th century in his arduous labours on the Buddhist books, by special command. If the scriptures were translated then, and there is no reason to doubt it, it is possible some portion of this work may still be preserved in some of those depositories of literary treasures with which China abounds; no evidence of such a fact however has come to light in modern times. In the "Lettres edifiantes" there is a notice by

(a) La Chine Illustrée, p. 76.

Gaubil in 1752 of a manuscript being found in the possession of a Mohammedan, the descendant of Christian or Jewish ancestors from the west, written in characters almost the same as those on the Christian monument in Shen-se. This was carefully copied, and the fac-simile forwarded to Paris. It was afterwards examined by the Baron de Sacy, who pronounced it to be part of the Syriac version of the Old Testament, with hymns, and prayers, written in the Estrangelo character.

As the chief objector in modern times to the genuineness of this tablet is C. F. Neumann, Professor of Chinese, it may be well to glance at the objections which he brings forward. He says, (b) —“The authors of the inscription were Syrians, or at least of Syrian origin, and were in constant communication with the West,—how then comes it, that they describe Tatschin (the West) precisely as Chinese geography under the Tang does? Have the Spaniards and Portuguese, the Dutch and English, in the monuments which they have left on foreign soil, described Europe and their father-land according to truth, or according to the fabulous views of foreign nations?” A very little reflection is sufficient to remove any difficulty on this point. The Chinese from the earliest times, have always been careful to collect what information they could obtain respecting foreign nations, officers having been appointed, whose special duty it was to attend to this; not indeed by long and perilous voyages of discovery, but by minutely enquiring of the envoys from foreign parts, the national character, and customs, the distance and extent of the countries, and a variety of particulars respecting the kingdoms to which they severally belonged; all which were chronicled in the state archives, and every accession to the previous information was annexed to the national history at the close of each dynasty. In this manner, together with the additional matter procured by several native travellers who visited foreign parts, the Chinese became possessed of a very respectable knowledge of other Asiatic nations, at a time when geographical science had certainly not made great progress in Europe; and indeed to the present day, the most authentic account of some countries is to be found in the Chinese annals. Had the Nestorians or other travellers from the West during the Tang brought with them any additional information of importance, the Chinese would certainly have availed themselves of the occasion. But there is no reason to conclude that because the authors of the inscription were of Syrian origin, they must therefore give an account of their father-land different from that found in the Chinese books, when these books were correct in their general statements on the subject. The presumption is that they would rather prefer such statements as the natives could at once recognize, and thus more easily direct attention to that country which it was their object to point out. Although there may be some difficulty now, in recognizing the various national features alluded to on the stone, yet there is no proof whatever that it is a false record. The

Mohammedans in China are very numerous, and their ancestors were originally from the west; but we might look in vain among them for the preservation of any descriptions of the countries of their ancestors, more authentic than other Chinese possess. The Jews have been resident in China for a much longer period, but no records have been preserved by them of the country whence they came.

Neumann proceeds,—“Have the Chinese ever called India itself Tatschin, and was not the name given to the West, at the period of the inscription, Fulin?” It is not very obvious with what view the Professor introduces this sentence, as its tendency appears to nullify the force of the paragraph above noticed. But as this point seems to be given up, in a later article from his pen, it is unnecessary to notice it farther than to remark, that although the name Fulin is applied to that country in the Tang History, yet Ta-tsin was the name by which it was generally known in the early part of the dynasty, and down to much later times this name was used, as can easily be proved by a reference to native Chinese works of the period.

“Upon the chronological error in respect to the Syrian patriarchs (of three years), we will lay no particular stress; Renaudot’s ground is indeed untenable, for there was, especially under the Tang, much communication between eastern and western Asia.” The error here hinted at is, that the date given on the stone both according to the Chinese and the Syriac being A.D. 781, February 4th, the name of the Nestorian Patriarch for the time is given as John Joshua or Ananjesus, while history states that this Patriarch died in 778. It would be desirable to know at what period of the year his death took place, as were it about the end of 778, the time elapsed between that and the date on the stone would not greatly exceed two years, instead of three; moreover the probability is that this inscription was written and cut some time before the date of its erection. Neumann speaks of there being much communication between eastern and western Asia during the Tang; but in view of the information that can now be obtained on this subject, there is no ground to believe that reports were annually passing between Syria and China; indeed considering the difficulties of such a hazardous enterprise, it is much more reasonable to assume, that the arrival of strangers from the far west was a comparatively rare occurrence. Hence we see nothing forced in Renaudot’s supposition that the tidings of the Patriarch’s death may not have reached the Christians in China when the monument was erected. Assemani’s reference also is much to the point, when he draws attention to the fact, that there is a letter now in the Vatican, which was addressed by certain Nestorian bishops who had been sent to Malabar, to their Patriarch in Assyria about the year 1502, when he had been dead already two years. Another instance of a similar kind and more recent date may be cited, as more calculated to excite surprise, and yet of undoubted authenticity. Napier the inventor of logarithms died on the 4th April, 1617. On the 28th July, 1619, more than 2 years after his death, Kepler who had not yet heard of this event, addressed a letter to him describing the progress of his astro-

(b) We rely upon Professor Salisbury’s paper on the Nestorian Tablet, for the statement of these objections; which is given as a quotation from the *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik*, for 1830.

nomical tables, in consequence of the aid derived from logarithmic computation. This letter is preserved in the "Memoirs of John Napier of Merchiston" published in Edinburgh, 1834.(c)

"But never, never, would a Chinese emperor, in a public decree, have dared to say of a foreign doctrine: 'it must be published throughout the land,' without stirring up a revolt in the body of the nation, the Schukiao; never has a Chinese emperor caused the sacred Scriptures to be translated, and made known through the whole empire (he specially commanded to publish it,' &c.) never has an emperor caused a church to be built in his capital, and never were there churches standing in every city. We deny all this so decidedly, because in Chinese history, where even the slightest inclination of the emperors to the Taosse and Buddhists is noticed, and blamed, not the remotest trace of it all is to be found.—And let it be now considered what an emperor it is who found the doctrine of Olopen so excellent,—it is the emperor who passes for a reinstator of the pure doctrine of Kong-tse, who declared: 'there is no salvation out of the doctrine of the perfect wise man.'" The above reasoning no doubt appears very conclusive to the Professor, but unfortunately for his argument, we have a fact at hand which is of more weight than mere hypothesis. This imperial decree which is so offensive in his sight, is actually found in almost the same terms in the 49th vol. of the *唐令要 Tang hwen yaou* "Collection of Important matters of the Tang," a book published during the Sung in 961; and now forming one in the imperial library *Sze koo chuen shoo*, the highest guarantee for its authenticity. The *平津讀碑記 Ping-tsin suh pae ke*, "Ping-tsin Supplementary Tablet Memorial," published in 1813, quotes(d) this proclamation in full from the tablet, and adds,— "This is substantially the same as that contained in the *Tang hwen yaou*, except that the latter says 'the (Po-sze) Persian priest Alopun,' Persia being the original name of the kingdom of *Ta-tsin*. The *Chang-gan che* erroneously gives *Alsosze*." Neumann objects to the statement of there being "churches standing in every city," but this is not exactly what the stone says; the expression is *諸州 Choo chow*, which may be translated "the various departments;" as *chow* does not always signify "without exception." Now this statement tallies remarkably with the extract from the imperial edict by Heuen-tsung, which we have already given, where it says "let this be compiled with *諸府郡 choo foo keun* 'through the various departments;'" and the coincidence of the geographical terms here may be again noticed. As before remarked, the word *chow* was used from about 618 till 742, when it was exchanged for *foo* and *keun*. The first quotation being in the time of Kaou-tsung, who reigned from 650 to 683, has the word *chow*; the second being in 745, the other terms are used in the same sense, which furnishes a strong collateral evidence of the truth of the former. Surely Pro-

fessor Neumann has not read Chinese history very attentively, if he is ignorant of the great favours that have been conferred on the Buddhists at various times by the Chinese emperors; and in particular this very *Tao-tsung*, who he looks upon as "the reinstator of the pure doctrine of Confucius," having received with honours the Buddhist Heuen-tsang on his return from his travels, with more than 600 of the Indian Buddhist sacred books, which this emperor set him to get translated under his own immediate patronage.(e)

The fact of the Nestorian religion having existed in China for many centuries is established upon such abundant evidence and so generally credited, that it would be superfluous to adduce any proof, in reference to the doubts thrown out by Neumann; neither are the Syrian writers altogether silent on the subject as his remarks would imply.

The last argument brought forward by the "leader of the opposition," as Professor Salisbury terms him, is "that both the Chinese and the Syriac characters of the inscription are modern, not such as were in use in the eighth century." Neumann is certainly a bold man to stake his sinological reputation on this statement. Were there no other evidence either for or against the genuineness of the inscription, still the style of the hand-writing would form an overpowering argument in its favour with every Chinese of any literary pretension. There is probably no people in the world who pay so much attention to the various delicate distinctions of different hands; so that it is difficult for a foreigner to understand the minute shades of touch, by which they are able to classify with an accuracy truly astonishing, not merely the several dynasties, but the various schools of writing under each dynasty. A long list of names is on record, of those who have distinguished themselves in this art, from very early times down to the present day; and few Chinese gentlemen of any taste would think of being without a set of impressions taken from stone tablets, as specimens of their works. There is a class of calligraphers who make a particular study of these old specimens, and pride themselves in being able to imitate them with a great degree of accuracy; and none are more highly esteemed or closely studied than the productions of the Tang artists; yet with all their care and practice, it is generally admitted that a modern imitation by the most skilful hand can never deceive a connoisseur. One of the most famous of this class in modern times, named *王文治 Wang Wang-che* has written a work called *快雨堂題跋 Kwae-yu tang te po*, "Kwae-yu Hall Notes and Postscripts," containing notices of the most approved specimens of hand-writing ancient and modern. On the 10th page of the 3rd volume, noticing the Nestorian inscription, he says,— "This tablet, inscribed by Lew Sew-yen is a specimen of the style chiefly aimed at by *Chau Yung luh*, and is distinguished among the hand-writings of the Tang, for its extreme clearness, softness, elegance, and richness. The strokes of the characters on the tablet are slender, and not cut to a great depth; but the people of

(c) This notice is taken from a review by Biôt in the "Journal des Savants" for March, 1835.

(d) Vol. 7, p. 16.

(e) *Ts'ih foo yuen kwet*, vol. 51, p. 17.

Shen-se in rubbing impressions from it, have always lost sight of the excellence of its character, in consequence of the rarity of those who are clever at this work. When I paid a visit to Se-gan, Peih Tsew-fan holding office in Shen-se that same year, he took a general superintendence of the ancient tablets; this tablet was removed to the Kin-ching monastery, where he caused a building to be erected in which it was deposited, and gave it in charge to the head priest King-kwan, that people from other parts might not take impressions at pleasure. Having selected an expert workman, I had several very fine impressions taken, and having obtained the exact form, I became conscious of a superiority in it which the former copies did not exhibit." These remarks are deserving of attention as coming from a scholar who had attained the very highest rank. A great number of impressions must have been taken from this stone, for they are to be found in almost every city for sale, and there is no literary man of any standing, but knows the character of this inscription and recognizes it immediately he hears the name; and when the suggestion is made to the natives of the probability of this being a forgery, the unanimous reply is that such a thing was never known in China, and furthermore that it could not possibly pass undetected; or were it attempted to pass off the Nestorian tablet for any date prior to or later than the Tang, it would be in vain, for the hand-writing would at once betray the period to which it belonged. With respect to the Syriac portion of the inscription, Professor Salisbury will be admitted to be a competent witness, and we have it upon his authority that—"the characters are unquestionably Estranghelo, Neumann's declaration to the contrary notwithstanding;" (f) nor will he be looked upon as one biased in favour of the tablet, since he gives it as his opinion "that the Jesuits of China could, probably, have had the Syriac part of it made up in India." (g)

Not only are the Chinese characters formed in exact accordance with every specimen of the period in question, but the evidence arising from the style of the composition is equally conclusive. The terse antithetic style of the Tang writers, with the extreme paucity of particles, forms a very conspicuous stage in the history of Chinese literature; and rare indeed is the attainment of those who are able to imitate it. The differences in style between the writers of various ages are so extremely well defined in China, that it would be a very hazardous undertaking for any one to try to pass off his work for that of a former age, and it would be no common production that could pass muster before the keen practised eyes of native critics. The peculiarities of the Tang style are found very clearly marked in the Nestorian inscription, such as to afford the most convincing proof to the minds of native scholars. The influence of the three national religious sects may be traced in the phraseology. That the author was one of the literary class there is no room to doubt, as the work bespeaks one well versed

in Confucian lore; while the various transfers and marked allusions to a foreign faith, must give it an air of mystery to the general run of Chinese readers. This mystery however disappears to one who is acquainted with Christian doctrines; and he finds the tenets of the Christian faith clothed in an elegance of diction, unobjectionable even to Chinese taste. Throughout the whole, there is an evident inclination to Buddhism, in the nomenclature adopted for the various ecclesiastical institutions; while Taoist phraseology and ideas are conspicuous in the imperial proclamation. This last peculiarity will be observed in most of the decrees of the Tang emperors, and is to be accounted for by the fact, that the imperial family looked upon Laou-keun the founder of Taoism as their ancestor, the name of both being Le.

We have thus glanced at the several points of evidence which appear to us most conspicuous, leaving out of view what is said on the subject by adherents of the Christian faith, foreign or native. We have given extracts from seventeen different native authors (and the number might be easily enlarged) respecting this tablet, each of whom has something peculiar to say regarding it; but we have not been able to discover the slightest hint of a suspicion as to its genuineness or authenticity. The discovery of the imperial proclamation it contains, also in a book of the Sung dynasty, and the record in two different works, one of the Sung and one of the Tang, of the existence of a foreign temple in the very spot indicated on the tablet, form a species of corroboration not to be overlooked; while the testimony of these works as to other foreign temples about that time is valuable collateral evidence.

The *Chang-gan che* quoting from the earlier work, gives a summary of the religious edifices in that city during the Tang i.e.: "64 Buddhist monasteries, 27 Buddhist nunneries, 10 Taoist monasteries, 6 Taoist nunneries, 2 Persian temples, and 4 chapels of the Heaven worshippers." (h) The imperial edict of 746, which is to be found in several Chinese books, speaks unmistakably of the increase of these foreign religions in China. By a decree issued in 845 by the emperor Wootsung, "all those belonging to the (*Ta-tsin*) 'Syrian' and (*Muh-hoo*) 'Mohammedan' religions orders were commanded to retire to private life, and such foreigners as might be among them to return to their own countries." (i)

In a narrative given by two Arabian travellers, it is stated that 120 thousand Mohammedans, Jews, Christians and Parsees were slain during a revolution at Canfu in China, in the year 877. These Christians must certainly have been Nestorians. During succeeding ages, the Nestorians of China are mentioned on various occasions by Rubruquis, Plan Carpin, Marco Polo and others; and when the zealous Roman Catholic friar John de Monte Corvino arrived in China in the 13th century at the commencement of the Yuen, he met with a good deal of opposition from this party, some curious details respecting which are given in a M S. recently discovered in the imperial library at Paris. It is there said:—"In the city of Cambalech there is a sort of

(f) On the genuineness of the so-called Nestorian monument, p. 410.

(g) Do., p. 409. The pointing is given here according to the original.

(h) Vol. 7, p. 6.

(i) *Hung-keen tuh*, vol. 9, p. 7.

Christian schismatics whom they call Nestorians. They observe the customs and manners of the Greek Church, and are not obedient to the Holy Church of Rome aforesaid." "These Nestorians dwelling in the said empire of Cathay, number more than 30,000, and are very rich; but many of them fear the Christians. They have very beautiful and very holy churches with crosses and images in honour of God and of the saints. They receive from the said emperor several offices, and he grants them many privileges, and it is thought that if they would consent to unite and agree with these Minorites and with other good Christians who reside in this country, they might convert the whole of this country and the emperor to the true faith." Even down to the 16th century, traces of the existence of these people may be found. So that could any sufficient argument be adduced to show that this monument was fabricated by the Jesuits during the Ming dynasty, as some have asserted, it would still remain to be explained what could be their object in so doing. Were it merely to prove the existence of Christians in China during the 7th and 8th centuries, that was already amply proved from other sources. Was it to give the sanction of antiquity to the peculiar dogmas of their Church? That could scarcely be; for we find no distinguishing characteristic of the Roman

Catholic religion on it, which is not applicable to other Christian communities. Had that been their object however, it is scarcely credible that they would have left so much on the point to mere inference, while they have descended to so many minutiae on apparently irrelevant matters, thus involving themselves to a high degree in the risk of detection, by details of persons, places, and events, which while they come with a natural air from a contemporary, would never repay the care and research which they would require on the part of a forger living eight or nine hundred years after the event. And yet it is remarkable that the more closely these various assailable points on the tablet are looked into, the more full and minute do we find the coincidence of times and circumstances.

With respect to the form of the writing and the style of the composition, any one living in China can have no difficulty in making up his mind on the subject; as indeed he may on every other part of the evidence; a careful attention to which will probably bring every one to the conviction of that which Chinese have never doubted, that if the Nestorian tablet can be proved a forgery, there are few existing memorials of by-gone dynasties, which can withstand the same style of argument.

ART. VII.—CHINESE AND AZTEC PLUMAGERY; By D. J. MACGOWAN, M.D.

Those natives of Northeastern Asia who in modern time have been drifted to the opposite shores of the Pacific were generally fishermen, mariners, or persons unacquainted with mechanical operations, and it is altogether probable that from the period of the first disaster by which they were driven to America, to that of the last shipwreck on that coast, very few artisans, and no scholars have in this manner changed continents; nor judging from the low state of civilization of the more northern peoples, could it be expected that adventurers by the way of Behring's Straits or the Aleutian islands would carry with them a knowledge of any arts but the most simple and rudimentary. Hence, we shall look in vain for many resemblances in the industrial operations of the dwellers on the eastern and western coasts of the great ocean. Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that were we better acquainted with the state of arts among those farthest advanced in civilization in Polynesia and America, we should recognize modes of operation identical with those of China too numerous to be accounted for either as coincidences, or as independent inventions. A striking illustration is furnished by Captain Wilkes,* who gives a drawing and description of an instrument for drilling holes, which he found in use by the inhabitants of Fakaofu or Bowditch island. This is undoubtedly a Chinese implement, being the most ingenious of all their tools. It is employed for perforating small holes by all workers in metals, but appears to most advantage in the hands of needle makers, who use it for drilling eyes in the small wires of which these are made.

Whether plumagery or the art of working in feathers, which was formerly practised in this part of the world, and also by the Aztecs of Central America, originated with Asiatics, or Americans, or with both, must be left to conjecture: in any view of the case, the fact is invested with interest. Attention was attracted to this subject by perusing the chapter devoted to an inquiry into Aztec civilization in Prescott's History of the Conquest of Mexico, where the distinguished historian shows that the ancient Mexicans excelled in the arts of plumagery and jewelry, in both of which they appear to have followed the same methods that are adopted by the Chinese.

Confucius informs us that in remote antiquity, ere the art of weaving silk or hemp was understood, mankind were clothed with the skins of beasts and feathers. How the latter were held together is not stated, but it must have been in a rude manner by cords or thread: at a later period feathers were in general demand as ornaments to banners and articles of attire; and subsequently

for the manufacture of door-screens and caps. Tradition states that garments made of feathers and resembling fur-dresses were presented to the emperor Shauhan, who reigned twenty-five centuries before our era. The earliest allusion to robes worn with feathers, occurs in the history of the Tsin dynasty. In the year 272 A.D., Dr. Ching, the court physician, presented the emperor with a gown made of feathers from the golden-headed pheasant. His Majesty being the founder of a new dynasty, was anxious to induce economical habits among his subjects; he therefore immediately ordered the splendid garment to be publicly burnt before the palace door, and issued on the following day stringent prohibitions against the presentation of articles of luxury.

The emperor Wuti, who flourished in the latter part of the fifth century, had a son who was notorious for his extravagance, having among other costly articles, a robe woven with peacocks' feathers. History further informs us that it was the custom of emperors to make presents every eleventh month of robes made out of the feathers of the variegated king-fisher to certain ministers of state. Taitsung, A.D. 976, changed the custom so far as to substitute silk for plumagery. Again, at a later period, the imperial records relate that the princess Ganluh engaged a skilful artificer to collect feathers of every description, to make of them two dresses, which should when looked at in front present one color, when viewed sideways another, and when held up to the light a third. When completed, she presented them to the empress, and they were so much admired that the fabric became very fashionable among officers and people, so much so that the hills and forests were swept clean of down and feathers, and vast numbers of birds were ensnared for their plumage.

More instances might be adduced to show that at different periods extending through many centuries plumagery was well understood. Garments thus manufactured were necessarily rare, their use being confined to persons of rank and wealth, and it may be doubted if even among the Aztecs whose country unlike China had vast forests crowded by the feathered tribe, the material was so abundant as to allow the inhabitants generally to shine in borrowed plumes.

The foregoing examples, drawn from the popular encyclopedias, throw no light on the mode of manufacturing this elegant material. Something however may be gathered on this subject from a work styled "New Conversations on things seen and heard at Canton," by a native of Suchau who spent many years in that city in a mercantile capacity in the latter part of the last century. In a short section devoted to *Bird-Clothes*, he says, "There are several kinds of birds, the feathers of which are woven into a peculiar cloth by the southern barbarians. Among them is the celestial-goose-velvet, the foundation of the fabric being of

* Narrative of the U. S. Exploring Expedition, by Capt. Wilkes, U.S.N., vol. v., p. 17.

Second Series, Vol. XVIII., No. 32.—July, 1854.

silk, into which the feathers were ingeniously and skilfully interwoven, on a common loom, those of Crimson hue being the most expensive. Of these wild goose feathers, two kinds of cloth were made; one for winter, the other for summer-wear. Rain could not moisten them; they were called 'rain-satin' and 'rain-gauze' respectively. Canton men imitated the manufacture, employing the feathers of the common goose, blending them with cloth. This fabric though inferior in quality was much cheaper. Goods of the same description were also brought from Hohlih [a state described by geographers as being adjacent to Samarcand, perhaps Bokhara] made of birds' feathers; they were twilled, the crimson colored being most valued. The article was too heavy for garments. The Cantonese also learned to imitate this, making it like plain silk, and inferior to that from abroad. Peacock's feathers are employed by Canton manufacturers in making variegated threads which are used in making beautiful capes for females." Another writer states that a tribe of the Miautz' in Kwangsi, manufactures clothes from the fine down taken from the abdomen of geese. The down and tufts of birds were probably the materials which were woven into textile-like fabrics.†

From the above, it would appear that the Chinese have lost the art of weaving feathers. Plumagery is still practised, however, in the decoration of metallic ornaments worn by all classes of females, chiefly on the head. When silver is employed, the article is first coated with gold. The gaudy lustre of the gilt is softened by laying over portions of it a covering of blue feathers representing flowers, insects, birds, and the like, which imparts indescribable beauty to the silversmith's elaborate filagrees. The art appears to meet advantage as practised by artificers whose occupation is the manufacture of garlands, chaplets, frontals, tiaras and crowns of very thin copper, on which purple, dark and light blue feathers of gorgeous brilliancy are laid with exquisite taste and skill. From the size of these ornaments great scope is afforded for the display of various figures. Sometimes two dragons extend from below the lobes of the ears, meeting above the forehead, the variegated scales of which are represented by minute portions of feathers of various hues; at others, beautiful flowers are interspersed with elegant mosaic, and then again the head attire appears animated, as with every turn of the fair one, tiny genii, birds, and insects are set in motion from springs and wires which retain them in the midst of the fairy-like garland. A more tasteful, elegant, or gorgeous blending of art and nature than is exhibited in one of these head-dresses, perhaps no ingenuity has hitherto devised. To increase the effect, these ornaments are studded with pearls, produced cheaply and in great abundance by artificial means in a fresh water muscle. Commoner articles, such as ear-rings, and brooches for caps, are generally made of a small wreath of the forget-me-not, encircling one of these pearls. Half a dollar will purchase one of these when of silver, and a few cents the copper

ones. The most expensive head-dresses cost less than five dollars, unless of silver.

As this elegant art has not hitherto attracted the attention of foreigners, the mode of procedure should be described; this may be done in few words.

On the table at which the workman sits, he has a fasciculus of feathers, a small furnace with a few embers for keeping warm a cup of glue, a small cutting instrument like a screw-driver, a pencil or brush, and the articles, either silver, gilt, copper tinsel, or pasteboard which are to be feathered. The thumb and index finger being smeared with glue, the feathers are gently drawn between them, which stiffens the barbs, causing them to adhere firmly together; and when dry the perpendicular blade is drawn close to the shaft dividing it from the barbed portion. Holding this cutting implement as in writing *à la Chinoise*, the artist by pressing on the strips of barb with the knife, cuts them into the desired size and shape, which is a work of some delicacy—the pieces being very small, in the form of petals, scales, diamonds, squares, and the like, and requiring to be of the same size as the particular spot on which they are to be laid. Besides fingering this tool in the manner described, he holds the pencil nearly as we do a pen, dips it into the glue, brushes the spot to be coated, then expertly reversing it, touches with its opposite point a tiny bit of feather, which is thus lifted up and laid on the part for which it was fitted. Care is requisite also in giving a proper direction to this twilled work, for such of course is the appearance presented by the barbs.

The feathers most in demand for this purpose are from a beautiful species of *Alcedo*, brought from the tropical regions of Asia; they are employed for silver articles. King-fishers of coarser plumage, and less brilliant hue, found throughout the country, are used for ornaments made of copper or pasteboard. Blue always greatly predominates over lighter or darker shades, relieved by purple, white or yellow.

Whether Aztec silversmiths, whose ingenuity is so much lauded by the old Spanish chroniclers, practised this branch of plumagery or not is uncertain. There is reason to believe that what is said of their imitation of animals with moveable wings or limbs, of their representing scales of fish alternately of gold and silver, were nothing more than what is now done by the same craft in China; and which were esteemed very marvellous by Sir J. Mandeville (*Voyage and Travail*), motion being communicated by wires and springs, and colors imparted by the plumage of choice birds. The construction of automata proper requires a knowledge of horological mechanism, never attained by either Chinese or Aztecs. Plumagery doubtless attained a far higher degree of excellence in Central America than in China, owing to the greater variety and extreme abundance of the feathered tribe in the dense and luxuriant forests of Mexico. Yet it is not likely that feather-fabrics were so easily manufactured as to be worn by other than the nobles and affluent, to whom in China their use was confined. Had the Chinese been as destitute of textile fabrics as the Aztecs, they would unquestionably have engaged in plumagery with greater success.—*Silliman's Journal*.

† Very showy jackets are sometimes met with at Ningpo manufactured in the north-western provinces from peacock's feathers.—(*Polypteron Emphanum*?)

SHANGHAI ALMANAC

FOR THE YEAR

1857.

SHANGHAI IS IN NORTH LATITUDE $31^{\circ} 14' 8''$ AND LONGITUDE $121^{\circ} 30' 30''$

OR $8\frac{1}{2}^{\circ} 8' 2''$ EAST OF GREENWICH;

China New Year,

COMMENCES ON THE 26 JANY., 1857, ENDS ON THE 13 FEBY., 1858.

IT HAS 13 MONTHS—HAVING AN INTERCALARY 5TH MONTH,

VIZ:

1st month,	29 days.
2d do.	30 do.
3d do.	29 do.
4th do.	29 do.
5th do.	30 do.
5th do. <i>Intercalary</i> ,	29 do.
6th do.	30 do.
7th do.	29 do.
8th do.	30 do.
9th do.	29 do.
10th do.	30 do.
11th do.	30 do.
12th do.	30 do.

Total....384 days.

The year 5618 of the Jewish Era, commences on 19th September, 1857.

The Ramadan (Month of Abstinence observed by Mahommedans)

commences on 25th April, 1857.

The year 1274 of the Mahommedan Era, commences on 22d August, 1857.

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SHANGHAI.

Ch 2. 19



*W. H. Jones,
Churley, England*

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MOVEABLE FESTIVALS,

For A. D. 1857.

Feby.	8, Septuagesima Sunday.	May	21, Ascension Day.
"	25, Ash Wednesday.	"	31, Whit Sunday.
April	12, Easter Day.	June	7, Trinity Sunday.
May	17, Rogation Sunday.		N.B.—Sundays after Trinity 3d.
		Novbr.	20, Advent Sunday.

FIXED FESTIVALS, FASTS, AND ANNIVERSARIES.

January 1, Circumcision.	July	2, Visitation of Virgin Mary.
" 6, Epiphany.	"	4, Declaration of American Independence, 1776.
" 25, Conversion of St. Paul.	"	15, St. Swithin Bishop.
" 30, Martyrdom of King Charles 1st.	"	22, St. Mary Magdalene.
Feby. 2, Purification of Virgin Mary.	"	25, St. James Apostle.
" 24, St. Matthias Apostle.	August 6, Transfiguration.	
March 1, St. David.	" 7, Naming of Jesus.	
" 1, 1st Sunday in Lent.	" 24, St. Bartholomew.	
" 16, The Prince Imperial of France born, 1856.	" 26, Prince Albert born, 1819.	
" 17, St. Patrick.	" 28, St. Augustine Bishop.	
" 21, St. Benedict Abbot.	" 29, St. John Baptist.	
" 25, Annunciation of Virgin Mary.	Septbr. 8, Nativity of Virgin Mary.	
April 4, St. Ambrose.	" 21, St. Matthew Apostle.	
" 20, Louis Napoleon III. Emperor of France born, 1808.	" 29, St. Michael, Michaelmas Day.	
" 23, St. George.	" 30, St. Jerome.	
" 25, St. Mark Evangelist.	October 9, St. Denis.	
May 5, Eugénie Empress of France born, 1826.	" 18, St. Luke Evangelist.	
" 19, St. Dunstan Archbishop.	" 28, St. Simon and St. Jude.	
" 24, Queen Victoria born, 1819.	Novbr. 1, All Saints' Day.	
" 26, Augustine Archbishop.	" 5, Guy Faukes' plot discovered, 1831.	
" 29, King Charles II. restored.	" 9, Prince of Wales born, 1841.	
June 5, Boniface Bishop.	" 30, St. Andrew Apostle.	
" 11, St. Barnabas Apostle.	Decbr. 2, Louis Napoleon declared Emperor of France, 1852.	
" 17, St. Alban Martyr.	" 8, Conception of Virgin Mary.	
" 20, Accession of Queen Victoria, 1837.	" 21, St. Thomas Apostle.	
" 21, Proclamation of Queen Victoria, 1837.	" 25, CHRISTMAS DAY.	
" 24, St. John Baptist.	" 26, St. Stephen Martyr.	
" 24, Mid-summer Day.	" 27, St. John Evangelist.	
" 29, St. Peter Apostle.	" 28, Innocents' Day.	

Golden number 15—Epect 4—Sunday Letter D—Sundays after Epiphany four.

ECLIPSES OF THE SUN,

1857,

IN SHANGHAI MEAN TIME.

I.—*March 26th*, 1857.—A Total Eclipse of the SUN, invisible at Shanghai :—

Central Eclipse begins,	.....	4h. 52m. A.M.
„ „ at noon,	.....	6h. 30m. „
„ „ ends,	.....	8h. 18m. „

The line of Total Eclipse commences in South Australia, crosses the Pacific Ocean in a North-easterly direction, and passing over Mexico terminates in the Gulf of Mexico.

II.—*September 18th*.—An Annular Eclipse of the SUN, visible at Shanghai :—

Central Eclipse begins,	.....	11h. 49m. A.M.
„ „ at noon,	.....	1h. 29m. P.M.
„ „ ends,	.....	3h. 34m. „

At Peking* the Eclipse begins 11h. 53m. A.M.; reaches its greatest magnitude 0h. 49m. P.M.; ends 1h. 46m. P.M.

At Foochow, the Eclipse begins 0h. 17m. P.M.; is greatest at 1h. 33m. P.M.; ends 2h. 46m. P.M.

At Shanghai, the Eclipse begins 0h. 28m. P.M.; is greatest at 1h. 32m. P.M.; ends 2h. 35m. P.M.

At Ningpo, the Eclipse begins 0h. 30m. P.M.; is greatest at 1h. 37m. P.M.; ends 2h. 41m. P.M.

At Canton, the Eclipse begins 11h. 32m. A.M.; is greatest at 1h. 1m. P.M.; ends 2h. 27m. P.M.

The magnitude of the Eclipse in parts of a thousand, will be for Peking 208, for Foochow 349, for Shanghai 244, for Ningpo 258, for Canton 522.

The Eclipse will be annular on a line beginning on the South Coast of the Black Sea, passing through the Caspian Sea, Tartary, Tibet, Birmah, Siam, Borneo, and the North Coast of Australia, into the Pacific Ocean.

There will be no Eclipses of the MOON during this year.

* The times for Peking, Foochow, Kwangtung, Ningpo and Shanghai, have been calculated by a Chinese Mathematician 李善蘭 from data in the Nautical Almanac.

PHASES OF THE MOON,

1857,

IN SHANGHAI MEAN TIME.

		A. M.			A. M.
<i>January</i>	3,—Moon's First Quarter,....	8. 20. P. M.	<i>July</i>	7,—Full Moon,.....	2. 50 P. M.
	10,—Full Moon,.....	5. 14. "		14,—Moon's Last Quarter,....	9. 2. "
	18,—Moon's Last Quarter,....	0. 56. "		21,—New Moon,.....	2. 18. "
	26,—New Moon,.....	7. 32. A. M.		29,—Moon's First Quarter,....	5. 20. A. M.
	6,—Moon in Perigee,.....	1. —. A. M.		2,—Moon in Apogee,.....	10. —. A. M.
<i>February</i>	18,—Moon in Apogee,.....	11. —. "	<i>August</i> ..	18,—Moon in Perigee,.....	3. —. "
	30,—Moon in Perigee,.....	6. —. P. M.		30,—Moon in Apogee,.....	3. —. "
	2,—Moon's First Quarter,....	4. 26. A. M.		6,—Full Moon,.....	2. 34. A. M.
	9,—Full Moon,.....	7. 59. "		13,—Moon's Last Quarter,....	1. 47. "
	17,—Moon's Last Quarter,....	10. 26. "		20,—New Moon,.....	0. 32. "
<i>March</i> ..	24,—New Moon,.....	8. 4. P. M.		27,—Moon's First Quarter,....	11. 11. P. M.
	15,—Moon in Apogee,.....	8. —. A. M.	<i>September</i>	13,—Moon in Perigee,.....	11. —. P. M.
	27,—Moon in Perigee,.....	2. —. "		26,—Moon in Apogee,.....	10. —. "
	3,—Moon's First Quarter,....	0. 36. P. M.		4,—Full Moon,.....	1. 13. P. M.
	11,—Full Moon,.....	0. 23. A. M.		11,—Moon's Last Quarter,....	6. 56. A. M.
<i>April</i>	19,—Moon's Last Quarter,....	5. 9. "		18,—New Moon,.....	1. 39. P. M.
	26,—New Moon,.....	6. 34. "		26,—Moon's First Quarter,....	5. 5. "
	15,—Moon in Apogee,.....	1. —. A. M.		7,—Moon in Perigee,.....	9. —. P. M.
	27,—Moon in Perigee,.....	8. —. "		23,—Moon in Apogee,.....	5. —. "
<i>May</i>	1,—Moon's First Quarter,....	9. 40. P. M.	<i>October</i> ..	3,—Full Moon,.....	11. 15. P. M.
	9,—Full Moon,.....	5. 34. "		10,—Moon's Last Quarter,....	2. 0. "
	17,—Moon's Last Quarter,....	8. 6. "		18,—New Moon,.....	5. 44. A. M.
	24,—New Moon,.....	3. 20. "		26,—Moon's First Quarter,....	10. 11. "
	11,—Moon in Apogee,.....	10. —. A. M.		5,—Moon in Perigee,.....	4. —. P. M.
<i>June</i>	24,—Moon in Perigee,.....	6. —. P. M.		21,—Moon in Apogee,.....	9. —. A. M.
	1,—Moon's First Quarter,....	8. 24. A. M.	<i>November</i>	2,—Full Moon,.....	9. 8. A. M.
	9,—Full Moon,.....	10. 17. "		9,—Moon's Last Quarter,....	0. 20. "
	17,—Moon's Last Quarter,....	7. 16. "		* 17,—New Moon,.....	0. 0. "
	23,—New Moon,.....	10. 54. P. M.		25,—Moon's First Quarter,....	1. 39. "
<i>July</i>	30,—Moon's First Quarter,....	9. 18. "		3,—Moon in Perigee,.....	1. —. A. M.
	8,—Moon in Apogee,.....	Noon.		17,—Moon in Apogee,.....	3. —. P. M.
	23,—Moon in Perigee,.....	4. —. A. M.	<i>December</i>	1,—Full Moon,.....	7. 6. P. M.
	8,—Full Moon,.....	1. 29. A. M.		8,—Moon's Last Quarter,....	2. 44. "
	15,—Moon's Last Quarter,....	3. 16. "		16,—New Moon,.....	7. 7. "
<i>August</i> ..	22,—New Moon,.....	6. 9. "		24,—Moon's First Quarter,....	2. 42. "
	29,—Moon's First Quarter,....	0. 26. P. M.		31,—Full Moon,.....	5. 39. A. M.
	4,—Moon in Apogee,.....	8. —. P. M.		1,—Moon in Perigee,.....	1. —. P. M.
	20,—Moon in Perigee,.....	10. —. A. M.		14,—Moon in Apogee,.....	4. —. "
				30,—Moon in Perigee,.....	1. —. A. M.

* On 16th—before midnight at Pekin, after midnight at Shanghai.

ABSTRACT

OF

OBSERVATIONS BY THE THERMOMETER,

IN THE OPEN AIR,

IN A SHADED SITUATION WITH A SOUTHERN EXPOSURE;

THE *MAXIMUM* BY DAY, AND THE *MINIMUM* FOR THE NIGHT,

TAKEN BY A SELF-REGISTERING THERMOMETER;

YEARS										YEARS									
1849 a November 1855	Max. by day.	Min. by day.	Max. by night.	Min. by night.	Average by day.	Average by night.	Rainy days.	Rain Table.		1849 a November 1855	Max. by day.	Min. by day.	Max. by night.	Min. by night.	Average by day.	Average by night.	Rainy days.	Rain Table.	
Jan. 1850	65	32	42	24	46	32	8	.....		July 1850	93	70	80	67	85	76	10	.....	
....1851	65	42	45	24	51	33	7	1 in.		1851	96	70	81	66	88	75	7	4 in.	
....1852	66	25	40	18	48	30	3	1 in.		1852	100	82	81	75	92	78	8	3 in.	
....1853	66	30	43	18	45	30	10	10 in.		1853	99	83	81	77	90	80	2	1 in.	
....1854	67	32	53	24	51	37	9	3 in.		1854	98	72	84	70	88	78	13	14 in.	
....1855	52	33	40	18	44	25	4	1 in.		1855	94	82	82	73	89	78	8	5 in.	
....1856	54	40	42	18	47	20	7	2 in.		1856	96	77	81	70	89	78	2	1-16 in.	
Feb. 1850	58	32	43	25	45	33	9	.....		Aug. 1850	100	85	81	68	90	72	4	.....	
....1851	65	38	42	26	49	34	10	2 in.		1851	93	76	82	63	87	77	11	9 in.	
....1852	60	38	40	19	45	31	13	2 in.		1852	94	82	82	67	88	76	7	3 in.	
....1853	56	33	40	20	45	31	11	1 in.		1853	95	82	80	70	86	73	13	13 in.	
....1854	62	32	43	25	44	32	12	5 in.		1854	99	75	81	65	89	79	10	8 in.	
....1855	68	35	45	18	51	30	5	in.		1855	99	83	81	75	87	78	12	7 in.	
....1856	60	30	42	15	44	31	13	4 in.		1856	95	85	82	74	90	79	6	1 in.	
Mar. 1850	75	44	49	29	58	39	3	.....		Sep. 1850	83	71	77	62	82	67	14	.....	
....1851	63	40	55	28	52	41	16	6 in.		1851	89	66	77	51	78	67	11	4 in.	
....1852	62	43	45	33	51	38	12	3 in.		1852	92	70	79	56	79	66	10	6 in.	
....1853	67	46	57	35	56	42	10	5 in.		1853	90	70	78	64	82	70	12	7 in.	
....1854	67	42	47	32	52	41	10	3 in.		1854	90	66	79	59	80	69	9	4 in.	
....1855	72	36	57	30	55	41	11	4 in.		1855	88	70	78	58	81	70	8	4 in.	
....1856	73	40	50	26	55	39	6	1 in.		1856	90	70	80	58	82	72	15	4 in.	
Apr. 1850	78	54	57	35	63	47	11	.....		Oct. 1850	82	63	70	48	73	61	9	2 in.	
....1851	70	50	56	33	59	48	21	9 in.		1851	90	57	72	43	70	51	10	1 in.	
....1852	72	50	61	35	62	48	10	1 in.		1852	83	62	70	49	74	58	4	2 in.	
....1853	79	50	60	38	63	50	17	6 in.		1853	88	65	77	46	73	60	6	1 in.	
....1854	75	56	60	40	64	49	10	2 in.		1854	88	63	70	50	74	60	5	1 in.	
....1855	82	52	67	37	63	51	15	1 in.		1855	80	65	69	45	73	58	3	1 in.	
....1856	88	54	62	42	65	51	9	3 in.		1856	84	60	73	45	70	59	11	5 in.	
May 1850	85	54	73	46	74	61	7	.....		Nov. 1850	80	44	62	25	63	48	7	2 in.	
....1851	83	60	68	47	70	57	5	2 in.		1851	76	55	60	41	66	48	10	4 in.	
....1852	84	60	68	52	73	60	8	1 in.		1852	80	53	62	32	64	48	2	7 in.	
....1853	86	62	68	50	72	59	11	4 in.		1853	76	48	65	32	66	50	14	4 in.	
....1854	84	64	70	37	73	61	15	5 in.		1854	76	52	60	31	66	45	3	1 in.	
....1855	90	60	73	50	74	63	18	8 in.		1855	78	55	62	33	62	49	11	4 in.	
....1856	92	60	73	46	73	61	11	4 in.		1856	75	60	57	32	68	45	..	.....	
June 1850	90	65	75	62	79	69	10	.....		Dec. 1850	72	45	45	25	58	36	2	1 in.	
....1851	83	68	75	60	77	67	10	11 in.		1851	64	45	47	25	54	36	5	in.	
....1852	99	66	81	58	81	73	17	5 in.		1852	65	42	52	19	54	32	1	in.	
....1853	93	70	78	59	81	69	13	4 in.		1853	66	40	46	27	54	38	3	in.	
....1854	90	71	80	62	79	69	10	7 in.		1854	66	40	46	26	55	39	4	in.	
....1855	90	73	79	56	79	70	7	5 in.		1855	73	40	43	22	60	36	..	.....	
....1856	88	68	77	64	80	66	3	2 in.		1856	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.....	

NOTICE TO MARINERS.

OFFICE OF MARITIME CUSTOMS,
Shanghai, 20th November, 1856.

With reference to a Notification from this Office, dated 27th October, 1855, Notice is hereby given, that a Tower has been erected on the South Shore of the Yangtze Keang, at Kew T'oan

(九團). It is a plain structure of Brick, painted Red and White. Its height is 70 feet.

It bears from the Light Vessel N. 63° West, distance 16 miles.

The Trees upon Block House Island bear from it N. 15° West, distance 8 miles.

The Light Vessel is moored in 4½ fathoms, at low water, and bears N. by W. ½ W. from Gutzlaff Island, from which she is distant 23 miles, and 1 mile from the Southern Spit of the North Bank. Ships leaving Gutzlaff bearing S. by E., distance 15 miles, should steer a North Westerly course. On making the Light Vessel bearing N.W., they should steer so as to pass her on the Starboard hand, not bringing her to the Southward of West. After passing her, they should not bring her to the Southward of S.E. by E. ½ E., making due allowance for the setting of the Tides over the North Bank. When about sinking her Hull, the Tower will be seen, and the course prescribed by Captain Collinson's Directions can then be followed.

When a Vessel is observed running into danger, a Gun is fired from the Light Vessel to attract attention, and the Signal of the course that should be steered is then exhibited. A Ship's Signal Lamp is shown on board from Sunset to Sunrise.

A Meteorological Register and Tide Table are kept by the Master of the Light Vessel, Copies of which can be had *gratis* on application at this Office.

By Order,

WM. LENT, *Secretary*.

OBSERVATIONS taken by Mr. CARR, Master of H. M. S. *Pique* at the Beacon erected on the South Shore of the Yang-tze-kiang.—

Latitude, 31° 15' 30" N.
Longitude, 121° 45' 00" E.

BEARINGS

Light Vessel, S. 65° E.
Block House Island, N. 16° W.
Bush Island, N. 40° W.
Woosung, N. 52° W.
Shanghai, S. 84° W.

CHINESE CALCULATION OF THE HWANG-POO TIDE TABLE FOR THE FOREIGN & NATIVE ANCHORAGE.

DAYS OF MOON.	FLOW BEGINS,		EBB BEGINS,	
	o'clock		o'clock	
1, 2, 3,	9, 10,	.....	3, 4,	.....
4, 5,	11, 12,	.....	5, 6,	.....
6, 7, 8,	1, 2,	.....	7, 8,	.....
9, 10,	3, 4,	.....	9, 10,	.....
11, 12, 13,	5, 6,	.....	11, 12,	.....
14, 15,	7, 8,	.....	1, 2,	.....
16, 17, 18,	9, 10,	.....	3, 4,	.....
19, 20,	11, 12,	.....	5, 6,	.....
21, 22, 23,	1, 2,	.....	7, 8,	.....
24, 25,	3, 4,	.....	9, 10,	.....
26, 27, 28,	5, 6,	.....	11, 12,	.....
29, 30,	7, 8,	.....	1, 2,	.....

The above is a constant monthly Table, giving an approximation to the *Flow* and *Ebb* of the Tides that may prove useful for general purposes.

HIGH WATER ON FULL AND CHANGE OF MOON.

At Woosung, 12h. 40m. }
At Shanghai, 1h. 00m. } Rise about 17 feet.

PUBLIC NOTICE.

OFFICE OF MARITIME CUSTOMS,

Shanghai, 26th Feby., 1856.

Representations having been made to this Office, on the subject of the High duty, in proportion to its value, levyable under the Tariff, upon the coarser description of Refuse Silk, H. E. the Taoutae has consented to allow this article in future to pass at the reduced rate of 5 per cent *ad valorem*.

His Excellency has also had under consideration the representations that have from time to time been made, with respect to the Duty charged upon the admixture of Congee in Silk Piece Goods, and, acquiescing in the justice of those representations, H. E. has given directions, that a proportion of Ten per cent be allowed for this admixture on all shipments of the above articles in future.

The Duty upon Dyed Cotton Handkerchiefs, upon which *one cand*: per piece is chargeable according to the Tariff, was reduced by the late Taoutae, Chaou, to 5 per cent *ad valorem*.

By order of the Inspectors of Customs,

WM. LENT, *Secretary*.

To the FOREIGN COMMUNITY,
Shanghai.

CIRCULAR.

OFFICE OF MARITIME CUSTOMS,

Shanghai, 26th March, 1856.

The Inspectors of Customs have the satisfaction to announce a modification of the Duty upon Cigarettes and Prints. His Excellency the Taoutae having consented, in consideration of the diminished value of these articles since the Tariff was drawn up, to admit all goods of this kind in future at the reduced rate of 5 per cent *ad valorem*.

By order of the Inspectors of Customs,

WM. LENT, *Secretary*.

To the FOREIGN COMMUNITY,
Shanghai.

NOTICE.

OFFICE OF MARITIME CUSTOMS,

Shanghai, 23rd December, 1856.

The subjoined Rule, which is extracted from the Canton Regulations of 1846, with reference to the levy of Tonnage Dues upon vessels importing Rice, is circulated for general information.

A vessel bringing rice or grain, with no other dutyable cargo on board, and clearing in Ballast, is exempted from the payment of Tonnage Dues.

A vessel bringing rice or grain into port, and carrying away cargo, pays Half Tonnage Dues.

A vessel bringing dutyable cargo besides rice or grain, pays Full Tonnage Dues.

By order of the Inspectors of Customs,

WM. LENT, *Secretary*.

To the FOREIGN COMMUNITY.
Shanghai.

RATES OF POSTAGE FROM SHANGHAI.

LETTERS TO	<i>Via Southampton.</i>			<i>Via Marseilles.</i>			<i>Via Trieste.</i>			<i>Via Gibraltar.</i>	
	every $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. or fraction }	6d.	Optnl.	every $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. or fraction }	11d.	Optnl.	every $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. or fraction }	1s.	Compul.	—	—
The United Kingdom, {											
" United States,	"	1s. 2d.	"	"	1s. 7d.	"	"	"	"	—	—
" Continent of Europe,	"	6d.	"	"	1s.	Compul.	"	"	"	—	—
Spain and Portugal,	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	every $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. or fraction }	1s. 10d. Compul.
Gibraltar, every $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. or fraction 1s. 10d. Optnl.											
India, Singapore, Penang, Batavia, Aden, Suez, Cape of Good Hope and Mauritius, 8d. Compul.											
British Colonies in N. A., W. I., St. Helena, and Gold Coast, 1s. 2d. Optnl.											
Egypt, 1s. Compul.											
Malta, 8d. Optnl.											
Australia, Van Dieman's Land and New Zealand, 8d. Compul.											
Hongkong, 4d. Optnl.											
Canton, Macao, Amoy, Foochow and Manila, 8d. Compul.											

Note.—All PAPERS and PRINTED MATTER—without a cover, or in a cover open at both ends—

For France, *Free.*

For India, Straits, Malta, Aden, Australia and England, (<i>vid Southampton</i>) also	1d. each.
Countries passing through England <i>must prepay</i> ,.....	

PAPERS for the Continent of Europe, (except France), <i>vid Marseilles or Trieste</i> ,	1d.
PRICE CURRENTS for do. do.,	2d.

W. II. FITTOCK,

II. M.'s Packet Agent.

Shanghai, December 23d, 1856.

RATES OF EXCHANGE

AND

AMOUNT OF TREASURE IMPORTED PER P. & O. CO'S STEAMERS,
IN THE YEAR 1856.

ARRIVAL OF STEAMER.				TREASURE.	RATE OF EXCHANGE.							
	With Mail.			Value in Mex. Dollars.	BANK BILLS ON LONDON PER CAROLUS DOLLAR.				E. I. Co.'s BILLS ON CALCUTTA PER 100 CAROLUS \$.			
					Opening.	Highest.	Lowest.	Closing.	Opening.	Highest.	Lowest.	Closing.
					s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Jany.	11	..	Erin,	594,021	6 9	..	..	..	312	..	..	..
	..	25	Formosa, ..	177,210	..	6 10	6 7	6 7	..	312	308	308
Feby.	8	..	Erin,	423,685	6 6½	..	..	..	296	..	..	..
	..	23	Formosa, ..	133,258	..	6 7	6 6	6 6	..	307	295	296
March ..	19	..	Erin,	196,523	6 4	6 5	6 2	6 5	294	297	289	296
April	9	..	Formosa, ..	418,921	6 7	..	..	..	296	..	..	..
	..	23	Erin,	201,781	..	6 7½	6 5	6 5	..	308	296	308
May	7	..	Formosa, ..	469,283	6 9	7 1	6 8	7 1	309	331	308	331
June	1	..	Erin,	587,384	7 4	7 6	7 1	7 4	334	352	334	345
July ..	6	..	Formosa, ..	860,544	7 2	..	..	..	342	..	..	..
	..	21	Erin,	296,438	..	7 5	7 2	7 2	..	352	340	340
Aug...	3	..	Shanghai, ..	694,573	7 3	..	..	..	346	..	..	..
	..	15	Erin,	603,042	..	7 7	7 2	7 6	..	352	346	350
Sept. ...	7	..	Shanghai, ..	1,403,211	7 6½	7 8	7 5½	7 6	350	357	346	346
Oct. ..	8	..	Erin,	1,517,757	7 4	..	..	..	346	..	..	..
	..	28	L. M. Wood,	284,498	..	7 6	7 4	7 5	..	350	345	345
Nov...	13	..	Erin,	2,418,512	7 2	..	..	..	336	..	..	..
	..	27	L. M. Wood,	370,909	..	7 4	7 0	7 0	..	340	306	326
	..	27	Formosa, ..	82,110	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dec.	10	..	Erin,	2,267,942	6 9	6 10	6 8	6 8	305	306	305	305*
				14,001,602	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

The December rates are against Silver at 110 a 112.

ASSAY OF FOREIGN COINS

Made at Canton in the presence of TSEEN YENEE, an Officer of the 5th Rank, attached to the Imperial Commissioner, KEYING; and HE WANHWAY, Treasurer to the Grand Hoppo of Canton, WAN FUNG.

CAPT. G. BALFOUR.

Taoukwang, 23d year, 6th moon, 16th day,
(13th July, 1843).

ROBERT THOM,

*Assist. Trans. and Interpreter,
to H. M.'s Comm. in China.*

PROCESS OF THE ASSAY.	COINS					
	20 New Rupees	5 New Peruvian Dollars,	5 New Mexican Dollars,	5 New Bolivian Dollars,	5 New Chilian Dollars,	5 Dollars in Broken Moucy,
	<i>T.m.c.c.</i>	<i>T.m.c.c.</i>	<i>T.m.c.c.</i>	<i>T.m.c.c.</i>	<i>T.m.c.c.</i>	<i>T.m.c.c.</i>
Weighed before being melted,	6 2 0 3	3 6 0 0	3 5 7 5	3 6 0 0	3 5 9 5	3 6 0 0
Weighed after being melted, remelted, and cast into a shoe of pure Sycee,	5 6 5 0	3 2 3 0	3 1 9 5	3 2 1 0	3 1 9 5	3 1 8 0
Loss in weight,	0 5 5 3	0 3 7 0	0 3 8 0	0 3 9 0	0 4 0 0	0 4 2 0
Thus 100 Taels of this coin are equal to pure Sycee,	91 0 8 5	89 7 2 2½	89 3 7 1	89 1 6 7	88 8 7 0	88 3 3 4
Making a difference per centum of	8 9 1 5	10 2 7 7½	10 6 2 9	10 8 3 3	11 1 3 0	11 6 6 6
And in order to pay 100 Taels of pure Sycee in this coin it would be necessary to pay	109 7 9 0	111 4 5 5	111 9 0 0	112 1 5 0	112 5 2 0	113 2 0 7

The expenses of melting, remelting, &c., &c., amounting to a charge of 1 tael 2 mace for every 100 taels, must be added to the last amount, and also a small per centage of 2 mace 3 cand. in every 100 taels for the difference between the scales at the custom-house and those used by the shroff in the assay, making about 1½ per cent. more than the nominal duty, as the real duty.

ASSAY

Made at Her Majesty's Mint in London of Foreign Coins in Circulation in China, 1856.

SILVER COINS, AT 5s. per oz. STANDARD, EQUAL TO 1d. FOR 7.4 GRAINS OF FINE SILVER.

COINS.	Touch per Cent.	Better or worse than British standard.	Total Weight.	Weight of pure metal.	Sterling value.	100 Spanish Dollars equal to
		Dwts.	Grs.	Grs. dcls.	Pence.	
Spanish Dollar,	89.16	W. 8	416.	370.9	50.12	100.
United States Dollar average of 8 years,	88.96	W. 8½	416.	370.1	50.01	100.21
Mexican Dollar,	89.37	W. 7½	415.75	371.57	50.21	99.81
Peruvian Dollar,	89.79	W. 6½	415.	372.63	50.35	99.53
Five Franc piece,	89.58	W. 7	385.	345.56	46.69	107.33
Rupce Sicca,	91.66	W. 2	191.91	175.923	23.77	210.83
Do. Company's,	91.66	W. 2	180.	165.	22.30	224.81
Shilling, new coinage, value in weight, ..	92.50	Standard	87½	80.7	10.99	459.50

DISCOUNT AND PREMIUM

TABLE.

Showing the extra rate to be added to any Sum from 1. to 1.000.

and allow of a discount from $\frac{1}{4}$ of 1. to 50 per cent.

without reducing the principal.

<i>Discount per Cent.</i>	<i>Premium, or Rate to be added to the Principal to allow of the Discount.</i>	<i>Discount per Cent.</i>	<i>Premium, or Rate to be added to the Principal to allow of the Discount.</i>	<i>Discount per cent.</i>	<i>Premium, or Rate to be added to the Principal to allow of the Discount.</i>	<i>Discount per Cent.</i>	<i>Premium, or Rate to be added to the Principal to allow of the Discount.</i>
0		13	.149425	26	.351351	39	.639344
1-4	.002506	1-4	.152738	1-4	.355932	1-4	.646091
1-2	.005025	1-2	.156069	1-2	.360544	1-2	.652893
3-4	.007557	3-4	.159420	3-4	.365188	3-4	.659751
1	.010101	14	.162791	27	.369863	40	.666667
1-4	.012658	1-4	.166181	1-4	.374570	1-4	.673040
1-2	.015228	1-2	.169591	1-2	.379310	1-2	.680673
3-4	.017812	3-4	.173021	3-4	.384083	3-4	.687764
2	.020408	15	.176471	28	.388889	41	.694915
1-4	.023018	1-4	.179941	1-4	.393728	1-4	.702128
1-2	.025641	1-2	.183432	1-2	.398601	1-2	.709402
3-4	.028278	3-4	.186944	3-4	.403509	3-4	.716738
3	.030928	16	.190476	29	.408451	42	.724139
1-4	.033592	1-4	.194030	1-4	.413428	1-4	.731602
1-2	.036269	1-2	.197605	1-2	.418440	1-2	.739130
3-4	.038961	3-4	.201201	3-4	.423488	3-4	.746725
4	.041667	17	.204819	30	.428571	43	.754386
1-4	.044386	1-4	.208459	1-4	.433692	1-4	.762115
1-2	.047120	1-2	.212121	1-2	.438849	1-2	.769912
3-4	.049869	3-4	.215805	3-4	.444043	3-4	.777778
5	.052632	18	.219512	31	.449275	44	.785714
1-4	.055409	1-4	.223242	1-4	.454545	1-4	.793722
1-2	.058201	1-2	.226994	1-2	.459854	1-2	.801802
3-4	.061003	3-4	.230769	3-4	.465201	3-4	.809955
6	.063830	19	.234568	32	.470588	45	.818182
1-4	.066667	1-4	.238390	1-4	.476015	1-4	.826484
1-2	.069519	1-2	.242236	1-2	.481481	1-2	.834862
3-4	.072386	3-4	.246106	3-4	.486989	3-4	.843318
7	.075269	20	.250000	33	.492537	46	.851852
1-4	.078167	1-4	.253918	1-4	.498127	1-4	.860465
1-2	.081081	1-2	.257862	1-2	.503759	1-2	.869159
3-4	.084011	3-4	.261830	3-4	.509434	3-4	.877934
8	.086957	21	.265823	34	.515152	47	.886799
1-4	.089918	1-4	.269841	1-4	.520913	1-4	.895735
1-2	.092890	1-2	.273885	1-2	.526718	1-2	.904702
3-4	.095890	3-4	.277955	3-4	.532567	3-4	.913676
9	.098901	22	.282051	35	.538462	48	.923077
1-4	.101928	1-4	.286174	1-4	.544402	1-4	.932367
1-2	.104972	1-2	.290323	1-2	.550388	1-2	.941748
3-4	.108033	3-4	.294498	3-4	.556420	3-4	.951220
10	.111111	23	.298701	36	.562500	49	.960784
1-4	.114206	1-4	.302932	1-4	.568627	1-4	.970443
1-2	.117318	1-2	.307190	1-2	.574803	1-2	.980198
3-4	.120448	3-4	.311475	3-4	.581028	3-4	.990050
11	.123596	24	.315789	37	.587302	50	1.000000
1-4	.126761	1-4	.320132	1-4	.593625		
1-2	.129944	1-2	.324503	1-2	.600000		
3-4	.133144	3-4	.328904	3-4	.606426		
12	.136364	25	.333333	38	.612903		
1-4	.139601	1-4	.337793	1-4	.619433		
1-2	.142857	1-2	.342289	1-2	.626016		
3-4	.146132	3-4	.346801	3-4	.632653		

SOVEREIGNS OF EUROPE.

COUNTRY.	NAME.	AGE 1857.	ACCESSION.
Great Britain,	VICTORIA,	38	1837
Austria,	Francis Joseph I.,	27	1848
Bavaria,	Maximilian Joseph II.,	46	1848
Belgium,	Leopold I.,	67	1831
Denmark,	Frederick VII.,	49	1848
France,	Napoleon III.,	49	1852
Greece,	Otho I.,	42	1833
Hanover,	George V., D. of Cumberland,	38	1851
Netherlands,	William III.,	40	1849
Portugal,	Pedro V.,	20	1855
Prussia,	Frederick William IV.,	62	1840
Rome,	Pius IX.,	65	1846
Russia,	Alexander II.,	39	1855
Sardinia,	Victor Emmanuel II.,	37	1849
Saxony,	John Nepomucene,	50	1854
Sicily,	Ferdinand II.,	47	1830
Spain,	Isabella II.,	27	1833
Sweden,	Oscar I.,	53	1844
Turkey,	Abdul Medschid,	35	1839
President of the United States, ..	Franklin Pierce,	—	1853

CHINESE LAND MEASURE.

- 5 *chih* 尺 make one 步 *pú* (pace), or 弓 *kung* (bow).
 24 *pú* 步 make one 分 *fan*;
 60 *pú* 步 make one 角 *kioh*, or horn;
 4 *kioh* 角 or 240 *pú*, make one 畝 *mau*, or Chinese acre;
 100 *mau* 畝 make one 頃 *k'ing*.

Taking the *chih* to be 12.587 inches, a square *pú* will measure 27.493633 square inches; this divided by 9, gives 3.0555 square yards; which multiplied by 240 *pú* gives 733.32 *sq. yds.* in a Chinese *mau*, equal to 6.61 *mau* to an English acre.

TERMS AND CONDITIONS

FOR THE CONVEYANCE OF

MERCHANDIZE, LIGHT PACKAGES AND PARCELS,

BY THE STEAMERS OF THE PENINSULAR & ORIENTAL

STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY,

FROM SHANGHAI.

The rates of Freight include all charges to the Port of Delivery, except Transit Duty through Egypt for Goods conveyed beyond Suez.

No Goods can be received for Delivery beyond Suez, excepting those intended for shipment into the Company's Steamers at Alexandria; all other Goods must be retired at Suez, and the duty paid thereon by the Consignees.

The Marks, Numbers, Address, and Port of Delivery, to be legibly marked in English on every package; the weight must also be given, and the contents and value declared, in writing, for the information of the Company, as well as the Egyptian Transit Administration.

Goods for Malta, Marseilles, and Southampton, must have the Marks, Numbers, and Ports-of-Destination, placed on the *inner* as well as *outer* coverings.

MEASUREMENTS GOODS must be securely packed in strong gunny, after which in double matting, bound with strong cords.

If the Goods are of a perishable nature they must be packed in tin, with a strong wooden case outside, bound securely with iron hoops.

JEWELLERY AND OTHER VALUABLE ARTICLES must be securely packed in tin, with an outside case of wood, strongly secured with iron hoops, and sealed as in the case of Specie.

TREASURE AND GOLD LEAVES to be packed in bags, which must be placed in boxes at least one inch and a half thick (known here as Dollar boxes), strongly bound with iron hoops, and sealed over tape in counter-sunk holes.

The following method of packing Silk (to be shipped for Southampton and the Mediterranean ports) has to be adopted:—

RAW SILK—

In Bales, to be packed first in white cotton covering, another cover of strong cloth (waxed if possible), then matted in a fine strong matting, and rattaned.

SILK PIECE GOODS—

First packed in a thin case as used by the Chinese, then in a tin case, the whole put in a one-inch thick wood case, iron-hooped.

All packages for Southampton to have two red streaks painted over the top and sides, to distinguish them from the Marseilles and Malta Cargo, which requires to be marked in the same manner with blue.

No bale or case, if intended for transmission through Egypt, should exceed 100 lbs in weight.

QUICKSILVER will only be received when packed in iron bottles, or in bamboo secured in strong boxes.

COPPER CASH must be packed in strong gunny bags, and double matting outside, and well secured with rope fastening, so as to prevent the bags from bursting.

Bills of Lading must be compared, and agree in every particular, with the Mate's Receipts, before presentation for signature.

Freight must be paid on delivery of Signed Bills of Lading.

GUNPOWDER AND VITRIOL, AQUA FORTIS, OILS AND LIQUIDS cannot be received, nor cargo of a dangerous, inflammable or damaging description; and if any such be shipped without notice, the Shipper and Consignee will be held responsible for damage arising therefrom.

Dead weight taken only by special agreement.

TRANSIT DUTY—

One-quarter per cent (payable to the Egyptian Government) on every article (except Specie and Raw Silk) above \$20 in value, will be added to the rates.

SHIPERS are required to use the Company's forms of Bills of Lading.

PARCELS TO STRAITS AND INDIA.

If the parcel weighs more than 20 lbs to the cubic foot, the additional weight will be charged.

Jewellery, Watches, and other valuable goods, charged on their value, and must be securely packed and sealed, as in the case of Specie.

Receipts given on delivery and payment of freight of each parcel, with particulars of risk and all charges.

Parcels must be packed securely, and accompanied with a written declaration of contents and value, or they cannot be received. A wrong declaration subjects the Consignee to a charge of double freight, and the parcel to seizure at the Custom-House.

MALTA, MARSEILLES AND SOUTHAMPTON.

The remarks on Parcels for Straits and India are also applicable to those forwarded to Suez and ports beyond.

Overland Parcels must not exceed 100 lbs in weight, or 5 cubic feet in measurement.

Parcels exceeding one cubic foot must be in cases, iron-clamped at each end.

Parcels must be delivered at the Company's Office two clear days before each Steamer's departure.

DELIVERY IN ENGLAND—

All parcels will be cleared through the Custom-House at Southampton, and forwarded to their ultimate destination by the Company, to whom duty and all other charges incurred in England must be paid.

Merchandise is charged at the parcels rate, unless taken by special agreement.

The Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company reserve to themselves the right of charging freight by value, weight, or measurement, and will not be answerable for leakage, breakage, or consequences arising from insufficiency of address or package, or for any loss, damage, detention, or over-carriage which may arise from the foregoing regulations not being strictly complied with.

RATES OF FREIGHT ON MERCHANDIZE, &c.

DESCRIPTION OF GOODS.	How Charged.									
	Ningpo.	Foochow.	Amoy.	Hongkong.	Singapore.	Penang.	Calcutta, direct.	Madras, direct.	Ceylon.	Aden and Suez.
COPPER CASH,	—	—	—	25 cts.	\$1:15	\$1:25	\$1:25	—	—	—
JEWELLERY, and other Valuable Articles,	3 p.ct.	3 p.ct.	1 p.ct.	1 p.ct.	1 p.ct.	2 p.ct.	2 1/2 p.ct.	2 1/2 p.ct.	2 p.ct.	2 1/2 p.ct.
LEAD or TIN,	20 cts.	20 cts.	22 cts.	25 cts.	—	—	—	—	—	—
MEASUREMENT GOODS,	\$10	\$10	\$12	\$15	\$35	\$40	\$55	\$55	\$45	\$95
OPIUM,	\$5	\$6	\$7	\$8	\$19	—	—	—	—	—
QUICKSILVER,	—	—	—	1 p.ct.	2 1/2 p.ct.	2 1/2 p.ct.	5 p.ct.	5 p.ct.	4 p.ct.	5 p.ct.
RAW SILK,	—	—	—	\$3:25	3 p.ct.	3 1/2 p.ct.	4 1/2 p.ct.	4 1/2 p.ct.	4 p.ct.	4 1/2 p.ct.
SILK PIECE GOODS,	—	—	—	\$3:25	3 p.ct.	3 1/2 p.ct.	—	—	4 p.ct.	4 1/2 p.ct.
SPECIE, SILVER, GOLD, GOLD LEAVES, &c.	1 p.ct.	1 p.ct.	1 p.ct.	1 p.ct.	1 1/2 p.ct.	1 1/2 p.ct.	2 1/2 p.ct.	2 1/2 p.ct.	1 1/2 p.ct.	2 1/2 p.ct.

HORSES to Hongkong \$50. Dogs \$10, and 24 Cents per day for keep.

Transit Duty 1/4 per cent (payable to the Egyptian Government) on every article (except Specie and Raw Silk) above \$20 in value, will be added to the rates.

Payments to be made in Shanghai Dollars.

RATES OF FREIGHT ON PARCELS.

SMALL PARCELS.	Ningpo.	Foochow.	Amoy.	Hongkong.	Singapore.	Penang.	Calcutta direct.	Madras direct.	Bombay.	Ceylon.	Aden and Suez.
Under 1 foot . . .	\$ 0:50	\$ 0:50	\$ 0:50	\$ 0:50	\$ 1:25	\$ 1:50	\$ 2:00	\$ 2:00	\$ 2:00	\$ 2:00	\$ 3:00
1 ft. & under 2 ft.	2:00	2:00	2:00	2:00	3:00	3:25	4:00	4:00	4:00	4:00	6:00
2 " " 3 "	3:00	3:00	3:00	3:00	3:75	3:75	5:00	5:00	5:00	4:75	8:00
3 " " 4 "	4:00	4:00	4:00	4:00	4:50	4:50	6:00	6:00	6:00	5:00	9:00

lbs.	MEASUREMENT.	Malta, Marseilles and Southampton.
1	Under 3 inches,	\$1:00
7	3 inches,	2:52
8	4 "	2:76
9	5 "	3:12
10	6 "	3:48
12	7 "	3:72
14	8 "	3:96
16	9 "	4:20
18	10 "	4:44
19	11 "	4:68
20	12 "	5:04

And for every additional
Cubic inch 24 cents, or 12
cents per lb. if over 20 lbs.
in weight.

Transit Duty one-quarter per cent. on the value of the Goods (except Specie) beyond Suez
homewards to be added to the above rates.

RATES FROM ENGLAND.

DESCRIPTION OF GOODS.		<i>Suez, Aden, Bombay, Ceylon, Madras, and Calcutta.</i>	<i>Penang, Singapore, and Hongkong.</i>	<i>Canton.</i>	<i>Shanghai.</i>
On Carriages, Horses, and Dogs,		Pen Special	Agreement		
Jewellery, Watches, &c.,	ad valorem, 4½ cent.	•2½	•2½	•2½	•2½
Measurement Goods, Fine Merchandise, &c.,	4½ ton of 40 feet	£30	£30	£34	£36
Provisions,	"	£25	£25	£29	£31
Specie, Gold and Silver,	ad valorem, 4½ cent.	•2	•2½	•2½	•2½

* Transit Duty one-quarter per cent. on the value of the Goods (except Specie, Jewellery, Watches, &c.) beyond Alexandria outwards to be added to the above rates

PARCEL RATES.

Parcels under one-quarter of a cubic foot in measurement will be taken from 2s. 6d. each according to size (unless containing valuable articles); above that measurement at the following graduated scale, including all charges to the Port of Delivery, except Transit Duty and Insurance:—

MEASUREMENT	<i>Hongkong.</i>	<i>Canton.</i>	<i>Shanghai.</i>
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
3 inches,	0 9 0	0 10 0	0 10 6
4 "	0 10 0	0 11 0	0 11 6
5 "	0 11 0	0 12 6	0 13 0
6 "	0 12 0	0 14 0	0 14 6
7 "	0 13 0	0 15 0	0 15 6
8 "	0 14 0	0 16 0	0 16 6
9 "	0 15 0	0 17 0	0 17 6
10 "	0 16 0	0 18 0	0 18 6
11 "	0 17 0	0 19 0	0 19 6
1 foot,	0 18 0	1 0 0	1 1 0

And for every additional inch measurement 1s. 6d. will be charged to Hongkong; to Canton 1s. 8d.; and to Shanghai 1s. 9d. If parcels weigh more than 2½ lbs to the cubic foot, the additional weight will be charged 6d. per lb.

RATES OF PASSAGE **PER PENINSULAR AND ORIENTAL STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY'S STEAMERS FROM SHANGHAI.**

DESCRIPTION OF ACCOMMODATION.																
	Amoy.	Hongkong.	Singapore.	Penang.	Point de Galle.	Madras via Calcutta.	Madras via Galle.	Calcutta Direct.	Calcutta via Galle.	Bombay.	Aden.	Suez.	Malta.	Marseilles.	Gibraltar.	Southampton.
LADIES OR GENTLEMEN TRAVELLING SINGLY,																
Occupying a Berth in a Cabin with two or three others	\$ 63	\$ 95	\$ 230	\$ 260	\$ 355	\$ 427	\$ 403	\$ 360	\$ 446	\$ 432	\$ 432	\$ 576	\$ 672	\$ 696	\$ 696	\$ 700
Do. Reserved one Berth Cabin	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	480	624	768	792	792	816
Do. Reserved Half a Cabin.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	480	672	864	888	888	912
Do. Reserved Cabin	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	624	960	1152	1176	1176	1200
MARRIED COUPLES, (Reserved Cabin).....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1008	1400	1704	1752	1752	1800
CHILDREN, with their Parents* Three Years and under Ten Years	33	48	118	135	178	214	202	180	223	216	216	288	312	312	336	336
NATIVE PASSENGERS, Victualling themselves.....	50	71	175	200	267	302	321	270	335	324	..	..	..	..	..	..
PASSENGERS SERVANTS, European	33	48	118	135	178	202	214	181	223	216	216	288	312	312	336	336
Do. Do. Native	17	24	59	68	96	101	107	90	112	108	120	216	216	216	240	240
SECOND CLASS,.....	44	63	156	178	240	268	283	239	296	286	..	..	..	..	..	..
DECK PASSENGERS,	22	32	78	89	120	136	144	122	150	146	..	..	..	..	..	..

* One Child with Parent, under 3 Years Free; excepting Egyptian Transit \$24 if above 2 Years old.
The intermediate rates between India and China for Reserved Cabins will be regulated by the Company's Agent.

Payment to be made in Shanghai Dollars.

TABLE

Showing the length of Passage, under ordinary circumstances, between Southampton and the several Ports OUTWARDS and HOMEWARDS; also, the usual dates of arrival at, and departure from, each Port in the course of the Voyage, and the average stay at each place.

OUTWARDS (from England).

From	No. of Days.	To	Date of Arrival.	Average Stay.	Date of Departure.	Notes.
MARSEILLES AND MALTA LINE.						
MARSEILLES, ..	2½	MALTA,	14. 30.	.....	12. 28.	These Steamers start from Marseilles with the Mail which leaves London <i>via</i> Marseilles on the 10th and 26th of the month.
SOUTHAMPTON TO ALEXANDRIA, AND SUEZ TO CHINA.						
SOUTHAMPTON, ..	5	GIBRALTAR,	9. 25.	12 hrs.	4. 20.	When the 4th or 20th falls on a Sunday, the Steamer leaves at 9 A.M.
"	10	MALTA,	14. 30.	24 "	9. 25.	
"	14	ALEXANDRIA	18. 3.	3 dys.	15. 31.	
(60 hours from Alexandria to Suez)						
SUEZ,	21	ADEN,	25. 11.	24 hrs.	20. 6.	The Steamers of the 20th and 6th correspond with those of the 4th and 20th from Southampton.
"	33	GALLE, CEYLON	6. 23.	"	26. 12.	
"	39	PENANG,	12.	12 hrs.	7. 24.	
"	41	SINGAPORE,	14.	24 "	12.	
"	49	HONGKONG,	22.	.....	15.	* With Mails and Passengers brought to Hongkong per Steamer of the 4th of the previous month from Southampton.
HONGKONG,	57	SHANGHAI,	30.	7 dys.	26.*	

HOMEWARDS (to England).

SHANGHAI,	4	HONGKONG	13.		9.	The Steamers in May, June, July, and August, leave Shanghai and Hongkong 5 days earlier.
HONGKONG,	6	SINGAPORE	21.	24 hrs.	15.	
"	10	PENANG	25.	12 "	22.	
"	16	GALLE, CEYLON	31.	24 "	25.	
"	27	ADEN	11. 28.	"	1.	
"	35	SUEZ	19. 5	.....	12. 29.	
(60 hours from Suez to Alexandria)						
ALEXANDRIA, ..	3	MALTA	24. 9.	24 hrs.	21. 6.	
"	8	GIBRALTAR	29. 14.	12 "	25. 10.	
"	14	SOUTHAMPTON	4. 20.		29. 14.	

MALTA AND MARSEILLES LINE.

MALTA,	2½	MARSEILLES,	27. 12.		24. 9.
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ARRIVAL OF THE MAILS AT SHANGHAI.

	Jan'y.	Feb'y.	March	April	May	June	July	Augt.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
1850	7	13	6	5	3 & 24	24	24	15	28	21	24	29
1851	none	1	7	2	1 & 30	24	20	17	28	31	none	3
1852	6	9	2	27	19	15	15	14	13	26	19	24
1853 { Monthly	26	20	19	19	30	20	27	17	18	22	24	22
{ Bi-monthly	—	—	—	19	3 & 30	none	3 & 29	none	9 & 28	none	10	20
1854 { Monthly	28	25	none	11 & 26	17	22	18	17	25	27	28	none
{ Bi-monthly	13	7	9	5	12	8	6	4	8 & 28	none	18	22
1855 { Monthly	16	none	5	none	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
{ Bi-monthly	16	8	11	13	5	4	2	5	4	4	8	13
1856 { Monthly	11	8	19	9	7	1	3	3 & 6	7	8	13	9 & 10
{ Bi-monthly	—	—	—	—	21	23	21	15	28	28	27	none

Kalendar.

JANUARY 1857.

(31 DAYS.)

12th and 1st Chinese Moons.

WEATHER.—Generally, fine; occasional showers, dead calms accompanied by dense fog, or more rarely snow alternate with a fair frosty bracing atmosphere. Wind is generally N.W. or N.E. with occasional Southerly breezes, which last for two or three days.

<i>Day of Month.</i>	<i>Day of Week.</i>	<i>Day of Moon.</i>	KALENDAR.
1	Th.	6	<i>Circumcision.</i>
2	F.	7	
3	S.	8	Moon's 1st quarter, 8h. 20m. P.M.
4	Su.	9	2d Sunday after Christmas.
5	M.	10	
6	Tu.	11	<i>Epiphany.</i>
7	W.	12	
8	Th.	13	
9	F.	14	
10	S.	15	Moon Full, 5h. 14m. P.M.
11	Su.	16	1st Sunday after Epiphany. London Mail of 10th Nov. arrived, 1856.
12	M.	17	
13	Tu.	18	
14	W.	19	
15	Th.	20	
16	F.	21	
17	S.	22	
18	Su.	23	2d Sunday after Epiphany. Moon's last quarter, 0h. 56m. P.M.
19	M.	24	
20	Tu.	25	
21	W.	26	
22	Th.	27	
23	F.	28	
24	S.	29	
25	Su.	30	3d Sunday after Epiphany. <i>Conversion of St. Paul.</i>
26	M.	1	1st Chinese Moon, 29 days, New, 7h. 32m. A.M.
27	Tu.	2	
28	W.	3	
29	Th.	4	Louis Napoleon III., Emperor of France, married, 1853.
30	F.	5	King Charles M:
31	S.	6	

JANUARY 1857.

(31 DAYS.)

12th and 1st Chinese Moons.

Average of last 7 years, { Thermometer by day, 47.—by night, 30.
Fall of Rain, 2.7
Rainy days, 6.9

<i>Day of Month.</i>	<i>Day of Week.</i>	<i>Day of Moon.</i>	MEMORANDA.
1	Th.	6	
2	F.	7	
3	S.	8	
4	Su.	9	
5	M.	10	
6	Tu.	11	
7	W.	12	
8	Th.	13	
9	F.	14	
10	S.	15	
11	Su.	16	
12	M.	17	
13	Tu.	18	
14	W.	19	
15	Th.	20	
16	F.	21	
17	S.	22	
18	Su.	23	
19	M.	24	
20	Tu.	25	
21	W.	26	
22	Th.	27	
23	F.	28	
24	S.	29	
25	Su.	30	
26	M.	1	
27	Tu.	2	
28	W.	3	
29	Th.	4	
30	F.	5	
31	S.	6	

FEBRUARY 1857.

(28 DAYS.)

1st and 2d Chinese Moons.

WEATHER.—During the first fortnight of this month, and the last half of January, the coldest weather of the year generally occurs. The greater portion of the snow that falls in Shanghai descends in this month. The wind continues much as in January, with a greater bias towards the N.W., and thick fogs also occur.

Day of Month.	Day of Week.	Day of Moon.	KALENDAR.
1	Su.	7	4th Sunday after Epiphany.
2	M.	8	Moon's 1st quarter, 4h. 26m. A.M.
3	Tu.	9	
4	W.	10	
5	Th.	11	
6	F.	12	
7	S.	13	
8	Su.	14	Septuagesima Sunday. London Mail of Dec. 10th arrived, 1856.
9	M.	15	Queen Victoria married, 1840. Moon Full, 7h. 59m. A.M.
10	Tu.	16	
11	W.	17	
12	Th.	18	
13	F.	19	
14	S.	20	
15	Su.	21	Sexagesima Sunday.
16	M.	22	
17	Tu.	23	Moon's last quarter, 10h. 26m. A.M.
18	W.	24	
19	Th.	25	
20	F.	26	
21	S.	27	
22	Su.	28	Quinquagesima Sunday. Washington born, 1732.
23	M.	29	
24	Tu.	1	Shrove Tuesday. 2d Chinese Moon, 30 days, New, 8h. 4m. P.M.
25	W.	2	Ash Wednesday. 1st day of Lent.
26	Th.	3	
27	F.	4	
28	S.	5	

FEBRUARY 1857.

(28 DAYS.)

1st and 2d Chinese Moons.

Average of last 7 years, { Thermometer by day, 46.—by night, 32.
Fall of Rain, 2.4-8th
Rainy days, 10.4

<i>Day of Month.</i>	<i>Day of Week.</i>	<i>Day of Moon.</i>	MEMORANDA.
1	Su.	7	
2	M.	8	
3	Tu.	9	
4	W.	10	
5	Th.	11	
6	F.	12	
7	S.	13	
8	Su.	14	
9	M.	15	
10	Tu.	16	
11	W.	17	
12	Th.	18	
13	F.	19	
14	S.	20	
15	Su.	21	
16	M.	22	
17	Tu.	23	
18	W.	24	
19	Th.	25	
20	F.	26	
21	S.	27	
22	Su.	28	
23	M.	29	
24	Tu.	1	
25	W.	2	
26	Th.	3	
27	F.	4	
28	S.	5	

MARCH 1857.

(31 DAYS.)

2d and 3d Chinese Moons.

WEATHER.—The weather of this month is generally damp and disagreeable. Frost now becomes rare; but the thermometer scarcely offers a true criterion of the oppressiveness of the atmosphere. The wind becomes variable;—not unfrequently blowing from the S.E., with occasional N.W. gales.

Day of Month.	Day of Week.	Day of Moon.	KALENDAR.
1	Su.	6	Quadragesima. 1st Sunday in Lent. <i>St. David.</i>
2	M.	7	
3	Tu.	8	Moon's 1st quarter, 0h. 36m. P.M.
4	W.	9	Inauguration of President of United States America.
5	Th.	10	
6	F.	11	
7	S.	12	
8	Su.	13	2d Sunday in Lent.
9	M.	14	
10	Tu.	15	
11	W.	16	Moon Full, 0h. 23m. A.M.
12	Th.	17	
13	F.	18	
14	S.	19	
15	Su.	20	3d Sunday in Lent.
16	M.	21	Prince Imperial of France born, 1856.
17	Tu.	22	<i>St. Patrick.</i>
18	W.	23	
19	Th.	24	Moon's last quarter, 5h. 9m. A.M. London Mail of Jan'y. 10th arrived,
20	F.	25	[1856.
21	S.	26	
22	Su.	27	4th Sunday in Lent.
23	M.	28	
24	Tu.	29	
25	W.	30	<i>Annunciation.</i> Lady day.
26	Th.	1	3d Chinese Moon, 29 days, New, 6h. 34m. A.M. Total Eclipse of the Sun
27	F.	2	[invisible at Shanghai.
28	S.	3	
29	Su.	4	5th Sunday in Lent.
30	M.	5	
31	Tu.	6	

MARCH 1857.

(31 DAYS.)

2d and 3d Chinese Moons.

Average of last 7 years, { Thermometer by day, 54.—by night, 40.
Fall of Rain, 3.4-8th.
Rainy days, 9.7

Day of Month.	Day of Week.	Day of Moon.
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MEMORANDA.

1	Su.	6
2	M.	7
3	Tu.	8
4	W.	9
5	Th.	10
6	F.	11
7	S.	12
8	Su.	13
9	M.	14
10	Tu.	15
11	W.	16
12	Th.	17
13	F.	18
14	S.	19
15	Su.	20
16	M.	21
17	Tu.	22
18	W.	23
19	Th.	24
20	F.	25
21	S.	26
22	Su.	27
23	M.	28
24	Tu.	29
25	W.	30
26	Th.	1
27	F.	2
28	S.	3
29	Su.	4
30	M.	5
31	Tu.	6

APRIL 1857.

(30 DAYS.)

3d and 4th Chinese Moons.

WEATHER — With the single exception of June there are generally more rainy days in this month than in any other of the twelve. The amount that falls, however, does not approach that of the succeeding three months. The temperature steadily increases, accompanied with damp. The greater frequency of Southerly breezes announces the near approach of Summer.

<i>Day of Month.</i>	<i>Day of Week.</i>	<i>Day of Moon.</i>	KALENDAR.
1	W.	7	Moon's 1st quarter, 9h. 40m. P.M.
2	Th.	8	
3	F.	9	
4	S.	10	
5	Su.	11	<i>Palm Sunday.</i>
6	M.	12	<i>Last day of Lent.</i>
7	Tu.	13	
8	W.	14	
9	Th.	15	London Mail of Feby. 10th arrived, 1856. Moon Full, 5h. 34m. P.M.
10	F.	16	<i>Good Friday.</i>
11	S.	17	
12	Su.	18	<i>Easter Day.</i>
13	M.	19	<i>Easter Monday.</i>
14	Tu.	20	<i>Easter Tuesday.</i>
15	W.	21	
16	Th.	22	
17	F.	23	Moon's last quarter, 8h. 6m. P.M.
18	S.	24	
19	Su.	25	<i>Low Sunday—1st after Easter.</i>
20	M.	26	Emperor Louis Napoleon III. born, 1808.
21	Tu.	27	
22	W.	28	
23	Th.	29	St. George.
24	F.	1	4th Chinese Moon, 29 days, New, 3h. 20m. P.M.
25	S.	2	
26	Su.	3	2d Sunday after Easter.
27	M.	4	
28	Tu.	5	
29	W.	6	
30	Th.	7	

APRIL 1857.

(30 DAYS.)

3d and 4th Chinese Moons.

Average of last 7 years, { Thermometer by day, 63.—by night, 49.
Fall of Rain, 4.6-8th
Rainy days, 13.3

<i>Day of Month.</i>	<i>Day of Week.</i>	<i>Day of Moon.</i>	MEMORANDA.
1	W.	7	
2	Th.	8	
3	F.	9	
4	S.	10	
5	Su.	11	
6	M.	12	
7	Tu.	13	
8	W.	14	
9	Th.	15	
10	F.	16	
11	S.	17	
12	Su.	18	
13	M.	19	
14	Tu.	20	
15	W.	21	
16	Th.	22	
17	F.	23	
18	S.	24	
19	Su.	25	
20	M.	26	
21	Tu.	27	
22	W.	28	
23	Th.	29	
24	F.	1	
25	S.	2	
26	Su.	3	
27	M.	4	
28	Tu.	5	
29	W.	6	
30	Th.	7	

MAY 1857.

(31 DAYS.)

4th and 5th Chinese Moons.

WEATHER.—During this month the amount of rain that falls is usually small, and what descends does so in the shape of heavy temporary showers. The weather now becomes decidedly warm, and the wind though variable is most generally from S.E. to E.S.E.

Day of Month.	Day of Week.	Day of Moon.	KALENDAR.
1	F.	8	Moon's 1st quarter, 8h. 24m. A.M.
2	S.	9	
3	Su.	10	3d Sunday after Easter.
4	M.	11	
5	Tu.	12	Empress Eugénie of France born, 1826.
6	W.	13	
7	Th.	14	London Mail of March 10th arrived, 1856.
8	F.	15	
9	S.	16	Moon Full, 10h. 17m. A.M.
10	Su.	17	4th Sunday after Easter.
11	M.	18	
12	Tu.	19	
13	W.	20	
14	Th.	21	
15	F.	22	
16	S.	23	
17	Su.	24	Rogation Sunday. Moon's last quarter, 7h. 18m. A.M.
18	M.	25	
19	Tu.	26	
20	W.	27	
21	Th.	28	Ascension Day. Holy Thursday. London News to 26th March via
22	F.	29	[Bombay and Calcutta per El: tel: received, 1856.
23	S.	1	5th Chinese Moon, 30 days, New, 10h. 54m. P.M.
24	Su.	2	Sunday after Ascension day. Queen Victoria born, 1819.
25	M.	3	
26	Tu.	4	
27	W.	5	
28	Th.	6	
29	F.	7	Restoration of King Charles II.
30	S.	8	Moon's 1st quarter, 9h. 18m. P.M.
31	Su.	9	Pentecost. Whit Sunday.

MAY 1857.

(31 DAYS.)

4th and 5th Chinese Moons.

Average of last 7 years, { Thermometer by day, 73.—by night, 60.
Fall of Rain, 3.6-8th.
Rainy days, 10.7

<i>Day of Month.</i>	<i>Day of Week.</i>	<i>Day of Moon.</i>	MEMORANDA.
1	F.	8	
2	S.	9	
3	Su.	10	
4	M.	11	
5	Tu.	12	
6	W.	13	
7	Th.	14	
8	F.	15	
9	S.	16	
10	Su.	17	
11	M.	18	
12	Tu.	19	
13	W.	20	
14	Th.	21	
15	F.	22	
16	S.	23	
17	Su.	24	
18	M.	25	
19	Tu.	26	
20	W.	27	
21	Th.	28	
22	F.	29	
23	S.	1	
24	Su.	2	
25	M.	3	
26	Tu.	4	
27	W.	5	
28	Th.	6	
29	F.	7	
30	S.	8	
31	Su.	9	

JUNE 1857.

(30 DAYS.)

5th and Intercalary 5th Chinese Moons.

WEATHER.—This is usually the wettest month in the year. The temperature continues to increase, but is not yet oppressive, from the coolness of the night.

Day of Month.	Day of Week.	Day of Moon.	KALENDAR.
1	M.	10	<i>Whit Monday.</i> London Mail of April 10th arrived, 1856.
2	Tu.	11	
3	W.	12	
4	Th.	13	
5	F.	14	
6	S.	15	
7	Su.	16	<i>Trinity Sunday.</i>
8	M.	17	Moon Full, 1h. 29m. A.M.
9	Tu.	18	
10	W.	19	
11	Th.	20	<i>Corpus Christi.</i>
12	F.	21	
13	S.	22	
14	Su.	23	1st Sunday after Trinity.
15	M.	24	Moon's last quarter, 3h. 16m. A.M.
16	Tu.	25	
17	W.	26	
18	Th.	27	
19	F.	28	
20	S.	29	Accession of Queen Victoria, 1837.
21	Su.	30	2d Sunday after Trinity. Proclamation of Queen Victoria, 1837.
22	M.	1	5th Chinese Intercalary Moon, 29 days, New, 6h. 9m. A.M.
23	Tu.	2	London News to 26th April <i>via</i> Bombay and Calcutta per El: received,
24	W.	3	St. John Baptist. <i>Midsummer day.</i> [1856.]
25	Th.	4	
26	F.	5	
27	S.	6	
28	Su.	7	3d Sunday after Trinity. Queen Victoria crowned, 1838.
29	M.	8	Moon's 1st quarter, 0h. 26m. P.M.
30	Tu.	9	

JUNE 1857.

(30 DAYS.)

5th and Intercalary 5th Chinese Moons.

Average of last 7 years, { Thermometer by day, 79.—by night, 69.
Fall of Rain, 5.
Rainy days, 10.

MEMORANDA.

<i>Day of Month.</i>	<i>Day of Week.</i>	<i>Day of Moon.</i>
1	M.	10
2	Tu.	11
3	W.	12
4	Th.	13
5	F.	14
6	S.	15
7	Su.	16
8	M.	17
9	Tu.	18
10	W.	19
11	Th.	20
12	F.	21
13	S.	22
14	Su.	23
15	M.	24
16	Tu.	25
17	W.	26
18	Th.	27
19	F.	28
20	S.	29
21	Su.	30
22	M.	1
23	Tu.	2
24	W.	3
25	Th.	4
26	F.	5
27	S.	6
28	Su.	7
29	M.	8
30	Tu.	9

JULY 1857.

(31 DAYS.)

5th (Intercalary) and 6th Chinese Moons.

WEATHER.—This month is hot, dry, and scorching; considerable rain falls, but generally in the evening in the form of heavy thunder showers.

<i>Day of Month.</i>	<i>Day of Week.</i>	<i>Day of Moon.</i>	KALENDAR.
1	W.	10	
2	Th.	11	
3	F.	12	London dates to 10th May received in 1856.
4	S.	13	
5	Su.	14	4th Sunday after Trinity. Declaration of American Independance, 1776.
6	M.	15	Mail arrived, 1856.
7	Tu.	16	Moon Full, 2h. 50m. P.M.
8	W.	17	
9	Th.	18	
10	F.	19	
11	S.	20	
12	Su.	21	5th Sunday after Trinity.
13	M.	22	
14	Tu.	23	Moon's last quarter, 9h. 2m. P.M.
15	W.	24	St. Swithin.
16	Th.	25	
17	F.	26	
18	S.	27	
19	Su.	28	6th Sunday after Trinity.
20	M.	29	
21	Tu.	1	6th Chinese Moon, 30 days, New, 2h. 18m. P.M. London News to 20th
22	W.	2	[May <i>via</i> Bombay and Calcutta per El: tel: received, 1856.
23	Th.	3	
24	F.	4	
25	S.	5	
26	Su.	6	7th Sunday after Trinity.
27	M.	7	
28	Tu.	8	
29	W.	9	Moon's 1st quarter, 5h. 20m. A.M.
30	Th.	10	
31	F.	11	

JULY 1857.

(31 DAYS.)

5th (Intercalary) and 6th Chinese Moons.

Average of last 7 years, { Thermometer by day, 89.—by night, 78.
Fall of Rain, 3. $\frac{1}{2}$
Rainy days, 7.1

<i>Day of Month.</i>	<i>Day of Week.</i>	<i>Day of Moon.</i>	MEMORANDA.
1	W.	10	
2	Th.	11	
3	F.	12	
4	S.	13	
5	Su.	14	
6	M.	15	
7	Tu.	16	
8	W.	17	
9	Th.	18	
10	F.	19	
11	S.	20	
12	Su.	21	
13	M.	22	
14	Tu.	23	
15	W.	24	
16	Th.	25	
17	F.	26	
18	S.	27	
19	Su.	28	
20	M.	29	
21	Tu.	1	
22	W.	2	
23	Th.	3	
24	F.	4	
25	S.	5	
26	Su.	6	
27	M.	7	
28	Tu.	8	
29	W.	9	
30	Th.	10	
31	F.	11	

AUGUST 1857.

(31 DAYS.)

6th and 7th Chinese Moons.

WEATHER.—The hottest weather generally occurs about the commencement of this month, but as the wind is frequently very high at the same time a true indication will not be given by the Thermometer without the greatest care being observed. Rain falls in drizzling showers.

<i>Day of Month.</i>	<i>Day of Week.</i>	<i>Day of Moon.</i>	KALENDAR.
1	S.	12	<i>Lammas day.</i>
2	Su.	13	8th Sunday after Trinity.
3	M.	14	London Mail of June 10th arrived, 1856.
4	Tu.	15	
5	W.	16	
6	Th.	17	Moon Full, 2h. 34m. A.M.
7	F.	18	
8	S.	19	
9	Su.	20	9th Sunday after Trinity.
10	M.	21	
11	Tu.	22	
12	W.	23	
13	Th.	24	Moon's last quarter, 1h. 47m. A.M.
14	F.	25	
15	S.	26	London News to 26th June <i>via</i> Bombay and Calcutta per El: tel: received,
16	Su.	27	10th Sunday after Trinity. [1856.
17	M.	28	
18	Tu.	29	
19	W.	30	
20	Th.	1	7th Chinese Moon, 29 days, New, 0h. 32m. A.M.
21	F.	2	
22	S.	3	
23	Su.	4	11th Sunday after Trinity.
24	M.	5	
25	Tu.	6	
26	W.	7	Prince Albert born, 1819.
27	Th.	8	Moon's 1st quarter, 11h. 11m. P.M.
28	F.	9	
29	S.	10	
30	Su.	11	12th Sunday after Trinity.
31	M.	12	

AUGUST 1857.

(31 DAYS.)

6th and 7th Chinese Moons.

Average of last 7 years, { Thermometer by day, 88.—by night, 77.
Fall of Rain, 6. $\frac{1}{2}$
Rainy days, 9.

MEMORANDA.

<i>Day of Month.</i>	<i>Day of Week.</i>	<i>Day of Moon.</i>
1	S.	12
2	Su.	13
3	M.	14
4	Tu.	15
5	W.	16
6	Th.	17
7	F.	18
8	S.	19
9	Su.	20
10	M.	21
11	Tu.	22
12	W.	23
13	Th.	24
14	F.	25
15	S.	26
16	Su.	27
17	M.	28
18	Tu.	29
19	W.	30
20	Th.	1
21	F.	2
22	S.	3
23	Su.	4
24	M.	5
25	Tu.	6
26	W.	7
27	Th.	8
28	F.	9
29	S.	10
30	Su.	11
31	M.	12

SEPTEMBER 1857.

(30 DAYS.)

7th and 8th Chinese Moons.

WEATHER.—By this time the monsoon is wholly broken up and the wind prevails from E. to N.E. The temperature becomes very changeable, sometimes as great a range as 22 deg. occurring in the course of a day. Although the weather is frequently damp much rain does not generally fall during the month.

<i>Day of Month.</i>	<i>Day of Week.</i>	<i>Day of Moon.</i>	KALENDAR.
1	Tu.	13	
2	W.	14	
3	Th.	15	
4	F.	16	Moon Full, 1h. 13m. P.M.
5	S.	17	
6	Su.	18	13th Sunday after Trinity.
7	M.	19	London Mail of July 10th arrived, 1856.
8	Tu.	20	
9	W.	21	
10	Th.	22	
11	F.	23	Moon's last quarter, 6h. 56m. A.M.
12	S.	24	
13	Su.	25	14th Sunday after Trinity.
14	M.	26	
15	Tu.	27	
16	W.	28	
17	Th.	29	
18	F.	1	8th Chinese Moon, 30 days, New, 1h. 39m. P.M. Annular Eclipse of the [Sun visible at Shanghai:
19	S.	2	
20	Su.	3	15th Sunday after Trinity.
21	M.	4	
22	Tu.	5	
23	W.	6	
24	Th.	7	
25	F.	8	
26	S.	9	Moon's 1st quarter, 5h. 5m. P.M.
27	Su.	10	16th Sunday after Trinity.
28	M.	11	London News to 26th July <i>via</i> Bombay and Calcutta per El: tel: received, [1856.
29	Tu.	12	St. Michael. <i>Michaelmas Day.</i>
30	W.	13	

SEPTEMBER 1857.

(30 DAYS.)

7th and 8th Chinese Moons.

Average of last 7 years, { Thermometer by day, 81.—by night, 69.
Fall of Rain, 4.4-8th
Rainy days, 11.3

MEMORANDA.

Day of Month.	Day of Week.	Day of Moon.
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1	Tu.	13
2	W.	14
3	Th.	15
4	F.	16
5	S.	17
6	Su.	18
7	M.	19
8	Tu.	20
9	W.	21
10	Th.	22
11	F.	23
12	S.	24
13	Su.	25
14	M.	26
15	Tu.	27
16	W.	28
17	Th.	29
18	F.	1
19	S.	2
20	Su.	3
21	M.	4
22	Tu.	5
23	W.	6
24	Th.	7
25	F.	8
26	S.	9
27	Su.	10
28	M.	11
29	Tu.	12
30	W.	13

OCTOBER 1857.

(31 DAYS.)

8th and 9th Chinese Moons.

WEATHER.—During this month but little rain falls, and the atmosphere assumes a clearness quite peculiar.
The temperature now becomes pleasantly cool.

<i>Day of Month.</i>	<i>Day of Week.</i>	<i>Day of Moon.</i>	KALENDAR.	
1	Th.	14		
2	F.	15		
3	S.	16	Moon Full, 11h. 15m. P.M.	
4	Su.	17	17th Sunday after Trinity.	
5	M.	18		
6	Tu.	19		
7	W.	20		
8	Th.	21	London Mail of August 10th arrived, 1856.	
9	F.	22		
10	S.	23	Moon's last quarter, 2h. 0m. P.M.	
11	Su.	24	18th Sunday after Trinity.	
12	M.	25		
13	Tu.	26		
14	W.	27		
15	Th.	28		
16	F.	29		
17	S.	30		
18.	Su.	1	19th Sunday after Trinity.	9th Chinese Moon, 29 days, New, 5h. 44m. [A.M.]
19	M.	2		
20	Tu.	3		
21	W.	4		
22	Th.	5		
23	F.	6		
24	S.	7		
25	Su.	8	20th Sunday after Trinity.	
26	M.	9	Moon's 1st quarter, 10h. 11m. A.M.	
27	Tu.	10		
28	W.	11	London Mail of 26th Augt. <i>via</i> Calcutta arrived, 1856.	
29	Th.	12		
30	F.	13		
31	S.	14		

OCTOBER 1857.

(31 DAYS.)

8th and 9th Chinese Moons.

Average of last 7 years, { Thermometer by day, 72.—by night, 58.
Fall of Rain, 2.2-8th
Rainy days, 6.9

<i>Day of Month.</i>	<i>Day of Week.</i>	<i>Day of Moon.</i>	MEMORANDA.
1	Th.	14	
2	F.	15	
3	S.	16	
4	Su.	17	
5	M.	18	
6	Tu.	19	
7	W.	20	
8	Th.	21	
9	F.	22	
10	S.	23	
11	Su.	24	
12	M.	25	
13	Tu.	26	
14	W.	27	
15	Th.	28	
16	F.	29	
17	S.	30	
18	Su.	1	
19	M.	2	
20	Tu.	3	
21	W.	4	
22	Th.	5	
23	F.	6	
24	S.	7	
25	Su.	8	
26	M.	9	
27	Tu.	10	
28	W.	11	
29	Th.	12	
30	F.	13	
31	S.	14	

NOVEMBER 1857.

(30 DAYS.)

9th and 10th Chinese Moons.

WEATHER.—The winter is now fairly set in; the first frost appearing from the 12th to the 20th. The wind prevails from the N.W. steadily, and very little rain falls.

<i>Day of Month.</i>	<i>Day of Week.</i>	<i>Day of Moon.</i>	CALENDAR.
1	Su.	15	<i>All Saints.</i> 21st Sunday after Trinity.
2	M.	16	Moon Full, 9h. 3m. A.M.
3	Tu.	17	
4	W.	18	
5	Th.	19	
6	F.	20	
7	S.	21	
8	Su.	22	22d Sunday after Trinity.
9	M.	23	Prince of Wales born, 1841. Moon's last quarter, 0h. 20m. A.M.
10	Tu.	24	
11	W.	25	
12	Th.	26	
13	F.	27	London Mail of September 10th arrived, 1856.
14	S.	28	
15	Su.	29	23d Sunday after Trinity.
16	M.	1	10th Chinese Moon, 30 days, New, at Shanghai 0h. 0m. A.M.—at Pekin
17	Tu.	2	[before midnight.
18	W.	3	
19	Th.	4	
20	F.	5	
21	S.	6	Princess Royal born, 1840.
22	Su.	7	24th Sunday after Trinity.
23	M.	8	
24	Tu.	9	
25	W.	10	Moon's 1st quarter, 1h. 39m. A.M.
26	Th.	11	
27	F.	12	London News to 26th Sept. <i>via</i> Bombay and Calcutta per El: tel: received,
28	S.	13	[1856.
29	Su.	14	<i>Advent Sunday.</i>
30	M.	15	<i>St. Andrew.</i>

NOVEMBER 1857.

(30 DAYS.)

9th and 10th Chinese Moons.

Average of last 7 years, { Thermometer by day, 65.—by night, 48.
Fall of Rain, 3.8
Rainy days, 6.7

<i>Day of Month.</i>	<i>Day of Week.</i>	<i>Day of Moon.</i>	MEMORANDA.
1	Su.	15	
2	M.	16	
3	Tu.	17	
4	W.	18	
5	Th.	19	
6	F.	20	
7	S.	21	
8	Su.	22	
9	M.	23	
10	Tu.	24	
11	W.	25	
12	Th.	26	
13	F.	27	
14	S.	28	
15	Su.	29	
16	M.	1	
17	Tu.	2	
18	W.	3	
19	Th.	4	
20	F.	5	
21	S.	6	
22	Su.	7	
23	M.	8	
24	Tu.	9	
25	W.	10	
26	Th.	11	
27	F.	12	
28	S.	13	
29	Su.	14	
30	M.	15	

DECEMBER 1857.

(31 DAYS.)

10th and 11th Chinese Moons.

WEATHER.—This is the driest month of the year, rain falling but rarely, though fogs are not unfrequent ; frost and hoar-frost now occur almost every day.

Day of Month.	Day of Week.	Day of Moon.	CALENDAR.
1	Tu.	16	Moon Full, 7h. 6m. P.M.
2	W.	17	Louis Napoleon declared Emperor of France, 1852—being one year after [the coup d'état.
3	Th.	18	
4	F.	19	
5	S.	20	
6	Su.	21	2d Sunday in Advent.
7	M.	22	
8	Tu.	23	Moon's last quarter, 2h. 44m. P.M.
9	W.	24	London dates to 10th Oct. received, 1856.
10	Th.	25	Mail arrived, 1856.
11	F.	26	
12	S.	27	
13	Su.	28	3d Sunday in Advent.
14	M.	29	
15	Tu.	30	
16	W.	1	11th Chinese Moon, 30 days, New, 7h. 7m. P.M.
17	Th.	2	
18	F.	3	
19	S.	4	
20	Su.	5	4th Sunday in Advent.
21	M.	6	St. Thomas.
22	Tu.	7	Winter Solstice. Shortest day.
23	W.	8	
24	Th.	9	Moon's 1st quarter, 2h. 42m. P.M.
25	F.	10	CHRISTMAS DAY.
26	S.	11	St. Stephen.
27	Su.	12	St. John. Sunday after Christmas.
28	M.	13	Innocents' day.
29	Tu.	14	
30	W.	15	
31	Th.	16	Moon Full, 5h. 39m. A.M.

[N.B.—The next China New Year falls on the 14th Feby., 1858.

DECEMBER 1857.

(31 DAYS.)

10th and 11th Chinese Moons.

Average of last 7 years, { Thermometer by day, 56.—by night, 36.
Fall of Rain, 0 $\frac{3}{8}$
Rainy days, 3.3

Day of Month.	Day of Week.	Day of Moon.	MEMORANDA.
1	Tu.	16	
2	W.	17	
3	Th.	18	
4	F.	19	
5	S.	20	
6	Su.	21	
7	M.	22	
8	Tu.	23	
9	W.	24	
10	Th.	25	
11	F.	26	
12	S.	27	
13	Su.	28	
14	M.	29	
15	Tu.	30	
16	W.	1	
17	Th.	2	
18	F.	3	
19	S.	4	
20	Su.	5	
21	M.	6	
22	Tu.	7	
23	W.	8	
24	Th.	9	
25	F.	10	
26	S.	11	
27	Su.	12	
28	M.	13	
29	Tu.	14	
30	W.	15	
31	Th.	16	

MUNICIPAL COUNCIL.

WHARFAGE DUES ON IMPORTS AND EXPORTS:

RATES ON IMPORTS.

Grey Shirtings,	One cent per 50 pieces.
White and Spotted Shirtings,	" "
American Drills,	" "
Do. Sheetings,	" "
Fancy, Printed and Dyed Cottons,	" "
Jeans, English Domestics, Handkerchiefs, Twills, Muslins, Cambrics, &c.,	" "
Velvets, Velveteens, and Cotton Mixtures,	Quarter of a cent per piece.
Cotton Yarn,	Two cents per bale.
Woollens, English Camlets, Lastings, and Bombazettes,	One cent per piece.
Long Ells and Serges,	Half a cent per piece.
Lead, Iron, and Tin,	Half a cent per pecul.
Rice, Sugar, Rattans, Sandal-wood, Sapan-wood, and other woods,	Three cents per 50 pecula.
Ship Chandlery, and Stores,	Two cents per package.
Coals,	Two cents per ton.
Chinese Medicines, or Merchandize, &c., not enumerated above,	Two cents per package.

RATES ON EXPORTS.

Tea,	Half a cent per pecul.
Raw Silk,	Three cents per bale.
Silk Piece Goods,	Two cents per package.
Nankeens,	Half a cent per 100 pieces.
Chinese Medicines, or Merchandize, &c., not enumerated above,	Two cents per package.

ASSESSED TAXES,

WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THE SETTLEMENT.

Land,	$\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on assessed value.
Houses,	$1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on rental.
Do. Chinese,	8 per cent on do.

SHANGHAI, 31st March, 1856.

Insurance Offices at Shanghai.

OFFICES.	LIMITS.	AGENTS.
—MARINE ASSURANCE.—		
<i>Victoria Insurance Company of Bombay,*</i>		} AUGUSTINE HEARD & Co.
<i>Bombay East India Marine Insurance Company,</i>..	.. .. .	
<i>Bombay Insurance Company,</i>	\$ 40,000	} DENT, BEALE & Co.
<i>Royal Exchange, London,</i>.....	.. .. .	
<i>Union Insurance Society, Canton,</i>	\$ 75,000	
<i>London Assurance,</i>.....	.. .. .	
<i>Forbes & Co.'s Constituents Insurance Fund,</i>.....	.. .. .	
<i>Canton Insurance Office,</i>	\$ 100,000	} JARDINE, MATHESON & Co.
<i>Triton Insurance Company,</i>	\$ 70,000	
<i>Bombay Insurance Society,</i>	\$ 40,000	
<i>Bengal Insurance Society,</i>	\$ 40,000	
<i>Hongkong Insurance Company, Hongkong,</i>	\$ 50,000	LINDSAY & Co.
<i>Colonial Life Assurance Company,</i>.....	.. .. .	MONCREIFF, GROVE & Co.
<i>China Mutual Insurance Company of Boston,</i>	\$ 100,000	RUSSELL & Co.
<i>Eastern Marine Insurance Company, London,</i>	£ 10,000	TURNER & Co.
<i>London and Oriental Steam Transit Insurance Office,</i> {	\$ 480,000 on each Steam Ship.	} WARDEN, E.,
—FIRE INSURANCE.—		
<i>Imperial Fire Insurance Company of London,</i>	£ 10,000	} BLENKIN, RAWSON & Co.
<i>Liverpool and London Fire Insurance Company,</i> ..	£ 10,000	
<i>Alliance Life and Fire Assurance Company,</i> For Fire Assurance,	£ 7,000	} JARDINE, MATHESON & Co.
<i>Sun Fire Insurance Office, London,</i>.....	.. .. .	LINDSAY & Co.
<i>Royal Insurance Company of Liverpool,</i>	£ 10,000	SCHWABE, G. C., & Co.

* Canton to Shanghai and vice versa, per Steamer				from 1st Nov. to 1st June,	Limit, \$30,000
Do.	Do.	Do.	per Sailing-vessel	from 1st June to 1st Nov.	" 25,000
				from 1st Nov. to 1st June,	" 15,000
				from 1st June to 1st Nov.	" 10,000
Steamers to India all Seasons,.....					" 30,000
Sailing-vessels to India, from 1st Octr. to 28th Feby.,					" 30,000
from 28th Feby. to 1st Octr.,					" 15,000
Receiving-vessels,.....					" 40,000

N.B.—This Office does not insure to England.

LIST OF FOREIGN HONGS & RESIDENTS AT SHANGHAI.

Foreign Consulates.

British.

大英衙門 *Ta-ying Ya-mun.*

羅大人 *Lo-ta-jin.*

Robertson, D. B., *H. B. M.'s Consul.*

夏大老爺 *Hea-ta-laou-gay.*

Harvey, F. B., *H. B. M.'s Vice-Consul.*

密迪樂 *Meih-teih-lo.*

Meadows, T. T., *Interpreter. (absent)*

密妥士 *Meih-to-sze.*

Meadows, J. A. T., *Acting Interpreter.*

費老爺 *Fei-laou-gay.*

Flitock, W. H., *Senior Assistant.*

李老爺 *Le-laou-gay.*

Lay, W. H., *Junior Assistant.*

便老爺 *Peen-laou-gay.*

Payne, W. N., *Chinese Student.*

衛老爺 *Wei-laou-gay.*

Webster, John A., *Chinese Student.*

邱天生 *Kew-teen-sang.*

Kew Teen-sang, *Linguist.*

排合 *Pae-ho.*

Boyd, John, *Jailer.*

American.

大花旗國公館

Ta Hwa-k'e kwoh Kung-kwan.

Murphy, R. C., *Consul.*

Knapp, W., *Deputy Consul.*

Jenkins, F. D., *Officiating Interpreter.*

Leang-chuan, *Linguist.*

Too-choh-ting, *Chinese Officiating Letter*

Stanton, T., *U. S. Marshal. [Writer.]*

Consulate of France.

大法蘭西國領事衙門

Ta Fa-lan-se kwoh. Ling-sze Ya-mun.

Montigny, C. de, *Consul. (absent)*

Edan, B., *Chancellor, Consul ad Interim.*

Merlo, E., *Acting Chancellor.*

Prussian.

大布路斯公館

Ta Poo-loo-sze Kung-kwan.

King, D. O., *Vice-Consul. (absent)*

Portuguese.

大西洋國公館

Ta Se-yang kwoh Kung-kwan.

Beale, T. C., *Consul.*

Netherlands.

大荷蘭國公館

Ta Ho-lan kwoh Kung-kwan.

Beale, T. C., *Vice-Consul.*

Hamburgh.

大黃旗國公館

Ta Kwang-ke kwoh Kung-kwan.

Lubeck & Bremen.

Hogg, Wm., *Consul. (absent)*

Hogg, Jas., *Acting Consul.*

Sweden

大瑞威頓國公館

Ta Suy-wei-tun kwoh Kung-kwan.

and Norway.

大瑞威國公館

Ta Naou-wei kwoh Kung-kwan.

Cunningham, Edw., *Consul.*

Loureiro, F., *Consular Clerk.*

Danish.

大丹國公館

Ta Tan kwoh Kung-kwan.

Perceval, Alex., *Consul.*

Spanish.

大呂宋國公館

Ta Leu-sung kwoh Kung-kwan.

Loureiro, P. J. S., *Vice-Consul.*

Siamese.

大仙羅國公館

Ta Seen-loh kwoh Kung-kwan.

King, D. O., *Consul.*

Municipal Council.

Man, James L., *Chairman.*
Gray, G. G., *Treasurer.*
Ranken, A. A.,

MUNICIPAL POLICE.

差館 *Chae-kwan.*

Clifton, S., *Superintendent.*
2 Sergeants.
16 Constables.

Imperial Maritime Customs.

江南海關 *Keang-nan Hae-kwan.*

Smith, Arthur, *French,*
Lay, H. N., *English,*
Fish, M. W., *American,* } *Inspectors.*

Lent, Wm., *Secretary.*

Day, J. H., *Assistant.*

Schmidt, M., *do.*

Clark, N., *do.*

Chow A-wan, *Chinese Writer.*

Lo Gwanteh, *do.*

Foreign Honges & Residents.

天長 *Tien-chang.*

ADAMSON, W. R.,
Underwood, P. H.,

架記 *Kea-ke.*

ALLADINBHOY HUBIBBHOY.
Moladina, J.,

祥記 *Tseang-ke.*

AMEROODEEN & JAFFERBHOY
Sherafali Shoojatali. [& Co.
Amerooden Chandabhooy.

名利 *Ming-le.*

ASPINALL, W. G.,

惇信 *Tun-sin.*

BARNET, GEO., & Co.
Man, J. L.,
Howell, Wm. G.,

栢醫生

Peh E-sang.

BELL, THOS., } *Surgeons.*
GOODALL, C. W., }

泰源 *Tai-yuen.*

BESLEY, OPPERT & Co.
Besley, Fredk. J.,
Oppert, E.,

祥泰 *Tseang-tae.*

BIRLEY, WORTHINGTON & Co.
Brown, W. S.,
Reid, Robt.,
Roche, Edward,

和記 *Ho-ke.*

BLINKIN, RAWSON & Co.
Dow, James, *absent.*
Thorburn, Wm.,
Norton, W. M., *absent.*
Fussell, R. S. R.,
Clarke, Edw.,
Brown, S.,
Holdsworth, T. K.,

惠典 *Wy-hing.*

BOHSTEDT & Co.
Bohstedt, J.,
Wilzer, F.,

播喊 *Bo-ay.*

BOVET, BROTHES & Co.
Bovet, G.,
Meynard, H.,

DUSSOURD, TONY,

寶文 *Po-mun.*

BOWMAN, JAS., & Co.
Bowman, Jas.,
Johnson, F. B.,
How, A. J.,
Rehden, W. F.,
Richardson, C. L.,

白蘭 *Pih-lan.*

BRINE, R. A., & Co., *Auctioneers.*
Brine, Robt. A.,
Bernard, Julius,

中和 *Chung-ho.*

BROUGHAL, Wm., *Silk-broker.*

泰昌 *Tae-chang.*

BUISSONNET, EUGENE,

同珍 *Tung-chin.*

BULL, NYE & Co.
Nye, C. D.,
Pyke, Thos.,
Francis, Robt.,
Green, John,
Placé, T., jr.

復源 *Fow-yuen.*

BURJORJEE, D.,

廣南 *Kwang-nan.*

CAMAJEE, P. & D. N., & Co.
P. C. Pochajee.
D. Byramjee.

復源 *Fow-yuen.*

CAMAJEE, R. H., & Co.
Munchejee, R.,

望益 紙館

Wang-yih Tze-kwan.

CARVALHO, J. H., *Printer.*
Vidigal, A. L., *Assistant.*

CARVALHO, A. H.,

架記 *Kea-ke.*

CASSUMBHOY NATHABHOY &
K. Dhurumsey. [Co.
C. Tar-Mohamed.

滙隆 *Hwuy-lung.*

COMMERCIAL BANK OF INDIA.
Angus, Robert, *Agent.*
Wiggins, H. H., *Accountant.*

義利 *Nie-le.*

COMMERCIAL HOTEL AND
RESTAURANT.
Barraud, E. P.,

金頓 *Kin-tun.*

COMPTON, C. S.,

公利 *Kung-le.*

CONNOLLY, A.,
Johnson, P.,

廣昌 *Kwang-chang.*

COWASJEE PALLANJEE & Co.
C. Bomanjee, *absent.*
C. Rustomjee.
P. Rustomjee.

華盛 *Hwa-shing.*

CRAMPTONS, HANBURY & Co.
Crampton, Wm.,
Crampton, Jas.,
Hanbury, Thos.,
Christy, Thos., jr.
Pullan, C., *absent.*
Maltby, J.,

裕泰 *Yuh-tae.*

DALLAS & Co.
Booker, F.,
Dallas, Barnes,

寶順 *Paou-shun.*

DENT, BEALE & Co.
Dent, Wilkinson, *absent.*
Beale, T. C.,
Ince, H. A.,
Webb, Edward, *absent.*
Hanssen, H. P.,
Loureiro, J.,
Elliot, J. T.,
Hubbard, H.,

廣興 *Kwang-hing.*

DHURUMSEE POONJABHOY.
Peer-Mahomed Nathooohoy.
Nuthooohoy Joover.

泰昌 *Tae-chang.*

DIEMER, BROTHERS & Co.
Gaye, C.,

廣昌 *Kwang-chang.*

EDULJEE FRAMJEE SONS & Co.
S. Framjee.

大英信書館

Ta-ying-shoo-sin-kwan.

費老爺 *Fei-laou-yay.*

FITTOCK, W. H., *Packet Agent.*

豐裕 *Fung-yuh.*

FOGG, H., & Co., *Ship Chandlers
and Store-keeper.*

Fogg, H.,
Freeman, A. L.,
Reid, J. N.,
Lacy, P.,

順泰 *Shun-tae.*

FRAMJEE BYRAMJEE METTA & Co.
Burjorjee Rustomjee Mody.
Merwanjee Eduljee Bisnee.

仁記 *Jin-ke.*

GIBB, LIVINGSTON & Co.
Gibb, H. B.,
Green, J. J.,
Toovey, H. D.,

太平 *Tae-ping.*

GILMAN & Co.
Vacher, W. H.,
Jarvie, R.,
Seare, B.,
Wallis, G.,
Wilson, F. H.,

HALL, G. R., A.B.; M.D.

福利 *Fuh-le.*

HALL & HOLTZ, *Ship Chandlers,
General Store-keepers & Bakers.*
Hall, Edw., *absent.*
Holtz, A.,
Alfeld, G. H.,
Wilberg, E.,

BARROS, D.,

恒吉 *Han-keith.*

HANCOCK, H., *Bill-broker.*

公和 *Kung-ho.*

HARDY, T. W., *Bill-broker.*

琮記 *King-ke.*

HEARD, AUGUSTINE, & Co.

Heard, A. F.,
Macandrew, L.,
Case, A. J.,
Fearon, R. J.,
Severs, H. H.,
Souza, B. D. de,
Souza, D. A. de,

禮記 *Le-ke.*

HOBSON, REV. JOHN,
Chaplain Trinity Church.

新德記 *Sin-tuk-ke.*

HOGG, G. W., & Co., *Wine,
Spirit, and Beer Merchants:
Auctioneers and General
Store-keepers.*

Hogg, G. W.,
Young, J. M.,

義記 *Nie-ke.*

HOLLIDAY, WISE & Co.
Holliday, John, *absent.*
Whitlow, Jas.,
Townend, E.,

合巴 *Ho-pa.*

HOOPER, J.

架記 *Kea-ke.*

HUBIBBHOOY EBRAHIM, SONS
F. Hubibbhoy. [& Co.
M. Mahomed.
Veerjee Ruhim,

怡和 *E-ho.*

JARDINE, MATHESON & Co.

Perceval, Alex.,
Macandrew, Jas., *absent.*
Wills, C.,
Matheson, C. S.,
Batt, J. T.,
Gerard, R.,
Kewick, W.,

渣敦 *Cha-tun.*

JORDAN, V. P., *Bill-broker.*

味打 *Choo-ta.*

JUDAH & Co.

Ezra Meyer Feruje Heyem.
Jacob Aaron Meyer Heyem.

架記 *Kea-ke.*

KESBOWJEE SEWJEE & Co.
H. Parpia.

廣源 Kwang-yuen.

KING & Co.
Hitchcock, L. N.,
King, D. O.,
Waller, E.,
Helbling, J. C.,

泰興 Tae-hing.

KUPFERSCHMID & DATO,
Chronometer, Watch and Clock-
makers, & General Store-keepers.
Kupferschmid, F., absent.
Dato, W. T.,
Müller, H.,

浦東 Poo-tung.

LAMOND, M., & Co.,
Ship-smiths & Shipwrights.
Lamond, M.,

廣隆 Kwang-loong.

LINDSAY & Co.
Hogg, Wm., absent.
Hogg, Jas.,
Major, R. O.,
Michie, A.,
Simpson, G.,
Bastos, A. J.,
Alisch, A.,

陸先生

Luh Seen-sung.

LOCKHART, WM., M.R.O.S.,
Surgeon London Mis. Society.

長利 Chang-la.

MACDONALD, JAMES,
Loureiro, E.,

復和 Fuh-ho.

MACKENZIE, WM., Bill-broker.

有利 Yew-le.

MERCANTILE BANK OF INDIA,
LONDON & CHINA.
Newby, Richard, Agent.
Ouseley, J., Sub-Agent.

蜜臘 打毡房

Meih-la Ta-keu fang.

MILLER, JOHN,
Billiard Room.

浦東 Poo-tung.

MITCHELL, A.,
Shipwright, Boatbuilder, and
Blacksmith.

指望 Che-wang.

MONCREIFF, GROVE & Co.
Moncreiff, T.,
Grove, F. H.,
King, C. J., at Fuchau.
Odell, Thos. S., do.
Lloyd, Edw.,
Ross, J. B.,
Cameron, W.,

摩醫生藥房

Mo E-sang Yo-fang.

MOTTLEY, GEO., Surgeon.

字林洋行

Tsze-lin Yang-hong.

"N.-CHINA HERALD" OFFICE.

Compton, C. S.,
Rozario, C. E. do,
Barradas, M. F.,
Rozario, A. do,
Fonceca, Athanasio,

麗如 Le-joo.

ORIENTAL BK. CORPORATION.

Skinner, John, Agent.
Langley, J. C., Accountant. ab.
Burnes, Adam, do.
Rozario, F. J. do,

柯化威 Ko-hwa-wei.

OVERWEG & Co.
Overweg, C. W.,

PATTULLO, S. E.,
Secretary British Chamber of
Commerce.

下海浦 Hea-hae-poo.

PEARSON, F., Ship Chandler and
General Storekeeper.
Dixson, E. W., Assistant.

火輪船公司行

Ho-lun-chuen Kung-sze-hong.

P. & O. S. N. Co.'s OFFICE.

Warden, E., Agent.
Dalziel, W. R.,
Monteiro, J. X.,

順章 Shun-chang.

PESTONJEE FRAMJEE CAMA
Framjee Hormusjee. [& Co.
D. Pestonjee.
C. D. Lalacaca.
M. Eduljee.
L. Bomanjee.

利興 Le-hing.

PLATT, T., & Co.
Platt, T.,
Slater, S. F.,

新裕記 Sin Yuh-ke.

POTTER & Co.
Potter, W.,

下海浦 Hea-hae-poo.

POTTER, M. L., Carpenter,
Shipsmith and Superintendent
of the Dry Dock.

魯麟 Lo-ling.

PUSTAU, WM., & Co.
Brodersen, C.,
Hirschfeld, L.,

泰和 Tae-ho.

REISS & Co.
Weismann, N.,
Goddard, R.,
Franks, T. F.,

利名 Le-ming.

REMI, SCHMIDT & CIE.

Rémi, D.,
Schmidt, E.,
Bidet, A.,
Lemaire, C.,
Legrand, L.,

夜冷 Yay-lang.

REYNOLDS, E. A.,
General Auctioneer, &c., &c.

隆泰 Lung-tas.

RICHARDS, P. F., & Co.,
Ship Chandlers, &c., &c.
Richards, P. F., absent.
McKenzie, J.,
McKenzie, D.,
Baron, J. S.,

旗昌 K'e-chang.

RUSSELL & Co.
Cunningham, Edw.,
Gray, Geo. Griswold,
Orne, C. W.,
Loureiro, P.,
Clark, D. O.,
Saur, J.,
Boyd, E. B. H.,
White, F. G.,
Loureiro, F.,
Leembruggen, J. W.,
Lamcock, C.,

沙遜 *Sha-sun.*

SASSOON, DAVID, SONS & Co.
Ezekiel Shellim.
Solomon David.
J. J. Reuben.
S. Abraham.
Solomon Hayeem.

柯化威 *Ko-hwa-wei.*

SCHOLEFIELD, C., Tea-Taster.

公平 *Kung-ping.*

SCHWABE, G. C., & Co.
Bower, Frederick,
Arnold, R.,
Baker, T.,
Drysedale, T. M.,

下海浦 *Hea-hae-poo.*

SEAMAN'S HOME.
Antin, John,
Boarding-house keeper.
Haimmond, F. G., Assistant.

病房 *Ping-fang.*

SEAMAN'S HOSPITAL.
Dr. Hall, G. R., } *Medical*
„ Sibbald, F. C., } *Attendants.*
Mugford, J. D., Apothecary.

書館 *Shoo-kwan.*

SHANGHAI LIBRARY.
W. Achung, Librarian.

李百里 *Le-pih-li.*

SHAW, BLAND & Co.
Bland, Joseph, *absent.*
Winch, J. H.,
Hollmann, W.,
Major, J.,
Hollingworth, H. G.,
Peers, Thos.,

指望醫生

Che-wang E-sang.
SIBBALD, F. C., M.D.; M.R.C.S.E.

禪臣 *Siem-seen.*

SIEMSEN & Co.
Heinsen, R.,
Schabert, J.,

浩昌 *Ho-cheong.*

SILLAR, BROTHERS.
Sillar, D., *absent.*
Sillar, T. F., *do.*
Sillar, R. G.,
Sillar, J. C.,

新裕盛 *Sin Yuh-chin.*

SMITH, E. M., Bill-broker.

公易 *Kung-yih.*

SMITH, KENNEDY & Co.
Smith, Geo.,
Kinnear, B. G.,
Ranken, A. A.,
Gray, H. M. M.,
Westall, R. R.,
Dick, James,
Jenkins, F.,

SUTTON, HENRY, Sail-maker.

裕盛 *Yuh-chin.*

THORBURN, GEO.,

豐茂 *Fung-mow.*

THORNE, BROTHERS & Co.
J. Thorne,
C. Thorne,

TRANNACK & Co., Shipwrights.
Trannack, R.,

惇裕 *Teng-yue.*

TRAUTMANN & Co.
Trautmann, J. F. H.,
Klör, H.,

華記 *Wha-ke.*

TURNER & Co.
Thorburn, R.,
Smith, E. C.,
Bryans, W. J.,

昇泰 *Sing-tae.*

ULLETT & Co.
Ullett, R. B.,
Rothwell, T.,

豐茂 *Fung-mow.*

WATSON & Co.
Coutts, G., W.,
Cock, James,

涯林 *Wa-ling.*

WILLIAMS & Co.
Williams, F. D.,
Howard, Abraham,
Loureiro, A.,

天青威厘臣

Tien-tsing Wei-lee-sun.

WILSON, CRAVEN,
Tea Inspector and Ship Broker.

天孫 *Teen-sun.*

WRIGHT, J. W., Cabinet-maker
and Sexton of Trinity Church.

墨海書館

Mih-hai Shoo-kwàn.

WYLIE, A., Printer.
London Missionary Society.

Foreign Missionaries, English.

London Missionary Society.

Muirhead, Rev. W., and family.
Edkins, Rev. J.,
John, Rev. Griffith, and family.
Williamson, Rev. Alex., and family.
Lockhart, W., M.R.C.S.
Wylie, A., Printer.

Church Missionary Society.

Burdon, Rev. J. S.,
Reeve, Rev. H., and family.

American.

Board of Foreign Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, U. S. A.

Boone, Right Rev. W. J., D.D., and family.
Syle, Rev. E. W., and family.
Nelson, Rev. R., and family.
Keith, Rev. C., and family.
Liggings, Rev. J.,
Williams, Rev. C. M.,
Jones, Miss Emma G., (*absent*)
Fay, Miss Lydia M.,
Jones, Miss C. E.,
Conover, Miss J. Rule,

Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

Bridgman, Rev. C. E., D.D., and family.
Blodget, Rev. Henry, and family.
Altchison, Rev. William,

Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.

Culbertson, Rev. M. S., and family. (*absent*)
Lowrie, Rev. R., and family.

Board of Foreign Missions of Southern Baptist Convention, U. S. A.

Yates, Rev. M. T., and family.
Cabaniss, Rev. A. B., and family.
Crawford, Rev. T. P., and family.
Burton, G. W., M.D., and family.

Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the Southern States.

Jenkins, Rev. B., D.D., and family.
Cunningham, Rev. W. G. E., and family.
Kelley, Rev. D. C., M.D., and family. (*absent*)
Lambuth, Rev. J. W., and family.

Seventh-day Baptist Missionary Society, U. S. A.

Carpenter, Rev. S., and family.
Wardner, Rev. N., and family.

Receiving Ships. At Woosung.

廣南 Kwang-nan.

"ANN WELSH," British Barque.
Endicott, W., Commander.
Balston, C. W., 1st Officer.
Rodrigues, P., Gunner.
Leighton, H., Clerk.

復興 Fuh-hing.

"EMILY JANE," British Ship.
King, R. A., Commander, and family.
Pope, Jas., 1st Officer.
Rosallis, A., 2d do.
Le Counteur, —, Clerk.

源發 Yuen-fa.

"FOLKSTONE," British Ship.
Baylis, H. P., Commander, and family.
Hallpike, J., 1st Officer.
Morrison, J., 2d do.
Tizard, R., Gunner.

開源 Kae-yuen.

"NIMROD," British Brig.
Cobb, Benj., Commander.
Keer, C., 1st Officer.
Summers, —, 2d do.
Greenwood, —, Clerk.

大利 Ta-le.

"SWALLOW," British Barque.
Henderson, J., Commander, and family.
Slocomb, I., 1st Officer.
Howlett, M., 2d do.
Craighead, R., Gunner.

順記 Shun-ke.

"SEA HORSE," British Brig.
Keppell, Geo. A., Commander.
Scott, Robt., 1st Officer.
Baptista, M. P., Clerk.
Rozario, M. de, Gunner.

LIST OF FOREIGN RESIDENTS AT SHANGHAI, JANUARY, 1857.

Abraham, S.,		Mercantile Assistant,	David Sassoon, Sons & Co.
Adamson, W. R.,		Merchant,	A. B. C. F. M.
Aitchison, Rev. Wm.,		Missionary,	Hall & Holtz.
Alfeld, G. H.,		Assistant,	Lindsay & Co.
Alisch, A.,		Mercantile Assistant,	Commercial Bank of India.
Angus, Robt.,		Agent,	Seaman's Home.
Antin, John,		Boarding House Keeper,	G. C. Schwabe & Co.
Arnold, R.,		Mercantile Assistant,	
Aspinal, W. G.,		Merchant,	
Ayer, W. E.,		Pilot,	
Baker, T.,		Mercantile Assistant,	G. C. Schwabe & Co.
Barradas, M. F.,		Assistant,	<i>North-China Herald</i> Office.
Barraud, E. P.,			Commercial Hotel.
Barros, D.,			
Baron, J. S.,		Assistant,	P. F. Richards & Co.
Bastos, A. J.,	<i>and family.</i>	Mercantile Assistant,	Lindsay & Co.
Batt, J. T.,	<i>absent.</i>	Silk Inspector,	Jardine, Matheson & Co.
Beale, T. C.,	{ Portuguese Consul, and Dutch Vice-Consul. }	Merchant,	Dent, Beale & Co.
Bell, Thos.,		Surgeon,	
Bernard, Julius,		Assistant,	Robt. Brine & Co.
Besley, F. J.,		Merchant,	Besley, Oppert & Co.
Bidet, A.,		Assistant,	Rémi, Schmidt & Co.
Bland, Joseph,	<i>absent.</i>	Merchant,	Shaw, Bland & Co.
Blodget, Rev. Henry,		Missionary,	A. B. C. F. M.
Bohstedt, J.,		Merchant,	Bohstedt & Co.
Bomanjee, C.,		Do.	Cowasjee Pallanjee & Co.
Bomanjee, L.,		Mercantile Assistant,	P. F. Cama & Co.
Rooker, F.,		Merchant,	Dallas & Co.
Boone, Rt. Rev. W. J., D.D.,	<i>and family.</i>	Missionary,	American Episcopal Mission.
Bovet, G.,		Merchant,	Bovet, Brothers & Co.
Bower, F.,	<i>and family.</i>	Merchant,	G. C. Schwabe & Co.
Bowman, James,	<i>absent.</i>	Do.	James Bowman & Co.
Boyd, E. B. H.,		Mercantile Assistant,	Russell & Co.
Boyd, John,		Jailer,	British Consulate.
Bridgman, Rev. E. C., D.D.,	<i>and family.</i>	Missionary,	A. B. C. F. M.
Brine, Robt. A.,		Auctioneer,	Robt. Brine & Co.
Brodersen, C.,	<i>and family.</i>	Merchant,	Wm. Pustau & Co.
Broughall, Wm.,	<i>and family.</i>	Silk Broker,	
Brown, S.,		Mercantile Assistant,	
Brown, W. S.,	<i>and family.</i>	Merchant,	Blenkin, Rawson & Co.
Bryans, W. J.,		Mercantile Assistant,	Birley, Worthington & Co.
Buissonnet, Eugene,		Merchant,	Turner & Co.
Burdon, Rev. J. S.,		Missionary,	
Burjorjee, D.,		Merchant,	Church Missionary Society.
Burnes, Adam,		Accountant,	
Burton, Rev. Dr. G. W., M.D.,	<i>and family.</i>	Missionary,	Oriental Bank Corporation.
Byranjee, D.,		Merchant,	A. B. F. M., Baptist Convention
Cabaniss, Rev. A. B.,	<i>and family.</i>	Missionary,	P. & D. N. Camajee & Co.
Cameron, W.,		Mercantile Assistant,	A. B. F. M., Baptist Convention.
Carpenter, Rev. S.,	<i>and family.</i>	Missionary,	Moncreiff, Grove & Co.
Carvalho, A. H.,	<i>and family.</i>		American Sabbatarian Board.
Carvalho, J. H.,	<i>and family.</i>		
Case, A. J.,		Printer,	
Chandabhoj, Amerooddeen,		Mercantile Assistant,	Augustine Heard & Co.
Christy, Thomas, jr.,		Merchant,	Amerooddeen & Jafferbhoy & Co.
Clark, D. O.,		Mercantile Assistant,	Cramptons, Hanbury & Co.
			Russell & Co.

Clark, N.,		Assistant,	Imperial Maritime Customs.
Clarke, Edw.,		Silk Inspector,	Blenkin, Rawson & Co.
Clifton, S.,	<i>and family.</i>	Superintendent of Police,	
Cock, James,		Mercantile Assistant,	Watson & Co.
Compton, C. S.,		Editor,	<i>North-China Herald.</i>
Connolly, Andrew,		Merchant,	American Episcopal Mission.
Conover, Miss J. R.,		Missionary,	Watson & Co.
Coutts, G. W.,		Merchant,	Cramptons, Hanbury & Co.
Crampton, J.,		Do.	Do.
Crampton, Wm.,		Do.	A. B. F. M., Baptist Convention.
Crawford, Rev. T. P.,	<i>and family.</i>	Missionary,	American Presbyterian Board.
Crossley, James,	<i>absent.</i>	Merchant,	
Culbertson, Rev. M. S.,	<i>and family.</i>	Missionary,	Russell & Co.
Cunningham, Edw.,	{ Consul for Sweden and Norway. }	Merchant,	
Cunningham, Rev. W. G. E.,	<i>and family.</i>	Missionary,	Am: South: Metho: Epis: Mis:
Dallas, Barnes,		Mercantile Assistant,	Dallas & Co.
Dalziel, W. R.,		Assistant,	P. & O. Co.'s Office.
Dato, W. T.,	<i>and family.</i>	{ Chronometer, Watch & Clock-makers & Genl. Store-keepers, }	Kupferschmid & Dato.
David, Solomon,		Merchant,	David Sassoon, Sons & Co.
Day, J. H.,		Assistant,	Imperial Maritime Custom.
Dewanap, J.,	<i>absent.</i>	Engineer,	
Dhurumsey, K.,		Merchant,	Cassumbhoy Nathabhoy & Co.
Dick, James,		Mercantile Assistant,	Smith, Kennedy & Co.
Dixson, E. W.,		Assistant,	F. Pearson.
Dow, James,	<i>absent.</i>	Merchant,	Blenkin, Rawson & Co.
Drysdale, T. M.,		Mercantile Assistant,	G. C. Schwabe & Co.
Dussourd, T.,		Merchant,	
Edan, B.,		Consul <i>ad interim</i> ,	Consulate of France.
Edkins, Rev. Joseph,		Missionary,	London Missionary Society.
Edujee, M.,		Mercantile Assistant,	P. F. Cama & Co.
Elliot, J. T.,		Do. Do.	Dent, Beale & Co.
Fay, Miss L. M.,		Missionary,	American Episcopal Mission.
Fearon, R. J.,		Mercantile Assistant,	Augustine Heard & Co.
Fish, M. W.,		Inspector,	Imperial Maritime Customs.
Fittock, W. H.,		Packet Agent,	British Consulate.
Fogg, H.,		{ Ship Chandlers and Store-keepers. }	H. Fogg & Co.
Fonceca, A.,		Assistant,	<i>North-China Herald</i> Office.
Framjee, S.,		Mercantile Assistant,	Edujee Framjee, Sons & Co.
Francis, Robt.,		Do. Do.	Isaac M. Bull & Co.
Franks, T. F.,		Do. Do.	Reiss & Co.
Freeman, A. L.,		Assistant,	H. Fogg & Co.
Fussell, R. S. R.,		Mercantile Assistant,	Blenkin, Rawson & Co.
Gerard, Robert,		Do. Do.	Jardine, Matheson & Co.
Gibb, H. B.,		Merchant,	Gibb, Livingston & Co.
Goddard, R.,		Mercantile Assistant,	Reiss & Co.
Goodall, C. W.,		Surgeon,	
Gray, G. G.,		Merchant,	Russell & Co.
Gray, H. M. M.,		Mercantile Assistant,	Smith, Kennedy & Co.
Green, John,		Do. Do.	Isaac M. Bull & Co.
Green, J. J.,		Do. Do.	Gibb, Livingston & Co.
Grove, F. H.,		Merchant,	Moncreiff, Grove & Co.
Guye, Ch.,		Do.	Dimier, Brothers & Co.
Hall, Edward,	<i>absent.</i>	{ Ship Chandlers, Ge- neral Store-keepers and Bakers, }	Hall & Holtz.
Hall, G. R., A.B.; M.D.,		Surgeon,	Seaman's Hospital.
Hammond, G. F.,		Assistant,	Seaman's Home.
Hanbury, Thomas,	<i>and family.</i>	Merchant,	Cramptons, Hanbury & Co.
Hancock, Herbert,		Bill broker,	
Hanssen, H. P.,		Mercantile Assistant,	Dent, Beale & Co.
Hardy, T. W.,	<i>and family.</i>	Bill Broker,	
Harvey, F.,		Vice-Consul,	H. B. M.'s Consulate.
Hayeem, Solomon,		Mercantile Assistant,	David Sassoon, Sons & Co.
Heard, A. F.,		Merchant,	Augustine Heard & Co.

Heinsen, R.,		Merchant,	Siemssen & Co.
Helbling, J. C.,		Mercantile Assistant,	King & Co.
Heyem, E. M. F.,		Merchant,	Judah & Co.
Heyem, J. A. M.,		Do.	Do.
Herschfeld, L.,		Mercantile Assistant,	Wm. Pustau & Co.
Hobson, Rev. John,	<i>and family.</i>	British Chaplain,	
Hogg, G. W.,	<i>and family.</i>	{ Wine, Spirit, and Beer Merchants: Auctioneers and Genl. Store-keepers. }	G. W. Hogg & Co.
Hogg, Wm., <i>ab.</i>	{ Hamburg, Lubeck, and Bremen Consul. }	Merchant,	Lindsay & Co.
Hogg, James, (Acting Do. Do.)	<i>absent.</i>	Do.	Lindsay & Co.
Holliday, John,		Do.	Holliday, Wise & Co.
Hollingworth, H. G.,		Mercantile Assistant,	Shaw, Bland & Co.
Hollmann, Wm.,		Do. Do.	Do.
Holdsworth, T. K.,		Do. Do.	Blenkin, Rawson & Co.
Holtz, Andreas,		{ Ship Chandlers, Ge- neral Store-keepers and Bakers, }	Hall & Holtz.
Hooper, James,		Merchant,	
Hormusjee, Franjee,		Do.	P. F. Cama & Co.
Howard, A.,		Mercantile Assistant,	Williams & Co.
How, A. J.,		Merchant,	James Bowman & Co.
Howell, Wm. Gunston,		Do.	Geo. Barnet & Co.
Hubbard, H.,		Mercantile Assistant,	Dent, Beale & Co.
Hubbhoy, F.,		Merchant,	Hubbhoy Ebrahim, Sons & Co.
Ince, H. A.,		Do.	Dent, Beale & Co.
Jarvie, R.,		Mercantile Assistant,	Gilman & Co.
Jenkins, Rev. B., D.D.,		{ Missionary and Offi- ciating Interpreter at American Consulate. }	Am: South: Metho: Epis: Mis:
Jenkins, F.,		Mercantile Assistant,	Smith, Kennedy & Co.
John, Rev. Griffith,	<i>and family.</i>	Missionary,	London Missionary Society.
Johnson, F. B.,		Merchant,	James Bowman & Co.
Johnson, P.,		Mercantile Assistant,	A. Connolly.
Jones, Miss C. E.,		Missionary,	American Episcopal Mission.
Jones, Miss E. G.,	<i>absent.</i>	Do.	Do.
Joover, Nuthobhoy,		Merchant,	Dhurumsey Poonjabhoy.
Jordan, V. P.,		Bill Broker,	
Keith, Rev. C.,	<i>and family.</i>	Missionary,	American Episcopal Mission.
Kelley, Rev. D. C., M.D.,	<i>and family.</i>	Do.	Am: South: Metho: Epis: Mis:
Keswick, W.,		Mercantile Assistant,	Jardine, Matheson & Co.
King, D. O.,	{ Prussian Vice-Consul, and Siamese Consul. }	Merchant,	King & Co.
Kinnear, B. G.,		Merchant,	Smith, Kennedy & Co.
Knapp, W.,		Deputy Consul,	American Consulate.
Klors, H.,		Mercantile Assistant,	Trautmann & Co.
Kupferschmid, F.,		{ Chronometer, Watch & Clock-makers & Genl. Store-keepers, }	Kupferschmid & Dato.
Lacy, P.,		Assistant,	H. Fogg & Co.
Lalaca, C. D.,		Mercantile Assistant,	P. F. Cama & Co.
Lambuth, Rev. J. W.,	<i>and family.</i>	Missionary,	Am: South: Metho: Epis: Mis:
Lamcock, C.,		Mercantile Assistant,	Rossell & Co.
Lamond, M.,		Ship-smith, & Shipwright,	M. Lamond & Co.
Langley, J. C.,	<i>absent.</i>	Accountant,	Oriental Bank Corporation.
Lay, H. N.,		Inspector,	Imperial Maritime Customs.
Lay, W. H.,		Junior Assistant,	H. B. M.'s Consulate.
Legrand, L.,		Do. Do.	Rémi, Schmidt & Co.
Leembruggen, J. W.,		Do. Do.	Russell & Co.
Lemaire, C.,		Do. Do.	Rémi, Schmidt & Co.
Lent, Wm.,		Secretary,	Imperial Maritime Customs.
Liggings, Rev. J.,		Missionary,	American Episcopal Mission.
Lloyd, Edw.,		Mercantile Assistant,	Moncreiff, Grove & Co.
Lockhart, Wm., M.R.C.S.,		Surgeon,	London Missionary Society.
Loureiro, A.,		Mercantile Assistant,	Williams & Co.

Loureiro, E.,		Mercantile Assistant.	James MacDonald.
Loureiro, F.,		Do. Do.	Russell & Co.
Loureiro, J.,		Do. Do.	Dent, Beale & Co.
Loureiro, P. J. S.,	{ Spanish } Vice-Consul.	Do. Do.	Russell & Co.
Lowrie, Rev. R.,	and family.	Missionary,	American Presbyterian Board.
Macandrew, Jas.,	absent.	Mercantile Assistant,	Jardine, Matheson & Co.
Macandrew, L.,	absent.	Do. Do.	Augustine Heard & Co.
MacDonald, A.,		Pilot,	
MacDonald, James,		Merchant,	
Mackenzie, W.,		Bill broker,	
McKenzie, D.,		Store-keeper, &c.,	P. F. Richards & Co.
McKenzie, J.,	and family.	Do. Do.	Do.
Mahomed, M.,		Mercantile Assistant,	Hubbikhoy Ebrahim, Sons & Co.
Major, John,		Do. Do.	Shaw, Bland & Co.
Major, R. O.,		Do. Do.	Lindsay & Co.
Maltby, J.,		Do. Do.	Cramptons, Hanbury & Co.
Man, James L.,	and family.	Merchant,	Geo. Barnet & Co.
Matheson, C. S.,		Mercantile Assistant,	Jardine, Matheson & Co.
Meadows, J. A. T.,		Acting Interpreter,	British Consulate.
Merlo, E.,		Acting Chancellor,	Consulate of France.
Merwanjee Eduljee Bisnee,		Merchant,	Framjee Byramjee Metta & Co.
Meynard, H.,		Merchant,	Bovet, Brothers & Co.
Nichie, A.,		Mercantile Assistant,	Lindsay & Co.
Miller, John,		Billiard Room,	
Mitchell, A.,		{ Shipwright, Boat- builder, and Black- smith, }	
Mody, B. R.,		Merchant,	Framjee Byramjee Metta & Co.
Molidina, J.,		Mercantile Assistant,	Aladinbhoy Hubbhoy.
Moncreiff, Thomas,		Merchant,	Moncreiff, Grove & Co.
Monteiro, J. X.,		Assistant,	P. & O. Co.'s Office.
Mottley, Geo., M.R.C.S.,	and family.	Surgeon,	
Mugford, J. D.,	and family.	Apothecary,	Seaman's Hospital.
Muirhead, Rev. W.,		Missionary,	London Missionary Society.
Müller, H.,		Assistant,	Kupferschmid & Dato.
Muncherjee, R.,		Merchant,	R. H. Camajee & Co.
Murphy, R. C.,		United States Consul,	United States Consulate.
Nathobhoy, Peer-Mahomed,		Merchant,	Dhurumsey Poonjabhoy.
Nelson, Rev. R.,	and family.	Missionary,	American Episcopal Mission.
Newby, Richard,		Agent,	{ Mercantile Bank of India. London and China.
Norton, W. M.,	absent.	Merchant,	Blenkin, Rawson & Co.
Nye, C. D.,	and family.	Do.	Isaac M. Bull & Co.
Oppert, E.,		Do.	Besley, Oppert & Co.
Orne, C. W.,		Do.	Russell & Co.
Onseley, J.,		Sub-Agent,	{ Mercantile Bank of India, London and China.
Overweg, C. W.,		Merchant,	Overweg & Co.
Parpia, H.,		Mercantile Assistant,	Kessowjee Sewjee & Co.
Pattullo, S. E.,		Secretary,	British Chamber of Commerce.
Payne, W. N.,		Chinese Student,	British Consulate.
Pearson, F.,		{ Ship Chandler and Store-keeper. }	F. Pearson.
Peers, Thos.,		Mercantile Assistant,	Shaw, Bland & Co.
Perceval, Alex., (Danish Consul.)		Merchant,	Jardine, Matheson & Co.
Pestonjee, D.,		Mercantile Assistant,	P. F. Cama & Co.
Placé, T., jr.,		Do. Do.	Isaac M. Bull & Co.
Platt, T.,		Merchant,	T. Platt & Co.
Pochajee, P. C.,		Merchant,	P. & D. N. Camajee & Co.
Potter, W.,		Merchant,	Potter & Co.
Potter, M. L.,		{ Carpenter, Shipsmith and Superintendent of the Dry Dock. }	
Pullan, C.,	absent.	Merchant,	Cramptons, Hanbury & Co.
Pyke, Thomas,		Do.	Isaac M. Bull & Co.
Ranken, A. A.,		Do.	Smith, Kennedy & Co.
Reeve, Rev. H.,	and family.	Missionary.	Church Missionary School.
Rehden, W. F.,		Mercantile Assistant,	James Bowman & Co.

Reid, J. N.,		Assistant,	H. Fogg & Co.
Reid, Robert,		Do.	Birley, Worthington & Co.
Rémi, D.,		Merchant,	Rémi, Schmidt & Co.
Reuben, J. J.,		Mercantile Assistant,	David Sassoon, Sons & Co.
Reynolds, E. A.,			
Richards, P. F.,	<i>absent.</i>	Store-keeper, &c.,	P. F. Richards & Co.
Richardson, C. L.,		Mercantile Assistant,	James Bowman & Co.
Robertson, D. B.,		H. B. M.'s Consul,	British Consulate.
Robinson, P.,	<i>and family.</i>	Commander,	Light Ship.
Roche, Edw.,		Mercantile Assistant,	Birley, Worthington & Co.
Ross, J. B.,		Do. Do.	Moncreiff, Grove & Co.
Rothwell, Thos.,		Do. Do.	Ullett & Co.
Rozario, C. E. do,			<i>North-China Herald Office.</i>
Rozario, A. do,	<i>and family.</i>	Overseer,	Do.
Rozario, F. J. do,		Assistant,	Oriental Bank Corporation.
Ruhim, Veejee,		Do.	Hubibbhooy Ebrahim, Sons & Co.
Rustomjee, C.,		Mercantile Assistant,	Moncreiff, Grove & Co.
Rustomjee, P.,		Do. Do.	Cowasjee Pallanjee & Co.
Saur, J.,		Do. Do.	Do.
Seare, B.,		Do. Do.	Russell & Co.
Severs, H. H.,		Do. Do.	Gilman & Co.
Schabert, J.,		Do. Do.	Augustine Heard & Co.
Schmidt, E.,		Do. Do.	Siemssen & Co.
Schmidt, M.,		Merchant,	Rémi, Schmidt & Co.
Scholefield, Chas.,		Assistant,	Imperial Maritime Customs.
Shellim, Ezekiel,		Tea Inspector,	
Shoojatali, Sherafali,		Merchant,	David Sassoon, Sons & Co.
Sibbald, F. C., M.D.; M.R.S.E.,		Merchant,	Amerooddeen & Jafferbhoy & Co.
Sillar, R. G.,	<i>and family.</i>	Surgeon,	Seaman's Hospital.
Sillar, J. C.,		Merchant,	Sillar, Brothers.
Simpson, G.,		Do.	Do.
Skinner, John,		Mercantile Assistant,	Lindsay & Co.
Slater, S. F.,		Agent,	Oriental Bank Corporation.
Smith, Arthur,		Merchant,	Platt T., & Co.
Smith, E. C.,		Inspector,	Imperial Maritime Customs.
Smith, E. M.,		Mercantile Assistant,	Turner & Co.
Smith, Geo.,		Bill Broker,	
Solomon, David,		Merchant,	Smith, Kennedy & Co.
Souza, B. D. de,		Merchant,	David Sassoon, Sons & Co.
Souza, D. A. de,		Mercantile Assistant,	Augustine Heard & Co.
Stanton, T.,		Do. Do.	Do.
Sutton, H.,		Marshal,	United States Consulate.
Syle, Rev. E. W.,	<i>and family.</i>	Sail-Maker,	
Tar-Mohamed, C.,		Missionary,	American Episcopal Mission.
Thorburn, G.,		Mercantile Assistant,	Cassumbhooy Nathabhooy & Co.
Thorburn, R.,		Merchant,	
Thorburn, Win.,	<i>and family.</i>	Do.	Turner & Co.
Thorne, J.,		Do.	Blenkin, Rawson & Co.
Thorne, C.,		Do.	Thorne, Brothers & Co.
		Do.	Do.
Tilby, A. R.,		{ Ship and Insurance	
		Broker, and General	
		Commission Agent, }	
Toovey, H. D.,		Mercantile Assistant,	Gibb, Livingston & Co.
Townend, E.,		Do. Do.	Holliday, Wise & Co.
Trannack, R.,		Shipwrights,	Trannack & Co.
Trautmann, J. F. H.,		Merchant,	Trautmann & Co.
Ullett, R. B.,		Do.	Ullett & Co.
Underwood, P. H.,		Mercantile Assistant,	W. R. Adamson.
Vacher, W. H.,		Merchant,	Gilman & Co.
Vidigal, A. L.,		Assistant,	J. H. Carvalho.
Waller, E.,		Mercantile Assistant,	King & Co.
Wallis, G.,		Do. Do.	Gilman & Co.
Warden, E.,	<i>and family.</i>	Agent,	P. & O. Co.'s Office.
Wardner, Rev. N.,	<i>and family.</i>	Missionary,	American Sabbatarian Board.
Webb, Edward,	<i>absent.</i>	Mercantile Assistant,	Dent, Beale & Co.
Webster, J. A.,		Chinese Student,	British Consulate.
Weismann, N.,		Merchant,	Reiss & Co.
Westall, R. R.,		Mercantile Assistant,	Smith, Kennedy & Co.
White, Fred. G.,		Silk Inspector,	Russell & Co.

Whitlow, Jas.,		Mercantile Assistant,	Holliday, Wise & Co.
Wiberg, E.,		Assistant,	Hall & Holtz.
Wiggins, H. H.,		Accountant,	Commercial Bank of India.
Williams, F. D.,		Merchant,	Williams & Co.
Williams, Rev., C. M.,		Missionary,	American Episcopal Mission.
Williamson, Rev. Alex.,	<i>and family</i>	Missionary,	London Missionary Society.
Wills, C.,		Mercantile Assistant,	Jardine, Matheson & Co.
Wilson, Craven,	<i>and family.</i>	{ Tea Inspector and Ship Broker. }	
Wilson, Frank H.,		Mercantile Assistant,	Gilman & Co.
Wilzer, F.,		Do. Do.	Bohstedt & Co.
Winch, J. H.,		Merchant,	Shaw, Bland & Co.
Wright, J. W.,	<i>and family.</i>	{ Cabinet-maker and Sexton of Trinity Church, }	
Wylie, A.,		Printer,	London Missionary Society.
Yates, Rev. M. T.,	<i>and family.</i>	Missionary,	A. B. F. M., Baptist Convention.
Young, J. M.,		Assistant,	G. W. Hogg & Co.

LIST OF FOREIGN RESIDENTS AT NINGPO.

Adjnieri, Rev. —,		Missionary,	Roman Catholic Mission.
Aldersey, Miss M. A.,		Do.	Female School Mission.
Bansum, Mrs. —,	<i>and family</i>	Do.	
Cobbold, Ven: Archd: R. H.,	<i>and family</i>	Do.	English Episcopal Church.
Davidson, W.,		Merchant,	
Dyer, Miss B. H.,		Missionary,	Female School Mission.
Dyer, Miss M. J.,		Do.	Do.
Gough, Rev. F. F.,	<i>and family</i>	Do.	Church Mission Society.
Green, F.,		Mate,	Brig "Snipe."
Guerry, Rev. E. F.,		Missionary,	Roman Catholic Mission.
Hall, R.,		Constable,	British Consulate.
Hart, R.,		Assistant,	Do.
Hart, W.,		Merchant,	
Hudson, J. S.,		Do.	
Hudson, Rev. T. H.,		Missionary,	English Baptist Mission.
Jones, Rev. J.,	<i>and family</i>	Do.	
Jones, C. T.,		Chinese Student,	British Consulate.
Knowlton, Rev. M. J.,	<i>and family</i>	Missionary,	American Baptist Mission.
La Place, Rt. Rev. Dr. L. G.,		Do.	Roman Catholic Mission.
Lord, Rev. E. C.,	<i>and family</i>	Do.	American Baptist Mission.
MacCartee, D. B., M.D.,		Surgeon,	American Presbyterian Mission.
Macgowan, D. J., M.D.,	<i>and family</i>	Do.	American Baptist Mission.
Marques, F. J.,	<i>and family</i>	H. M. F. M.'s Consul,	Portuguese Consulate.
Martin, Rev. S. N.,	<i>and family</i>	Missionary,	American Presbyterian Mission.
Martin, Rev. W. A. P.,	<i>and family</i>	Do.	Do.
Maynard, W. H.,		Mercantile Assistant,	J. S. Hudson.
Meadows, T. T.,		{ H. B. M.'s Vice- Consul in Charge, }	British Consulate.
Mello, F. de,		Merchant,	
Montagneux, Rev. P.,		Missionary,	Roman Catholic Mission.
Nevins, Rev. J. L.,	<i>and family</i>	Do.	American Presbyterian Mission.
Partridge, D.,		Master Brig "Snipe."	Jardine, Matheson & Co.
Parker, W., M.D.,	<i>and family</i>	Surgeon,	Chinese Evangelical Society.
Quarterman, Rev. J. W.,		Missionary,	American Presbyterian Mission.
Rankin, Rev. H. V.,	<i>absent</i>	Do.	Do.
Rizzi, Rev. J.,		Do.	Roman Catholic Mission.
Russell, Rev. W. A.,	<i>and family</i>	Do.	Church Mission Society.
Sinclair, C. A.,	<i>absent</i>	H. B. M.'s Vice-Consul,	British Consulate.
Wadman, E.,		Merchant,	
Way, Rev. R. Q.,	<i>and family</i>	Missionary,	American Presbyterian Mission.
Yates, E.,		Mercantile Assistant,	E. Wadman.

Mrs. H. C. Underwood
with the affectionate
regards of his son
Philip H. Underwood

Chapman
Nov 15th 1887

MISCELLANY
OR
COMPANION TO THE
SHANGHAI ALMANAC
FOR 1857.

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CONCLUSIONS

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of the Minister and of Consuls of the United States in
Turkey and China.**

PEKING GAZETTES.

The *Gazette* of the 27th of November contains a report from Hoo-lin-yih, an officer commanding in Hoo-pih stating that he brought up succours to the district of Tsung-yang, a town in the south of Hoo-pih, about 50 miles S.S.W. of Woo-chang, where he was rooting out the remainder of the rebels, when suddenly he met with a large body of them, over whom he obtained a complete victory. He says that, from the time when Lo-tsih-nan recovered the city of Tsung-yang, the remnant of the insurgents in that city went and occupied a place called Poo-kin; when Lo-tsih-nan led a force and slaughtered upwards of a thousand of them. On the 3rd of November, the rebel chief Shih-tah-k'hae brought up his bands in great numbers, on which occasion two imperial officers of note were slain. Lo-tsih-nan, hearing of this, went to the assistance of his comrades, and completely routed the rebels. These latter are at present skulking in Han-ning, a city about 20 miles north of the former, and nearer to Woo-chang. The emperor orders that they be dislodged forthwith.

In the *Gazette* of the 2nd of December, Hoo-chun, the general commanding in the northern part of Gnan-hwuy, states that he was occupied in reducing to submission the rebels who infested the cities in the neighbourhood of Loo-chow, when on the outside of the city of Loo-chow, the forces which the rebels had sent to relieve their comrades, after that the imperial troops had taken possession of Loo-chow, again threw up their entrenchments on the south side of that city, where they established themselves; but the imperial troops, on the 12th of November, came upon and surrounded them; and, after a smart cannonade, succeeded in burning their stockades, whilst they pursued the fugitives, with a great slaughter, leaving none to escape. They also obtained large quantities of arms and provisions. The neighbouring city has since that time been in tranquillity.

The *Gazette* of the 3rd of December contains a report from E-leang, the viceroy of Keang-nan, stating that the guardian spirit of the city of Keating (a city about 20 miles north-west of Shanghai) had frequently displayed his efficacious energy, and begging that some title of increased honour may be conferred upon the said spirit. It seems that the temple of the guardian spirit of Keating was erected about the close of the Sung dynasty, when the Japanese infested the coast of China; on that occasion the spirit in question had displayed some miraculous energy in the neighbourhood, when the title of the "manifesting-protection-earl" was conferred upon him. Since that time, when people have prayed against drought and inundations, their supplications have frequently met with a response; and in the 3rd year of Hien-fung, after Chow-leih-chun had taken the city, he went to the temple to consult the oracle; the indication given was that his life was drawing to

a close, and that his days were numbered; whereupon he fainted away. During the night, whilst the rebels were sleeping in the temple, they all felt as if their feet were fastened with chains, whereupon they ran out in great alarm. When Ting-kwoh-gnan led forward his troops to attack the city, they saw a great number of supernatural lamps passing to and fro on both sides of the river, and in a short time afterwards the rebellion was suppressed. The viceroy therefore solicits the imperial favour, that some title of increased honour may be conferred on the spirit, in order to manifest a due sense of this supernatural aid.

The *Gazette* of the 5th of December contains a report from Kwan-wen, general commanding in Hoo-pih, stating that the imperial troops had beaten back the rebels near the river Seang, and had gained a complete victory at Han-chuen, (a city about 30 miles to the westward of Woo-chang.) He states that, from the time when Han-chuen was lost a second time, the rebels kept on advancing up the stream, when Kwan-wen sent troops in three divisions to attack them: the rebels, not being able to withstand the assault, were routed, with the loss of several hundred men. At the same time one of the imperial officers entered the city of Han-chuen, and put to flight the insurgents that were therein. The emperor is pleased with the recovery of that city, and orders his officers to hasten the reduction of Woo-chang and Han-yang.

The lieutenant-governor of Hoo-nan states that the magistrate of Tung-pih had been killed in his attempt to repulse the rebels, and he therefore requests that an imperial order may be issued, to establish a place of sacrifice, in order to comfort his manes.

The *Gazette* of the 9th December, contains a report from Keih-urh-hang-a, the lieutenant-governor of Keang-soo, stating that some distressed barbarians from Loo-choo, had been shipwrecked, and brought to land on the coast of China, to whom it was necessary, according to law, to shew compassion, and send them to Fuh-chow-fob, in order that they might be sent back to their own country. It appears that the Hae-fang of Sung-keang and Shang-hae, named Lan-wei-yun, together with the acting magistrate of Shang-hae, named Sun-fung, together reported to the lieutenant-governor, that they had received a letter from the English Consul Lo-pih-sun (Robertson), stating, that a merchant of that country had picked up at sea, off Canton province, five natives of Loo-choo, and brought them to Shang-hae; and requesting that enquiry should be made as to what was to be done with these shipwrecked persons. The Loo-chooans were thereupon escorted into the city, when it appeared that no one understood the language of these barbarians; but on pen and ink being given to one of them named San-chin-keuh-teng-che, who could write the Chinese character, he wrote that there were five

persons in all, himself and four others, named respectively Kwoh-keih-jin-uh, Ta-ching-jin-uh, Sin-t'han-jin-uh, and Sze-t'han-jin-uh;* who on the 29th of May embarked, on board a vessel from Loo-choo. That on the 12th of August they set sail from Napa, with a favourable breeze for Fuh-chow-foo, laden with sugar, tea, and cloth; when on the 23rd of August they were overtaken by a storm, and the vessel was lost. But outside the islands off Ning-po, they were picked up and brought to Shang-hae. Upon the words "Let them be speedily sent back to their country" being written down and shewed them, the barbarians knocked head and expressed their gratitude and joy. After this the authorities of Shang-hae sent the Loo-chooans to Soo-chow, when the lieutenant-governor directed his officers to soothe them, according to custom. The judge and treasurer having enquired into the matter, reported the whole case to the viceroy, who decided that these shipwrecked mariners should be sent back to their own country by the first convenient opportunity: and that, after supplying them with food and clothing, an officer should be appointed to escort them to Cheh-keang province, and thence by land to Foo-chow-foo, where they might embark for Loo-choo: in this way he would be carrying out the benevolent intentions of his Sacred Majesty, who treats with compassion the men from afar. In addition, therefore, to the sending despatches to the lieutenant-governor of the Fuh-kien province, and commanding the officers at every station on the route to protect and forward them; he requests the Board of Rites to make enquiry as to how such cases ought to be treated, submitting the whole to the glance of his August Majesty for inspection and approval. The imperial reply is, "The Board of Rites know all about it."

The *Gazette* of the 10th of December contains a report from the lieutenant-governor of Kwei-chow, stating that the city of Tan-keang, in the south-eastern part of the province had been taken by the rebels. It appears that the Meau-tze (aborigines) having taken Tac-king and Tsing-ping, (lying to the eastward of Tan-keang) proceeded to burn and pillage the houses in the neighbourhood of the last-named place, after which they invested the city itself. Whereupon the Tartar general Shing-ling despatched a body of troops for the relief of the city, but on account of the difficulty of the roads, they could not come up in time, so that Tan-keang was taken on the 14th of October. The officers in charge of that city had exerted themselves for its defence, during a period of three months; but on account of the relief not arriving in time the city was lost. The emperor orders that the officers in command of the troops sent to relieve the city should be cashiered.

The same *Gazette* contains a report from the same officer, stating that he had driven the rebels away from the upper part of the province, taken one of their strong-holds, and captured some of the chief banditti. He says that on the 8th of November, the Tartar general Heou-fung removed his camp to Shing-leang-po, from whence he

sent a body of troops, to attack a place called Leaou-k'how. The soldiers ascended the heights, and killed 300 of the enemy; and then proceeded to attack Lo-lang. The rebels turned out with their whole force to meet them, but the fire of the imperialists drove them back, with the loss of 200 men. The houses occupied by the rebels, both in the upper and lower stockades were then burnt, and a rebel chief named Lo-tih-fung, with 14 others, was taken. Another of their head bandits, called Lo-wen-sew, and 8 others, was also taken. Altogether it is estimated that of the insurgents in that quarter, there have been left none remaining.

The same *Gazette* contains a report from the treasurer of Keang-se, stating that the rebels had taken several cities in that province, but that by means of the additional force sent against them they had been driven away. It appears that on the 23rd of October the rebels of Hoo-nan came into Keang-se, and attacked the city of Yung-sin, in the western part of the latter province. The Tartar general A-lung-a sent a force against them, when the rebels entered the city of Yung-sin; the imperial troops not being able to prevent them, took possession of the important passes. On the 4th of November, the rebels entered a place called Lung-teén, between Yung-sin and Gnan-fuh. The district magistrate then exerted himself in the pursuit, and killed many of the insurgents, after which he regained possession of Yung-sin. The following day the insurgents proceeded from Lung-teén to invest Gnan-fuh; the magistrate of that city came out to meet them, and killed about a hundred; but the rebels increased in numbers to such a degree that the city was taken. On the 7th of November, A-lung-a led up his forces and took possession of Fung-teén, when he heard that the rebels in Gnan-fuh were upwards of 10,000 men; on the 9th, he attacked them for six hours, and killed about 100 of them; after which the rebels retreated into the city.

The *Gazette* of the 13th, contains a report from the lieutenant-governor of Hoo-pih, detailing some successes gained by the imperialists over the rebels at a place called Yang-low-tung. It appears that Lo-tsih-nan having taken Tsung-yang, availed himself of his successes to advance on Yang-low-tung. On the 12th of November the rebel chiefs named Wei-tsun and Shih-tah-k'hae united their forces to prevent his advance. The imperialists, however, exerted every energy, and fought bravely, until they slaughtered about 300 of them, and pursued the fugitives for several miles, taking thirty flags, and a great number of weapons.

BANISHMENT OF THE TAOUTAE OF SHANGHAE.

The *Gazette* of the 15th December, contains a report from E-leang the viceroy of Keang-nau, and Keih-urh-hang-a the lieutenant-governor of Keang-soo, saying that they have, in obedience to the imperial commands, examined the case of the degraded Taoutae, and considered the various counts of the indictment laid against him. It appears that the degraded Taoutae of Soo-chow, Sung-keang, and T'hae-chang, named Hoo-kei-chang, had been accused on various charges.

* These appear to belong to the same family. The names are not Chinese.

which E-leang and Keih had carefully examined, and although it does not appear that he had any connection with the barbarians in fostering the rebellion, nor that he had purloined the duties; yet it does appear, that whilst he filled the situation of a high officer, he was on terms of friendly intercourse with the merchants belonging to several firms, who resided in the place of his jurisdiction; in carrying on this intercourse he manifested no scruple, until the rebels took possession of Shang-hae. The said degraded officer, finding that he could not keep the rebels out of the city, then went and took refuge in a barbarian hong, whilst he falsely pretended that he was gone out on public business, which very much aggravates his offence. The emperor orders that he be grievously punished, and sent to the cold countries of Tartary, and there exert himself, in order to make some amends for his faults. Respect this.

The *Gazette* of the 9th December contains a report from the lieutenant-governor of Hoo-pih, detailing the destruction of nine rebel stockades, and the recovery of Poo-ke, in the southern part of that province. It appears that on the 16th of November, the imperial forces attacked the city above-named and took it by storm, on which occasion 2,000 rebels were burnt to death, and another thousand who were attempting to escape were killed: amongst whom were five or six hundred old long-haired rebels. In the destruction of the stockades which ensued 2,000 more were put to death, and 180 taken prisoners. The stockades were entirely destroyed.

In the *Gazette* of the 22nd December a report of Luh-yuen is given stating, that a body of rebels had attacked E-ning-chow, in the province of Keang-se. An imperial general had been killed. On the 23rd November more than 1,000 rebels had attacked a town called Cha-tsin near the above-mentioned city. Lew-k'ae-t'ae the officer in question met them and killed more than 100 of them in the engagement that ensued. On the next day he crossed a river to attack them, on which they fled. During the fight more than 2,000 or 3000 other rebels came up. They approached from various directions and several hundreds were killed by the force under command of Lew. He himself was severely wounded and died soon from exhaustion. Posthumous honours are to be awarded him, and a temple to his memory erected in E-ning-chow.

On the 26th December T'oh-ming-a is stated to have attacked Kwa-chow and obtained various successes. The rebels at Kwa-chow after their long possession of that city, other plans of action having failed, concerted with their comrades in Chin-keang and Kin-shan a scheme for safe retreat. On the 28th November more than 1,000 proceeded towards the eastern shore. At E-kia-k'eaou, they met Chin-kin-hwan, who assaulted them fiercely and killed more than 100. Other troops were also sent against them by T'oh-ming-a. On the next day they made a second attack. They were repulsed with great slaughter, and many of their armed boats were also destroyed.

In the *Gazette* of the same day, the viceroy of Canton states that E-chow in Kwang-se is lost. Hwei-k'in had already been sent to relieve it when the magistrate Le-seih-fuh falling into a trap laid by the enemy led out his forces and the

city was taken in consequence. The viceroy is ordered to inquire into this matter.

On the 27th December the viceroy of Yün-nan and Kwei-chow reports that the Meaou-tsze have been very violent, and have taken the city of Tan-keang in the south-eastern part of Kwei-chow province. Forces had been sent to retake it. The emperor is requested to order the immediate march of troops from Sze-chwen to assist. The Taou-tae for the eastern division of Kwei-chow had reported that on 24th of October the rebels had laid siege in great numbers to Tan-keang. The soldiers in garrison were few. The mandarins defended the city till 12 o'clock, when the enemy scaled the walls in eight places. The city was at once taken. It is not known what has become of the mandarins. A strong force is needed at once, to put down the insurgents. The troops at hand are inexperienced. Tsouo-hueng-foo in Yün-nan is also in a state of disturbance. At present the rebels do not exceed a few hundreds in number but they will multiply if not immediately put down. The emperor orders troops from Sze-chwen to be sent, and directs that the conduct of Heng-ch'un the viceroy, be carefully examined and punishment awarded accordingly.

The *Gazette* of the 31st of December contains a report from Woo-lung-a, the general in command in Gnan-hwuy, stating that the imperial troops, had obtained various successes over the rebels in that province. It appears that the rebels had entrenched themselves at a place called Ma-chung, when on the 17th of December the general above-named sent a colonel with some troops to exterminate them. The imperialists displayed much bravery, on this occasion, and slew 400 of the enemy: the colonel dashed into the midst of the rebel ranks on horseback, and a lieutenant-colonel superintended the artillery, by means of which some dozens of rebels were slaughtered; the lieutenant-colonel, however, died of the wounds which he received in battle.

The *Gazette* of the 1st of January contains a report from Ho-chun, the lieutenant-general in Hoo-pih, stating that the rebels had for a time got possession of Ying-san, in the south-western part of Gnan-hwuy province, on which occasion several officers were killed, for whom he intreats the imperial sympathies. It seems that a rebel chief named Le-chaou-show, who had ensconced himself in Ying-san, pretended to wish to come over to the imperialists. A degraded Intendant of circuit, named Ho-kwei-chin, secretly concerted a plan, in conjunction with the militia from Loo-t'een, in the neighbouring province of Hoo-pih, to seize this pretender; but his scheme was discovered, and he himself was slain, together with the magistrate and assistant-magistrate of Ying-san, besides a military officer, who were all involved in the same calamity. An officer named Lew-chaou-pang then collected the militia of Loo-t'een and Ying-san to attack the rebels, who came out with their whole force to resist them. The militia, however, killed 30 of their horsemen, and drove the main body into the city; which was afterwards closely besieged, and after the slaughter of 200 rebels, taken.

The *Gazette* of the 5th of January contains a report from Kwan-wen, the governor of Hoo-pih,

stating that the whole of the rebels in Han-yang came out to resist the imperialists, who fought with them for several successive days, with great success. An officer named Le-kwang-yung then advanced nearer the foe, in order to watch their movements; and although he killed a number of them, and gained some advantages, yet for the space of ten days he neglected to fortify his position sufficiently; so that when the thieves advanced, he could not withstand them, and had it not been for the rear-guard exerting themselves, he would have been defeated; the governor therefore requests that he may be degraded from rank.

The *Gazette* of the following day contains another despatch from Kwan-wen stating that he had gained a great victory over the rebels, and recovered the city of Han-ning (to the south of Woo-ch'hang) and a place called Kin-k'how. He says that since the rebels were defeated at Poo-ke, they assembled their bands from Hing-kwoh and Ta-yay (two cities lying to the south-east of Woo-ch'hang) and collected a large force at Han-ning. On the 17th of December, an officer named Lo-tsih-nan advanced at the head of the militia, when the rebels came out to meet them. The imperial troops exerted themselves in the contest, and drove the rebels back to a place called Keau-t'how (the head of the bridge) with the slaughter of about a hundred of them. On the 19th, early in the morning, Lo-tsih-nan, taking advantage of a mist which then prevailed, came upon the city in large force; the rebels, seeing the array of standards drawn out against them, were immediately thrown into confusion; and the imperialists, having set the pavilion of the bridge on fire, advanced in two divisions to the attack, until they approached the city walls; the militia were then ordered to scale them, having done which, they set the rebel stockades on fire, and killed some hundreds of the defenders; after which they regained possession of the city. The rebels from Woo-ch'hang then came out, to the number of 8 or 9,000, and erected stockades at a place called Two-mile-street, with the view of opposing the imperial troops; but Lo-tsih-nan, availing himself of the unfinished state of the stockade, on the 22d of December, led forward his men to attack them. The rebels met them in three divisions, but the imperialists killed some dozens of their vanguard, when the spirit of the rebels was cowed. Some rebels who were lying in ambush were also put to the sword, when the remaining body of the rebels was routed, with the loss of a thousand men, and their baggage thrown into disorder. The rebels, having heard that the land forces of the imperialists had obtained a victory, then assembled their naval brigade to repair the damage; but an officer named Yang-tsae-fuh led his troops along the two banks to repel their advance. On the 20th of December he approached Kin-k'how. The rebels had already drawn up a number of junks provided with large cannon across the stream, so as effectually to stop the passage; but an imperial officer named Paou-chau urged his men on to the attack, and dividing themselves into two columns they entered on the engagement. After a long struggle, during which they approached nearer and nearer, they were enabled to set their junks on fire; when the rebels

abandoned their vessels and fled. There were burnt on this occasion about ten vessels, large and small. Yang-tsae-fuh then anchored his fleet at Kin-k'how, while a military officer stationed his men at Tun-k'how. The emperor observes that both arms of the imperial force having been successful in these engagements, Kwan-wen must further exert himself to recover Woo-ch'hang and Han-yang.

The *Gazette* of the 8th January contains a despatch from Toh-ming-a, the officer besieging Kwa-chow, stating that the long line of approach constructed at that place had proved serviceable, so that the rebels who held possession of Kwa-chow began to think of abandoning it. The inhabitants of the neighbourhood therefore exerted themselves in completing the long line of circumvallation, and the imperial encampment has been advanced so near as to reduce the rebel garrison to great distress.

In the same *Gazette* Toh-ming-a reports the success attending the efforts of both the land and naval forces, in the siege of Kwa-chow, by means of which the rebels were reduced to still greater extremities, and conceived the plan of evacuating the place. He says that on the 24th of December, the rebel chief in Nanking sent a large force to relieve the besieged; while those in Kwa-chow, and Chin-keang fitted out two large rafts and about 100 vessels great and small, which, acting in conjunction with their land forces on the northern bank of the river, attacked a place called T'ho-keau; at this time Toh-ming-a sent a general named Chin-kwoh-t'iao with both land and naval forces to repel their advance; in the engagement which ensued the two rafts were burnt, and a great number of the enemy killed, while some scores of their vessels were sunk. The bands, sent from Nanking, to relieve the besieged, amounting to upwards of 13,000, were met by a body of troops sent by Heang-yung and Keih-urh-lang-a, and repulsed; the rebel vessels which came down the stream, as far as Yen-tsze-ke, were met by the fleet of the admiral Chin-she-chung, and burnt, while great numbers of their crews were slaughtered. The remnant of the vessels were pursued to the neighbourhood of Nanking, where they entered the canal and escaped. Those of them who got on shore were pursued by the imperialist soldiers, and their bodies scattered over the plain.

The *Gazette* of the 12th of January contains a report from the viceroy of Sze-chuen, Hwang-tsung-han, who states that a lieutenant-colonel being about to attack some barbarian robbers missed his way, and was killed.* The circumstances are as follows:—At Yueh-tseuen, in the south-western part of Sze-chuen some barbarian robbers having come out of their dens, and created a disturbance, the lieutenant-colonel Tah-fang-a several times led out his soldiers to exterminate them, and succeeded in beheading and capturing a number of them. The barbarians, becoming alarmed at this, submitted to the imperial sway; but some of them continuing to be rebellious, Tah-fang-a entered the mountain defiles to search out and apprehend

* There appear to have been some foreign marauders, who have made incursions on the west of China: perhaps the Nepaulese?

them, when suddenly a pack of these robbers issued forth from a ravine: the imperial troops vigorously resisted them, and though the robbers increased in numbers, Tai-fang-a fought most bravely. But just at the time a heavy shower of rain came on, accompanied by a mist, in consequence of which the soldiers missed their way, and having no more strength to resist, were killed with their officers.

Ho-kwei-tsing, the lieutenant-governor of Chih-keang, reports that a barbarian vessel from Loo-choo had been overpowered by a storm, and rendered leaky. The crew, amounting to 38 in number, were Loo-choo-ans, belonging to the island of Pah-chung-san; they were conveying a cargo of cloth and rice, and were on their way to China, to bring tribute, when in the sea of Tamuh, they met with the storm above alluded to. They have now repaired their vessel, and have returned to their own country.

The *Gazette* of the 16th of January contains a report from Heang-yung, stating that a great body of the rebels had proceeded into the interior, to make a disturbance, when the imperial troops, in two divisions, threw themselves upon their line of march and put them to the rout. The rebels in Nanking, on account of the frequent reverses which their comrades at Chin-keang and Kwa-chow had met with, conceived the idea of going to their assistance; when on the 24th of December they came out of the city to spy what was going on. Heang-yung, then despatched Chang-kwoh-leang, at the head of some troops, to attack one of the gates of Nanking, where the rebels were taken in flank, and numbers of them killed; after which they were pursued for several miles, and upwards of a thousand heads obtained. At the same time, a body of insurgents whilst proceeding towards Tung-yang, attacked and burnt the city of Teh-gnan, (lying to the west of the Po-yang-lake): the main body of the imperialists, however, pursued them, and killed about a hundred. On the 25th December, the imperialists again attacked the rebels, and killed about 800 men. The rest of the insurgents then retired in confusion to Teh-gnan, but the imperialists pursued them along the banks of the river, capturing and killing a great number. On the 27th, the insurgents constructed a battery and a dry ditch, outside the Kwan-yin gate of Nanking. Heang-yung then informed Keih-urh-hang-a, who sent a force to interrupt them. On the 28th, the imperialists advanced up the above-named gate, whilst Chang-kwoh-leang came upon the enemy from the east. The insurgents were thus attacked from various quarters; and the imperialists, encouraged by their previous success, advanced nearer, and burnt the stockade. It further appears that the rebels from Woo-hoo, having taken possession of the villages in the rear of Shin-san, Teng-shaou-leang led forward his troops to intercept them, on which occasion great numbers were killed, and the rebels experienced a severe defeat. The emperor seems highly satisfied with the result of all these skirmishes.

The *Gazette* of the 18th of January contains a report from Kwan-wen, the lieutenant-governor of Hoo-pih, stating that he had gone on with his attack on Woo-ch'hang, where he had mastered some of the rebel batteries. It appears that on a former occasion, the imperialists had succeeded in

regaining possession of Han-ning and Kin-k'how, and latterly that they had approached nearer to Woo-ch'hang: but the rebels, relying on their fortifications, had obstructed the further progress of imperial forces, when on the 10th of January, Lo-tshih-nan advanced with his troops up to Hung-san, where the rebels did not dare to attack him. Hoo-lin-yih also removed his camp to a nearer position at Le-kea-keou: when from the opening of Cross-street upwards of 10,000 rebels came out, animated with great fury, but the lieutenant-colonel Tsaou-ching-yaou met them, and killed their champion. Lo-tshih-nan having observed this from the top of a hill, led on his troops to attack the main body of the rebels. The rebels, in endeavouring to get away under the embankment, the mass of earth fell upon them, and nearly smothered the whole body. The militia then set fire to the stockades from which scarcely an individual escaped. The rebels who had come out of the city to their assistance were also driven back by the imperialists, and retired into the city with loss.

Luh-yuen-leang, the lieutenant-governor of Keang-se reports that the rebels had taken the prefectural cities of Suy-chow and Lin-keang, in the middle of Keang-so province. It appears that the insurgents from Tsung-yang and T'hung-ching, in the south part of Hoo-pih had come down in two bodies to attack the prefectures of Suy-chow and Lin-keang, when the prefect of Suy-chow, named Wang-kea-lin, led his troops out and resisted them. On the 18th of December, the rebels advanced in three divisions; the imperial troops under Lew-he-loh withstood them for some time, and killed three rebels who wore yellow-jackets: the imperialists pursuing their scattered forces, the rebels suffered a great defeat. On the 19th, 10,000 rebels came again to the attack, when the imperialists met them in two bands; but the rebels were numerous, and the imperialists few; whilst Lew-he-loh having fallen in battle, the rebels climbed up the broken walls, and rushed into the city. Some rebels from the city of Lin-ch'hang lying to the westward of Suy-chow, went to the attack of Lin-keang, where, in consequence of the small number of troops, and the great numbers of the enemy, the city was entered and taken. It is not known what has become of the civil and military officers that were therein. The emperor coolly observes, Let the lieutenant-governor increase the number of his soldiers.

Kwan-wen reports that he was proceeding with his advances on Woo-ch'hang and Han-yang, and had obtained advantages, both by land and water. On the 9th of January, Kwan-wen advanced from Tsae-t'ien, to San-yen-keou, at the head of the main force. Le-mung also drew up the various regiments under him, and proceeding from Shih-le-foo to the attack. At the same time the head of the trained bands Luh-chaou-lin strove to be foremost; as the result of these combined operations, the rebel stockade was burnt. Another officer, named Loo-wen-heung also advanced from the corner of Kwei-san, where he met with a large body of rebels, and killed several hundred of them. The rebels were thereby thrown into confusion, and numbers of them forced into the river Yang-tze-keang, and drowned. The armed

vessels then attacked Woo-h'ien temple, and burnt some score of rebel junks. The earth-works on the east and west sides of the city of H'ang-yang were also destroyed. An officer named Wang-kwoh-tsae came down from Tun-k'how and Han-k'how to attack the enemy, the effect of which attack was instantaneous like the splitting of a bamboo, whilst numbers of the rebel junks were burnt, and the great river was strewn with corpses. By this means the force of the enemy outside the city has been completely annihilated. The emperor says, Let Kwan-wen immediately recover the cities in question.

In the *Gazette* of the 22nd January, Luh-yuen-lang, the lieutenant-governor of Kwang-se, reports that he had instituted an enquiry into the affair of the loss of Lin-keang, from which it comes out that the rebels came from Shang-kaou (a city lying to the westward) to Lin-keang, and on the 18th of December attacked the prefectural city. The prefect named Sze-lin-shen went out at the head of his forces to meet them, and slew about a score of rebels; but those villains came on in larger numbers, until they entered the south gate of the city. It thus appears, that though the above-named prefect might urge the number of the enemy as an excuse for his defeat, he cannot deny that he was unprepared with expedients for defending the city. The emperor, therefore, orders that he be degraded from office, and made to do duty in the camp with the view of making amends for his fault.

The *Gazette* of the 24th of January contains a report from Tseang-wei-yuen, the lieutenant-governor of Kwei-chow, stating that a district magistrate had fallen in his attempt to resist the rebels. It appears that the magistrate of L'oe-p'ho, named Tseang-kea-kuh, when the Meaouites attacked the city under his jurisdiction, led out his forces to resist them, killed about a hundred, and cut down several of them with his own hand; after which, his strength being exhausted, he fell covered with wounds. Also an inferior officer named Lew-san, issued from the city in question, and with a cannon killed a fellow with a red-jacket, but having received a severe wound, he himself died on the spot. The emperor orders that their manes be soothed with sacrifices.

The *Gazette* of the 26th of January contains a report from E-leang, the viceroy of Keang-nan, recommending that as the provinces of Hwuy-chow and Keang-se are now disturbed by the rebels, Yuen-keah-san be sent to put them to rights. The emperor replies, that the region about Seu-chow in Keang-nan is at present guarded by Foo-chin-pang, but that Yuen-keah-san, having already managed matters badly, be not sent on that expedition.

The same *Gazette* contains a report from Kwan-wen, the general in command in Hoo-pih, stating that in his attack on Woo-ch'hang, and Han-yang he had obtained several successes. He says that the stockades on the outside of Woo-ch'hang having been taken by the imperial troops, he, Kwan-wen was daily employed in urging on the land and river forces under his command to attack the place. For some time the rebels in possession of the batteries near the city, kept themselves close, and would not come out to fight; but on the 12th of December, the whole

force sallied forth, when Wang-kwoh-tsae opened a fire of artillery upon them, and discomfited them. The imperial troops taking advantage of their success advanced boldly, and burnt the rebel barricade No. 1. In the mean time the rebels having landed from their boats, to construct a stockade at Lung-wang-meau and Sha-k'how, the imperial troops set fire to their vessels, and killed a large number of the enemy. The rebels in the city of Woo-ch'hang were also vigorously attacked by Hoo-lin-yih, but they kept within their defences, and would not come forth. The rebel boats at Chen-yu-t'haou, were, on the 21st of December, burnt to the number of a hundred or more; and on the 23rd, Yang-tsae-fuh led forward the river brigade to attack the enemy, who came forward in sharp-bottomed boats to resist, with great violence: the imperialists however displayed their wonted bravery for several days, and burnt about 150 of the enemy's vessels. The emperor says, Let Kwan-wen avail himself of his prestige to recapture both cities, and sweep away these pestilential vagabonds from the face of the earth.

The *Gazette* of the 29th January contains a report from the lieutenant-governor of Cheli-keang, denouncing a certain intendant of circuit, who had stupidly adhered to his own views, and mismanaged matters. It seems that Shih-king-fuu, (formerly engaged in the siege of Shang-hae) had allowed the dispersed militia of T'hae-chow, whom he had collected together, to plunder the people all along the road they came, and thus created a disturbance. Also at Ning-kwoh he had got together a number of unprincipled fellows, who having already wasted the finances of the state, would, it was to be feared, create disturbances. The boats also which he had engaged were not enough, and insufficient for the purpose in view. From all which it appears that he goes blunderingly along, having solely in view his own aggrandizement. The emperor says, Let him be degraded.

The same *Gazette* contains a report from Woo-lung-gnih, the general commanding in Gnan-hwuy, stating that he had beaten off the rebels from Mung, and Poh, by which means he had raised the siege of Kwei-tih (in the adjoining province of Ho-nan). It seems that on the 18th of December, a body of rebels from Hwuy-ting attacked Woo-lung-gnih's camp, when he led out his troops against them, and killed large numbers. The rebels then turned their attention to Kwei-tih, which they invested: but Woo-lung-gnih went thither, and defended it. He also lowered down a party of soldiers from the walls, who attacked the rebel camp, and killed many of these marauders, whereupon the main body of them dispersed.

The *Gazette* of the 9th of February, contains a despatch from Heang-yung, stating that the imperial land and water brigade at Woo-hoo, employed in cutting off the communications of the insurgents, had obtained various successes. It seems that the rebels have obstinately retained possession of Woo-hoo, where they have been frequently attacked by the imperialists; it appears also from the scouts sent out by the colonel Le-tih-lin, that several bands of robbers issuing from the mouth of the Shin-tang river had got into com-

munication with the rebel boats from Gnan-k'ing, at Ne-cha-ho,—therefore on the 2nd of December, Le-tih-lin led out a number of vessels to attack them; the rebels came on in great numbers and made a vigorous resistance, but having lost 30 of their vessels, the rest retired into the mouth of the river above-named. On the 15th of January, the rebels again came from Woo-wei, (a city lying near the Yang-tze-keang, between Woo-hoo and Gnan-k'ing) and sailed up the stream, with several hundred vessels to relieve their comrades; but Le-tih-lin, in conjunction with Teng-chaou-leang, proceeded to attack them, when they killed and captured a great number. On the 19th of January, they pursued the rebels up to Lew-kea-too, where they again discomfited them, and compelled their relief force to return. The emperor orders Heang-yung to sweep the river clean of these pests.

In the *Gazette* of the 13th of February, Shih-king-fun reports that he had destroyed a rebel barricade. It seems that the rebels had formed a floating bridge at Kin-choo pass, with the view of observing the city of Ning-kwoh in Hwuy-chow, when Shih-king-fun removed his camp to Tsing-san, and sent a body of troops to attack the insurgents. On the 30th of January, the rebels advanced from Lung-san, but the imperial troops opened a fire upon them and killed about thirty men; they also set fire to their barricade, whereupon the rebels hoisted sail and decamped. The imperialists, however, succeeded in burning five or six of their vessels together with their floating bridge, and killing about 300 of those in charge of the barricade.

The *Gazette* of the 16th of February contains a report from Tseang-wei-yuen, the lieutenant-governor of Kwei-chow, stating that though the rebels had captured several places, the imperialists had succeeded in retaking them. It seems that a rebel belonging to one of the proscribed sects, named Tseu-king-kiéh, had taken a camp in the neighbourhood of the city of Tung-jin, (in the eastern part of that province) which on account of their overwhelming numbers they were enabled to get possession of; but a certain captain, having secretly arranged with the people of the city, to set fire to the place and open the gates, the rebels immediately took to flight. Another body of insurgents who came from the city of Sze-nan, to attack Yin-keang, also on account of their numbers succeeded in gaining possession of the last-named city; but the district magistrate of that place, with the aid of the militia, killed 200 of the enemy, and having secretly sent some of the trained bands into the city, he recovered it from the hands of the foe.

In the same *Gazette*, Tsang-kwoh-fan, the lieutenant-governor of Keang-se, reports, that the imperial troops had recovered the town of Chang-shoo, and the city of Sin-kan in the centre of that province. It appears that on the 11th of January, the imperial soldiers entered Chang-shoo, when hearing that the rebels had taken Sin-kan, the colonel Chow-fung-san, on the 16th of that month, got together the land and water brigade, and attacked the city by night. The rebels on hearing of the attack immediately fled, and the city was recovered.

The *Gazette* of the 20th of February, contains a report from Loh-ping-chang, the lieutenant-governor of Hoo-nan, stating that the imperial troops have routed the aborigines, and amid other successes have regained possession of several cities. It appears that the aborigines had captured the city of Woo-chin-han, in Kwei-chow, when Teih-haou sent some soldiers against them, and killed about 80 of the rebels. The insurgents then proceeded to disturb Hwang-chow, (in the western part of Hoo-nan, bordering on Kwei-chow) after which they attacked Yuen-chow, (about 20 miles to the eastward of the latter place), when the prefect Fang-chuen-muh maintained his post in that city, where he opened a fire and killed several hundred of the rebels, who thereupon retired. Those rebels who had entered the city of Ma-yang (also in Hoo-nan, a little to the northward of Yuen-chow) were attacked by a force sent by Teih-haou, and slaughtered to the amount of seven hundred; when the discomfited remnant sheltered themselves in Yuen-chow. Chang-wan-shoo then led a force into that city and killed 300 more, after which the city was recovered. The city of Hwang-chow was also regained by the militia of the place. The general Yung-san then led forward his force and destroyed a body of the rebels, amongst whom 200 were slain. The rebel Shih-hung-lib had already got together a mob and attacked that city, where he burnt the public offices, when the magistrate seized the chief rioter, and the whole camp of the aborigines was thrown into confusion, whereupon they surrendered. The rebels in Tung-jin, (a city in the neighbouring province of Kwei-chow) had come to spy out the town of Chin-han, when Teén-tsung-han attacked them in two divisions, and killed a great number.

The *Gazette* of the 22nd of February, contains a report from Heang-yung and Keih-urh-hang-a, stating that with united forces they had obtained various successes, and prevented the rebels in the upper part of the river from rendering assistance to their comrades. It appears that on the 16th of January, Toh-ming-a agreed with Keih-urh-hang-a, to combine their forces on the north and south of the river, when Yu-wan-ting dispatched a body of men to lie in ambush on each side of Kae-san, and attack Chin-keang from two points. At the same time Keih-urh-hang-a maintained the fight at Hwang-san, from whence he kept up a cannonade on the city. The rebels, however, stoutly maintained possession of their fortifications. The imperial troops approached close to the city, and from the heights of Hoo-t'how sent various shots into the city, when the stockades of the rebels were set on fire, and the shoutings of the insurgents were heard from afar. Toh-ming-a also led his troops to attack the rebels, when a continuous fire was kept up, the smoke from which ascended to the skies. The rebels from Nanking then sent a force along the river to their assistance, when Keih-urh-hang-a crossed over a stream called Kaou-tze, by means of a rough bridge, and the rebels retired to Shih-fou. After this a general called Tih-gnan was sent to annoy them on their retreat. On the 2nd of February, the rebels issued forth from the west gate of Chin-keang, to the number of four or five thousand, when the imperial troops attacked them and killed upwards of a thousand. The emperor observes, Let Keih-urh-

hang-a avail himself of this success and regain the city.

In the *Gazette* of the same day, Heang-yung reports that the rebels from Nanking having gone out in various directions had been successively routed. It appears that the insurgents, to the amount of myriads, had come down from the upper part of the river, to join their forces with those in Nanking, when he sent a force to attack them, and near the Sên-hoh and Kwan-yin gates of Nanking, he with great vigour intercepted, and killed a great number. Those rebels that had come out of the city again made an attack outside the ditch, when he (Heang-yung) resisted them in two divisions. The rebels being unable to attend to both points, were compelled to retire, after this they again advanced in a southerly direction committing their ravages at Yuen-san, but were repulsed by the imperial troops. The forces sent out from Chin-keang by the insurgents were immediately met by the imperialists at Lung-tan, where fighting was carried on for several days. On the 10th and 11th of February, upwards of a thousand rebels were slain. Thus the efforts of the military in intercepting the insurgents were successful, and they are exhorted not to suffer the various bodies of the enemy to combine together.

The *Gazette* of the 23rd of February, contains a despatch from Tsang-wel-yuen, the lieutenant-governor of Kwei-chow, stating that he had been successful in dispersing the rebels. He says that the rebels in Kwei-ting, (a district city about 30 miles to the eastward of Kwei-yang) had been routed by the troops under Chang-ying: but on the 13th of January, they again attacked the city in question, but were so warmly received by the imperial troops, that a hundred of them fell, and of the discomfited remnant 700 more were slain by Tung-pan-mei, when the siege was immediately raised. Subsequently the rebels attacked the city of Wei-yuen, and the pass of Shun-tih, when Kaou-ting-yung repelled them, with the loss of 3 or 400 of their number; whereupon the remainder dispersed. The insurgents in the neighbourhood of Wei-yuen were also roughly handled by Tuh-chang, who slew numbers of them. The troops of Heau-shun also killed several hundred of the enemy, when the rebels abandoned the city and fled. The remainder of the crew have been since swept away entirely.

The same *Gazette* contains a report from the same officer, which states that various success had been obtained over the rebels in Tsun-e (a prefectural city in the north-east part of Kwei-chow). It seems that the insurgents in Tung-tze (a city lying to the north-west of the former) had committed ravages in Tsun-e, when Lew-e advanced upon them with a force and drove them back to Le-kea-wan, where he killed about 900 of them; after this Keang-ping-lin, having ascertained that the rebel camp was empty, assembled his forces, and first burnt the rebel encampments in the neighbourhood of the city, and then availing himself of the co-operations of Tsang-yung-tsing in the rebel lines, he attacked their main body and scattered them in confusion.

The *Gazette* of the 25th of February contains a despatch from Yeh-ming-chin, the viceroy of Canton, stating that he had discomfited a body of

rebels at Kwei-shen, (in Hwuy-chow, near the sea-coast). It seems that the rebels had been in possession of the villages of Lin-chun, near Kwei-shen, from whence they created great disturbances, when the general K'hing-ying attacked them, and burnt their encampments in that neighbourhood. He also attacked their stockades at Lung-taoh, and burnt all the houses near that place. He likewise captured Fung-sew, falsely styled the Lord of the West, and a number of rebel chiefs, whilst he burnt the rebel dens in 38 places, in all of which he beheaded about 5,000 persons. The emperor admires the smartness of these operations.

The *Gazette* of the 1st of March contains a report from the lieutenant-governor of Hu-peh, which states that he had both by sea and land attacked the rebel camps outside the provincial city and destroyed them. It appears that the rebel camps there were very numerous, when the lieutenant-governor, Lo-shih-nan and others led forward the soldiers to two different places and killed several hundred rebels. At the outside of Han-yang gate also, the camps were burned and thrown into the river, on which occasion, there were more than 1,000 slain. Li-soh-ping having divided his forces, commenced an attack at the foot of the city, and killed upwards of 1,000 rebels, while those who remained in the camps there were all beheaded. Several hundreds also who came from within the city were slain. The camps at the south-east side were levelled to the ground. The naval commander, Yang-tsae-foh also attacked and destroyed upwards of 100 rebel boats and broke into one of the camps, killing more than 1,000. Subsequently there were between 200 and 300 boats burned, and a thousand and more were killed in the action. This deserves to be considered a great victory.

He also reports that the gentlemen volunteers for the protection of the place had exerted themselves in defence of Kiang-hea in Hu-peh, at a time when rebels from the outside river were creating a disturbance. During the month of January several hundred rebels sneaked to the town of King-nieu, but Yu-yun-lung and others met and killed over ten of them, the remainder were immediately driven back and pursued to death for several miles.

The *Gazette* of the 2nd of March reports that the imperialists had surrounded the city of Seu, and beheaded a number of rebels, by which means the place was recovered. The miscreants in that quarter had it seems, hid themselves in a mountainous corner of the city and fought with the soldiers, when the general in command led his braves to the foot of the walls, and surrounded the city. The rebel magazine was fired, which spread dismay all around. The imperialists put forth their utmost strength and took three rebel camps, and killed upwards of 1,000 rebels. On a following night, the imperialists mounted the walls shouting and killing and burning in every direction, on which the rebels in the general mêlée trode upon each other and multitudes of them were killed. Those who escaped were all caught, not a vestige of them being left behind. The slain on that occasion amounted in round numbers to 3,000. The city was thus recovered.

The same *Gazette* also reports that the officers

and soldiers proceeded to San-ho and took it. The rebels it seems had clandestinely got to that place, but were attacked, and first and last there were a great many killed. Hu-chin the general in command went thither, and upwards of a thousand rebels came out, the soldiers forthwith slew a number of them, and the rest sneaked away.

The same *Gazette* reports a great victory having been obtained at Loh-chow, whence the rebels had been driven away. It seems that these were encamped in great numbers outside, but on 23rd February the imperial forces came out secretly by every gate, fired the rebel camps, and though stoutly resisted proved themselves to be a hundred-fold superior to their opponents, whom they drove before them root and branch, killing in the pursuit in all about 2,000. In this way the siege of Loh-chow was raised.

In the *Gazette* of 6th March, the governor of Hu-nan reports that on the borders of the Miao territory, there is a temple dedicated to three spirits, which had on several occasions manifested their mysterious power, while the Canton thieves were attacking the district city of Chang-teh. At that time the magistrate of Chin-chow issued a proclamation telling the people to be on their guard. The rebels on hearing that at Ching-lung-kwan there were upwards of 10,000 Miao soldiers, dared not approach. Afterwards on inquiring from the natives, it was ascertained that during the night there had been a rushing noise as of a myriad horses, and a voice was heard saying that the spirits would assist the district of Yung-shun. A local bandit was then attacking the city of Poh-kiun, and was the object of much dread, but he with his fellows perceiving that the trees around the walls were covered with flags, and that there were horses and soldiers without number, they suspected that the forces of the place were immensely great, and so would not venture to make an attack. The whole was certainly owing to the powerful assistance of the spirits in question, and a requisition is therefore made that the spirits be raised in the scale of nobility, and thereby reciprocate their extraordinary grace.

The *Gazette* also states that the ex-Taoutae Sa-king-fung had reported an attack on Kiang-kwei-kwan, where he had destroyed 5 boats and killed 100 rebels, so that he had been restored to favor. The governor E-leang, however, and Hu-kwei-tsing now report, that the rebels went to the camp of Ching-san and all of a sudden retired, when Sa-king-fung led forward his soldiers and pursued them. At that time some of the rebels lay in ambush, and coming from behind intercepted the retreat of the imperial forces, when upwards of 90 of the latter were killed, thus showing that Sa-king-fung's previous report was false, and the emperor has therefore ordered his dismissal.

In the *Gazette* of the 9th of March, Yung-chaou, the general in command in Ho-nan, reports his having attacked the rebels at Nan-ping, (a small town lying south-west of Suh-chow, in the north-western part of Gnan-hwuy province) and obtained some advantage over them. It appears that the rebel Hsa-pih had assembled a multitude, and established himself at Nan-ping, where he had built a fort; when Chin-kwei-sze led a force against him. The rebels in question then crossed the river Hwae to meet the imperial troops, but

the latter opened such a fire upon them, and threw so many hand grenades in their midst, that their powder magazine took fire, and killed 6 or 700 of them. E-hing-gnih then advanced at the head of the cavalry to cut off their retreat. Not a musket was discharged in vain, so that the enemy were driven close up to the north bank of the river Hwae, where they began to tread upon each other, and the bodies of their dead choked up the stream. The rest of the insurgents fled back to Nan-ping; but the imperial troops destroyed their batteries, and killed one of their chiefs named Jin-chung-meen; while the whole body of those who had established themselves at Nan-ping were exterminated. The emperor observes on reading this report: Let advantage be taken of these successes to destroy the whole of the rebel stockades outside of Suh-chow.

In the *Gazette* of the 10th of March, E-leang, the viceroy of Keang-nan, reports that the King of Corea had sent messengers to escort four barbarians that had been found roaming about there. On their language having been interpreted it was ascertained, that they belonged to the flowery flag nation, or America, that they had been sailors on board the barbarian merchant ship *Chay-urh*, and that they had come from their country to the inner land to trade; but having met with a storm at sea, they had been picked up, and from Corea had been sent to the capital. I, your majesty's slave, having found on enquiry that the barbarians were accustomed to trade at the five ports, and that at Shang-hae there was a barbarian eye to superintend them, have commanded those who brought them to take the above-named distressed barbarians thither, where they may wait for an opportunity to return home, in order to carry out the benevolent intentions of the Sacred Son of Heaven towards the men from afar.

In the *Gazette* of the 12th of March, Heang-yung, the general commanding the forces employed in the siege of Nan-king, sends up a report begging that a certain degraded intendant of circuit might be left in his camp to exert his energies in prosecution of the war—to which the emperor replies, that the said degraded intendant of circuit, Woo-keen-chang, might be for a time left in Heang-yung's camp, to exert his energies in order to make amends for his faults; but if he did not exert himself as he ought, he must, according to the tenor of the former decree, be sent off to Tartary, without any further screening or delay.

In the *Gazette* of the same day Toh-ming-a, the general employed in the siege of Kwa-chow, reports, that the rebels in Kwa-chow had endeavoured to skulk out of that place in two divisions, but that they had been intercepted and driven back. It appears that those rebellious hordes, whilst cooped up in Kwa-chow, had several times attempted to fight their way out, when on the 19th of February, a great body of these thieves came forth, and made several attacks on the country bridge leading to the western road. Another body of them attempted to get over the arched bridge, when the imperial troops put forth their energies in exterminating them: from the morning till afternoon the fight continued, which resulted in the slaughter of 110 rebels, after which the thievish scamps ran away. On the 24th of

February the robbers, taking advantage of a thick fog and a high wind, secretly attempted the western road, when Tih-hing-a led out his troops, and opened on them a simultaneous fire, by which a countless multitude were slain. On the next day, Yin-kea-keon and the neighbouring places were attacked by the thievish bands, when Ying-kwei divided his forces, and attacked them on both flanks. In the hand to hand engagement which ensued, the host of rebels were greatly discomfited, and fled with a loss of 300 men. The emperor remarks, that the fact of these villainous scamps repeatedly attempting to escape shows that their courage is considerably cooled, let the troops therefore immediately take their strong holds by storm, and let there be no delay.

In the *Gazette* of the 13th of March, Tseang-wei-yun, the lieutenant-governor of Kwei-chow, reports the recapture of two cities. It appears that the rebellious rascal in Tung-jin, in the north-east part of that province, named Sen-ting-kéeh and his followers, had in two bands attacked and taken the cities of Sung-t'haou and Sze-nan, a little to the north of Tung-jin; when the prefect of Sze-nan assembled the soldiers and trained bands under his jurisdiction, and proceeded by various routes to exterminate them, in which affair he killed 300, and captured about 100 more: the host of the rebels then fled in confusion: whereupon the prefectural city of Sze-nan was recaptured. The magistrate of Sung-t'haou then headed his troops and proceeded to the attack. At that time there was a youthful scholar named Hwang-wen-han, who hired a party of braves, and co-operated within the city: by this means upwards of 300 were slain or captured, and the thieves, not being able to withstand the combined attack, opened the gates and fled in all directions. They were then pursued by the soldiers, who killed another hundred of them. By this means Sung-t'haou was retaken. The repulsed rebels who had fled from Yung-suy, in the western part of Hoo-nan, were also met by the troops and greatly discomfited.

In the *Gazette* of the same day Heang-yung reports, that the imperial troops had obtained successive advantages. It appears that the abandoned villains in Nan-king had skulked out as far as Yang-kea-pe, when the imperialist general Yu-wan-tsing, on the 17th of February, advanced to exterminate them: suddenly a great body of the rebellious thieves came round a point of land at Tsaug-thow, along the main road, but at the first brush the rebels were routed. On the 19th of February, the general Chang-kwoh-leang made several attacks on the thieves, and separated the main body of the rebels into two parts; he then directly attacked the stockades, and beheaded about ten of the rebel horsemen, after which the whole body were repulsed. On the 23d of February, a captain of the imperial army pursued and beheaded many obstinate rebels, whereupon the remainder were thrown into disorder and fled. The Emperor's reply is as follows: Let Heang-yung speedily sweep away this pest, and let there be no more frivolous delays.

In the *Gazette* of the 17th of March, Ying-kwei, the lieutenant-governor of Ho-nan, reports that the imperial troops in that province had routed the rebels and gained various successes.

It seems that Chang-loh-hing, and the assembled rascals of that province, after having retreated to their old skulking-place, again emerged from Fan-kea-tseih, and disturbed the region of Ho-nan. Whereupon the intendant of circuit, Chang-wei-han, proceeded to exterminate them: the rebels, however, wheeled round to the town of Shuh-suh, near Kwei-tih, (a city on the south of the Yellow river, and in the north-east part of the province of Ho-nan)—when the general Kew-lien-guen hastened from Luh-yih (about 40 miles to the south of Kwei-tih) to oppose them. On the 20th of February, the rebels to the amount of 5 or 6,000, in three divisions, attacked the imperial camp, but Kew-lien-guen marched his forces out against them, and from morning until noon maintained a close engagement, after which the rebels fled in a south-westerly direction, with the loss of a thousand men. The emperor on reading this observes, these rebels come and go in an unusual manner, wandering about and disturbing the country, but now it appears we have obtained a great victory over them, in which our generals have managed well.

In the same *Gazette* Heang-yung reports as follows: "Your majesty's servant has received an imperial edict, declaring that the degraded intendant of circuit Woo-keen-chang, of Shanghai, should be severely punished by being sent to Tartary; but your servant has found upon enquiry that the said Woo-keen-chang, during his incumbency at Shanghai, has taken the lead in hiring auxiliary troops, together with west country boats, and square-rigged vessels, which have entered the Yang-tze-keang to exterminate the rebels, in which service he has displayed a certain degree of energy: it seems also that the said degraded officer possesses some useful talent. As to the exact truth of those charges which have been brought against him, your servant is ignorant of the particulars: but having written to the lieutenant-governor Keih-urh-hang-a for information, he has replied, that Woo-keen-chang has been accused to the throne of having been in communication with the barbarians, and of having harboured the thieves; but that after the most strict investigation and enquiry after the proofs, the said charges appear to be unfounded. Also with regard to the accusation brought against him of taking the Custom-house money and sending it by sea to his family, it appears that the viceroy of Canton Yeh-ming-chin, after having instituted several examinations, has found not the least shadow of a proof of the same. Moreover it appears, that the said officer is willing to exert himself in behalf of his country, and that he has from his own resources supplied the necessities of the army to the extent of 193,000 taels. But inasmuch as, during his term of office he held intercourse with the members of a barbarian mercantile firm, to the excitement of scandal against him: also because when the city was taken he falsely reported that he was absent on public business, in order to screen himself from blame, therefore he Keih-urh-hang-a had sent up a report to the emperor, requesting that he might be severely punished by being banished to Tartary. Now there being no other charge of any moment against him, I, your servant, having found that, although the said Woo-keen-chang, during his

former residence in Shanghai, had erred in some respects, yet that he had brought up several vessels to assist in the war, showing that he was ashamed of his former conduct, and disposed to exert himself in future—and considering that, if on account of his misdeeds he were sent to Tartary, he might still be speculating on a life of inglorious ease, the present being a time when the military service requires men of energy, and when the camp of your servant needs persons who can be employed on various services, I would request a declaration of the imperial will, as to whether or not the said Woo-kéen-chang might be temporarily detained in your servant's camp to exert his energies for the purpose of making amends for his faults. He might be employed in adopting means for procuring more fighting vessels, or according to the talents he possesses be engaged in any other way to exterminate the rebels, which would not be altogether without its utility. If, however, he cannot any further exert himself, then he may, as was before determined, be sent to Tartary, and I will not dare any longer to screen him or delay the execution of his sentence."

The *Gazette* of the 18th of March, contains a decree to the following effect: "Formerly the principal master of the horse, (or superintendent of the imperial stud), named Le-wei-han sent up a report recommending the temporary discontinuance of allowances to officers, in order to meet the demands of the commissariat. At that time the members of the cabinet and the board of revenue were directed to consult and report thereon: in conformity with which the said great ministers advised that the allowances of all civil officers throughout the provinces, from the first down to the seventh degrees of rank (that is, from a viceroy to a district magistrate), and those of all military officers from the third degree of rank and upwards (that is all above a colonel) should for a time be paid with certain deductions. Now although the military operations are not quite terminated, yet as they have been protracted to a considerable length of time, it is to be feared that the officers in question will not have sufficient to enable them to discharge their public duties, which will not be in accordance with the compassionate views of the government,—it is therefore ordered, that the board of revenue institute an enquiry as to the allowances to civil and military officers throughout the provinces, and send up a report thereon, calculated according to the regulations by which the salaries of officers at the capital have received some additional consideration. Respect this."

In the *Gazette* of the 21st of March, Ying-kwei, the lieutenant-governor of Ho-nan, states that the imperial troops had experienced some reverses, and that the congregated vagabonds of that province had reduced the prefectural city of Kwei-tih to great exterminities, for which mishap he the lieutenant-governor requests that his conduct may be subjected to the severest scrutinies. He states also that he has found on enquiry that a magistrate has been killed, on whose account he intreats the emperor's commiseration. It seems that a large body of the congregated vagabonds had disturbed the whole prefecture of Kwei-tih, when Ying-kwei despatched a military force against them. On the 15th of March, at a place called Tsao-taou-kow, this force fell in with the re-

bels, but being vastly inferior in numbers, the troops were thrown into disorder and dispersed. The above-named vagabonds then advanced close up to the city of Kwei-tih; where the lieutenant-governor still is, defending that post. It also appears that at the district city of Hèa, there was another body of vagabonds throwing it into disorder, when the magistrate of that place Kwoh-fang-gnen, had an engagement with them, and having been taken, refused to submit, whereupon he was butchered in a most cruel manner. The emperor orders Ying-kwei to enjoin on the general Kew-léen-gnen to collect his scattered forces, and both defend his post and exterminate the robbers: he was also to collect forces from Gnan-kwuy and Keang-soo, speedily to put an end to these disorders. As to the lieutenant-governor's request to be brought to trial, we graciously command that his conduct be merely submitted to the inspection of the board. Let the case of the deceased magistrate be also entrusted to the board for consideration, and let an altar be erected for the consolation of his faithful manes.

In the *Gazette* of the 22nd of March, the treasurer of Gnan-hwuy, Wen-yuh reports that the soldiers quartered in Yang-chow are in want of provisions, and he requests that the land-tax for the 5th and 6th years of the present reign, collected from the region north of the Yang-tze-keang, should be all handed over to the intendant of grain for the purpose of procuring provisions. The emperor replies, Let the board of revenue deliberate thereon, and speedily report.

In the *Gazette* of the 24th of March, Keang-kwei-yuen reports, that he had exterminated the rascals in Ting-fan, in the centre of Kwei-chow province, and regained possession of the fortified post at Ta-tang. It seems that the aborigines in Kwei-chow had disturbed the region of Ting-fan, and taken the fortified post of Ta-tang, when the colonel Tung-pan-mei, at the head of a force was sent against them: the general Heaou-ching, also united his forces in the same expedition. On the 7th of February, they killed several hundred of the rebels, and took many more, when the rebel stockades in the central part of the province were burnt. On the 17th of February, another attack was made, when a captain projected some fire balls amongst the rebels and threw them into confusion. The troops, taking advantage of the same, scaled the walls of the military post and took it. On this occasion they slaughtered about a dozen chiefs, and 5 or 600 common rebels: when the rest fled. The soldiers are now quartered in the military post, and are consoling the distressed inhabitants (?).

In the *Gazette* of the 25th of March, Ho-chun reports that he had attacked the region of San-ho, and destroyed several rebel stockades. It appears that the rebels near San-ho had taken possession of the markets, and built a high wall, to turn them into skulking-places. On the 7th of March, Lin-kwei advanced to attack the rebel stockades at Yaou-kow, when he captured two of them, and killed 300 rebels.

The same *Gazette* contains the following

IMPERIAL PROCLAMATION.

"Last year the rebellious thieves crossed the Yellow river, and made incursions into the northern regions of the empire. At that time we expressly

commanded our great general Hwuy-ts'hin-wang, aided by our great officer Tsang-kih-lin-sin, to march at the head of our valiant soldiers belonging to the Peking battalions, comprising both Tartars and Chinese, with the troops of the three confederated tribes of Monguls, to exterminate the rebels: accordingly the whole body of the thieves have been slaughtered, and their ringleaders put to death. We were then in hopes that the great officers at the head of our armies in other places, would become ashamed of their former indifference, and exert themselves speedily to acquire a degree of merit, by which means the rebellious spirit might be gradually swept away, and our loyal subjects obtaining tranquillity, might rest securely on their beds. But the principal rebels at Nan-king have held that city for a considerable time, while the work of exterminating them goes on slowly. At the same time neither Chin-keang nor Kwa-chow have been recovered, while in Gnan-hwuy, Keang-se, and Hoo-pih the remnants of the rebels are creating disturbances: and although reports of victories are being continually sent up, with statements that the rebel influence is more and more curtailed, yet the troops have been harrassed for several years, and the strength of the army is gradually wearing out; so that it becomes urgently necessary to assemble a larger army of veteran soldiers, for a great expedition. We therefore order that the Chah-sah-keh tribe of inner Mongolia, the Cheh-le-muh tribe, (living in the east of Mongolia, on the borders of Kirin and Leaou-tung), the Choh-soh-too tribe, (living in the west of Mongolia), the Chaou-woo-tah tribe (living in the north-west of Mongolia), the Se-lin-koh-lil with the Woo-lan-tsah-poo tribes (living in the south-west of Mongolia towards Kan-suh and Shen-se, outside of the Great wall), and the E-kih-chaou tribe (living on the Yellow river, beyond the Great wall, north of Kan-suh)—all of the above tribes of Monguls, throughout the 49 banners subject to our sway, with their spirited and able-bodied troops, and their fleet and vigorous horses, well-furnished and caparisoned, and fully armed, must hold themselves in readiness, until the autumn is advanced and the weather favorable, when we will select and despatch some of our best officers to place themselves at their head and advance southward, in conjunction with the battalions of disciplined troops, both Chinese and Tartars, already encamped near the capital, who shall press onward in different directions, and utterly exterminate the whole host of ugly thieves. We conceive that it would not be difficult with one roll of the drum to take those wretched vagabonds, and sweep them from the face of the earth. Let now the great officers at the head of our troops in every quarter exert their utmost energies to put down this rebellion, and speedily adopt measures for regaining possession of the various cities which are now trampled under foot by the rebellious thieves. If, however, they wait until our large army proceeds southwards, and then begin to send up reports of their great merits, we shall most certainly visit their crimes of procrastination and indifference with the severest punishment. Let every one of them stand in awe. Respect this."

CHIN-KEANG.

In the *Gazette* of March 31st a report is given from Heang-yung and Keih-urh-hang-a of a victory over the rebels at Chin-keang. On March 13th they endeavoured to effect a movement towards Kau-tsze a town to the westward, but were prevented by the imperial troops. They spread themselves through the country to plunder and were attacked by E-king-a under the orders of Keih-urh-hang-a and at once fled. The village in which some of them took refuge was burnt and the refugees killed. On March 18th Keih-urh-hang-a directed a body of troops to scale the walls of Chin-keang. Sung-show, a Tartar Che-heen, took the lead and on ascending the wall succeeded in burning some tents but was killed with a musket-shot. At present new plans of attack are under deliberation.

HO-NAN.

In the *Gazette* of March 27th Ying-kwei, the lieutenant-governor of Ho-nan, reports the misconduct of two military commanders who are deprived of their rank. They were stationed at Nan-yang and Ho-pih two market towns, and had failed to defeat the rebels or effect a junction of their forces so as to check their progress. They are deprived of their feathers.

THE GOD OF WAR—CANTON.

In the *Gazette* of March 29th the governor-general of Canton reports that the miraculous assistance of spiritual beings ought to be rewarded with appropriate titles. When the city of Canton was attacked by rebels, the imperial soldiers saw Kwan-te among the clouds on horse back beckoning with his hand. On this the courage of the rebels died away. Often at dead of night a bright light was seen in the sky and the sound of horses and soldiers was heard. The rebels became greatly afraid. Also in a temple to Kwan-te outside the south gate, a sound like that of sharpening a sword was heard at night, which seemed to come from the temple. The sword of Cheu-t'sang (one of Kwan-te's generals who stands in temples before the image of that deity) rose from the ground about a foot. After this the rebels were easily defeated, for they saw a divine general holding a black flag and stopping the way with it, intimating that they should not advance. It had further been reported to him by the prefect of Chaou-chow-foo, that when rebels were besieging that city, and it was in the utmost danger, the banners of Kwan-te were seen in the air coming to assist the city. A red light overspread the sky, for more than two hours. The rebels seeing it grew timid and fled. He prays the emperor to grant him a new title.

KWAN-YIN, GODDESS OF MERCY.

The same officer reports that during the siege of Canton, the soldiers saw on Peh-yun-shan (white cloud mountain) white clouds moving up and down, and two storks walking about. Suddenly there appeared Kwan-yin, the great teacher, in the sky beckoning to them. Our soldiers were animated to tenfold courage. Another remarkable thing was that when the rebels attacked the battery at this place they came on unimpeded because the violent wind and rain prevented the cannon from being fired. But when they had reached half way up the hill the wind changed and the rain blew in their faces, so that they were

driven rolling down the steep. Our troops gained a complete victory.

KWAN-YIN DEFEATING THE ENGLISH.

We find on examination that in 1841 when the barbarians (English troops) seized on the Yung-k'ang battery at Canton, they sent rockets into the city and were about to fire large guns when the Kwan-yin worshipped at Yua-shan (a hill near Canton?) made a remarkable manifestation of divine aid, so that a great victory was gained. It appears that Yeh-shan (an uncle of the present emperor) who received the title of "pacifier of the rebels," reported this at the time. The governor-general prays the emperor to grant a title to Kwan-yin as a recompense.

HO-NAN DISTURBANCES.

In the *Gazette* of April 2d it is reported by Ying-kwei that the trained militia men at Yung-ching, (a city on the east side of Ho-nan province, and a little south of the Yellow river) had killed and seized many rebels and raised the siege of the city. The rebels had attacked Kwei-teh (a prefectural city in the neighbourhood) but finding it well defended, he divided his troops and sent part of them into Ngan-hwei the neighbouring province. On February 16th hearing that troops were coming to aid, the local trained bands in number 5,000 or 6,000 proceeded to attack the besiegers under the direction of Lew-hung-chang the city magistrate. Of the enemy 500 foot and 50 horse were killed. The chief Lew-woo was taken, and the siege at once raised.

The chief superintendent of the Yellow river Le-keen reports that last year, in the spring, a military officer named Meau-ta'e-yuen attacked a body of rebels who were troubling Yu-c'hing (near Kwei-teh-foo) and were approaching the embankment of the Yellow river. Fearing lest the materials for the works should be set on fire he proceeded to attack them. On meeting them he advanced sword in hand and was overpowered by numbers and killed. His younger brother seeing this rushed on the enemy and died.

KWEI-CHOW.

It is also reported that a large force of Meaoutse amounting to several thousands had killed two military officers and gained a temporary success.

On April 3rd, Ch'ing-che governor of the Manchurian province of Moukden or Shing-king states that repeated earthquakes had been felt at Kin-chow in the prefecture of Fung-t'een. The city wall had been very much injured, and many of the houses of the Manchu population thrown down. These disasters had taken place last year in December and January. The emperor orders that those who had suffered should be assisted with money.

On March 7th Ho-chun, governor of Ngan-hwei, states that a large force of local rebels (neeh fei) had attacked Hwai-yuen (a hien city in the department of Fung-yang-foo) and been defeated. Kang-seaou-kin a rebel chief had with a body of plunderers made an attack on the city in question. In the contest that ensued more than 3,000 of the rebels had been killed.

On March 9th, the same officer states that the rebels who had been long in possession of San-ho had been defeated. On February 11th, an attack

was made on them, under the orders of Ho-chun, when more than 1,000 were killed.

Wen-tseun, governor of Keang-se states that the prefectural city Kih-ngan in that province, to the south-west of Nan-chang, had been besieged by rebels. Troops had been sent to save the city from being taken, but the officers in command had been circumvented by the rebel army, for which delinquency they are deprived of their buttons and feathers, and ordered to proceed again and force the rebels to raise the siege.

The *Gazette* of the 9th of April contains a report from Ying-kwei, lieutenant-governor of Ho-nan, stating that the city of Yung-ching, (20 miles to the south-east of Kwei-tih) had been besieged for upwards of a month, and reduced to great extremities: that he had frequently despatched troops to its relief, but that these had been prevented from approaching that place, by the intervening bodies of the enemy. At length the district magistrate of that city placed himself at the head of the troops and militia at his disposal, and mounting the walls, defended the place with great assiduity; and as the relief could not approach, he sent a body of men by a circuitous route, who attacked the foe in the rear: the consequence was that the siege was raised, and the city delivered.

In the *Gazette* of the 10th, Wen-seun, the lieutenant-governor of Keang-se, reports that the prefectural city of Kih-ngan had fallen. It seems that Kih-ngan had been besieged for some time, but defended by the troops stationed there. Subsequently however, no relief appearing, and the enemy being in overwhelming numbers, it happened that on the 1st of March, the rebels sprung a mine and captured the city. The emperor remarks that he was very sorry to hear this report, and orders that the officer in command of the relief force be degraded for his backwardness in approaching the city: he is required, however, to lead on his men to recover the place, with the view of making amends for his fault. With regard to the governor Wen-seun, who had failed in relieving the place, his conduct must be enquired into by the board. Enquiry also must be made as to the whereabouts of the officers who were in the city when it was taken.

The same *Gazette* contains a report from Tseang-wei-yuen, the lieutenant-governor of Kwei-chow, who states that the city of Yuh-ping had been at last regained. According to the report of the prefect of Sze-chow it appears, that on the 5th of January the rebels attacked Yuh-ping, when the district magistrate went out to meet them, but unexpectedly a body of rebels came on by a small road, and took the city. On the 15th of January the prefect of Sze-chow regained possession of the place, and captured several rebel chiefs, who were immediately put to death. The district magistrate is however missing; and the prefect is ordered not only to look after him, but to enquire into the condition of the public granary and treasury.

The same *Gazette* contains a report from Ching-che, governor of Moukden, giving further particulars regarding the damage done by the earthquake. It appears that at Kin-chow (a port of considerable trade, situated at the south bank of the gulf of Leaou-tung, on the promontory called

the Prince Regent's sword) on the 11th of December last, from 6 till 10 A.M. three shocks were felt, and the next day two heavy shocks. From the 8th of January till the 19th, several shocks were experienced every day, amounting in all to 44, so that on the north and south sides of the city, five parts of the wall were destroyed. In two places the walls were thrown down to the extent of 150 feet. There were also destroyed 567 houses, and 7 persons were crushed under the ruins.

The *Gazette* of the 12th of April contains a despatch from Toh-ming-a, saying that the rebels at Kwa-chow had fought their way out, and forced an entrance into Yang-chow, for which he begs that the appropriate punishment might be awarded him. The emperor observes, on hearing this, that Toh-ming-a had been in command of the forces on the north side of the Yang-tze-keang, for upwards of a year, and could not manage to overcome a handful of rebels in the small city of Kwa-chow, but had allowed the vagabonds to break through his line of operations, whilst another body of them came scampering along in the direction of the earthen bridge. It seems also that on the 4th and 5th of April the rebellious thieves came on to Yang-chow, and captured that city. Now Toh-ming-a, having already failed of his duty in not keeping up a strict guard, and in allowing the rebels to break through the lines, has further erred in not stopping their onward progress; and although the lieutenant-general Tih-hing-a led on the cavalry and made several onslaughts upon the enemy, by which thousands were killed, yet several of the imperial camps were taken, and the city of Yang-chow captured. Thus it appears that Toh-ming-a has managed matters badly, and his conduct is most detestable. As to Chiu-kin-show and Luy-e-han, though officers of high command, and entrusted with the defence of the eastern side of the canal, yet when the rebellious scoundrels directly attacked the imperial camps at San-chae-ho, neither of them sent any troops to the assistance of their comrades, and to this hour it does not appear to what place they have retreated, as they have not united their forces with Toh-ming-a; thus they have proved themselves to be cowardly incapables, whose crimes are very grievous. Let therefore Toh-ming-a and Luy-e-han be degraded from rank, but as Chin-kin-show was already degraded from rank, let his insignia of office be taken away, and he placed at the disposal of his superior officers. With respect to the lieutenant-general of the white banner Tih-hing-a, let him be promoted to be a full general, and be entrusted with the seals of Imperial Commissioner. Let also the junior national historian named Ung-tung-shoo (son of the prime minister) look after the scattered soldiers who may be still in existence, and select what important passes are to be guarded: but on no account let him suffer the rebels to scamper in the direction of Tsing-keang-poo and Hwae-guan-foo, (near the Yellow River). All along the roads leading from Yang-chow, let bodies of military be stationed to prevent the approach of the rebels, in doing which let there be not the least neglect. Let Sung-ling, the general who allowed the camp to be taken, and Maou-sai-yuen, the lieutenant-colonel, with the captains and officers under him be all degraded, but be

detained in Tih-hing-a's army to aid in the prosecution of the war, and to see if they can redeem their characters.

In the same *Gazette* Tseng-kwoh-fan, the lieutenant-governor of Hoo-pih, blames some officers for remissness in duty. It seems that Chiu-ping-yuen, an expectant magistrate, and a captain named Lew-kwoh-pin, at a place called Koo-tang, having observed a rebel fleet, did, without consultation with their brother officers, take advantage of a favorable breeze, go out and attack them: the result of which was a loss of several vessels, and the death of a number of men, which though not to any great extent, still involves them in blame. The officers in question are therefore degraded from rank, and subjected to an examination.

In the *Gazette* of the 15th of April, Toh-ming-a reports that the rebels being about to make an inroad in a north-westerly direction, were stopped by the imperial troops. It seems that the rebellious thieves at Kwa-chow having broke through the line of defence, and taken possession of Yang-chow, did on the 5th of April, sustain a defeat from Se-chang-a and Foo-chun, acting under the orders of Toh-ming-a. The last named then ordered his troops to pursue the enemy, which they did with great slaughter. More than a thousand must have been killed; and a rebel chief of high rank named Tseng-yung-fah, with 60 or 70 long-haired thieves, were taken. The rebels then pretended to run away, but came on in another direction, when some hundred more of them were slain, after which they retired to San-chae-ho, where the imperial encampment formerly stood. The emperor orders Toh-ming-a to go on destroying them, and to adopt measures for the recovery of Yang-chow-foo, without the least delay.

In the *Gazette* of the 17th April Toh-ming-a and Wen-yuh report that they had succeeded in driving back the rebels in their onward march from Yang-chow. It seems that on the 7th of that month, the rebels came from Tung-tsing-paou, when they were met by Tih-hing-a, and 300 of them killed, whereupon they retired into the city. The general Se-chang-a also led a body of troops to the north-west of Yang-chow, where he killed several hundred more rebels. On the 10th of April, the rebels attacked Wan-fuh-keao, when they were intercepted by Wen-yuh, and after losing some hundreds retired into Yang-chow. The emperor remarks that these successive repulses of the rebels at Yang-chow, are indications of good management, let Tih-hing-a encourage his officers and men to regain speedily possession of that city: let there be no delay. As to the prefect of Yang-chow who fell in the defence of the city, let the accustomed honours be done to his manes.

The same *Gazette* contains a report from Hoo-chun, the general in command in Gnan-hwuy, stating that the congregated vagabonds who had assembled at Hwae-yuen and Suh-chow, in the northern part of the province had been repulsed on various occasions. It seems that, after these vagabonds had been dispersed by Ching-kwei-sze, they assembled together again, and came along from Mung-ching, in that neighbourhood, burning and destroying all before them: but Ching-kwei-sze led out the imperial troops against them, and slew an innumerable host of

them. A rebel chief named Le-ta-he, having done much mischief at Suh-chow, was defeated by the imperial arms, and 2,000 of his men put to death. The emperor tells Ching-kwei-sze to go on exterminating these thieves, till he has swept the ugly blackguards from the face of the earth.

The same *Gazette* contains the appointment of Lan-wei-hung, the acting Taoutae of Shang-hae, to be prefect of Yang-chow. (Not a very enviable post at this juncture.)

The *Gazette* of the 18th of April contains a despatch from Heng-chun, the viceroy of Yun-nan, complaining of the conduct of various officers, and suggesting their dismissal. In the month of December last year, it was reported that the rebels of Yun-nan, had broken into the prefecture of Too-heung, in the middle of that province, where they had opened new salt pits. The military and civil officers of that prefecture had forced the rebels to separate into two bands, one of which had gone westward to Chin-gnan, and the other eastward across the river Tsau : where it was feared lest they should disturb the established salt pits, on which account the prefect of Too-heung requested that troops might be sent from the provincial capital. Five hundred were accordingly sent, under a captain named Chang-tih-keuen, who was to act under the orders of the major Chin-kin-fang, who had 300 men under him. In the operations carried on by them several hundred rebels were killed. The officers above-named are not accused of actual cowardice, but cannot be exculpated from dilatoriness and remissness, they are therefore to be degraded from rank.

The *Gazette* of the 19th of April contains a report from Ying-kwei, the lieutenant-governor of Ho-nan, stating that on the 12th of April, a large body of rebels amounting to 20,000 persons, advanced from Too-tseih, when Kew-lien-guen led forward his soldiers to attack them; the rebels were unable to withstand the attack, and fled in disorder pursued by the imperialists, who killed more than 2,000 of them. Another body of rebels was routed at Suh-chow, also with the loss of 2,000, whilst 300 more were killed at Wa-tsze-k'how. The emperor orders his generals to make quick work of it, and rid the world of these monsters.

In the *Gazette* of the 22d of April Heng-chun, the viceroy of Yun-nan and Kwei-chow, with Tseang-wei-yuen, the lieutenant-governor of Kwei-chow, complain of the misconduct of Ching-ling, the intendant of circuit for the eastern part of Kwei-chow; they state that on the 31st of March, the rascals belonging to the aborigines and religious sects, made an attack in several parties on Hung-san and Shih-too-k'how, right in the rear of the military forces, by which means the soldiers were thrown into confusion and retired upon Maou-ch'hang; all of which shews that the intendant in question managed matters very badly. The emperor therefore orders him to be degraded from rank, but to be retained in his post, to give him an opportunity for redeeming his character.

In the same *Gazette* the above-named viceroy, with Shoo-hing-a, the lieutenant-governor of Yun-nan, state that a certain scholar belonging to Chay-kan, in the prefecture of King-tung, near

the centre of the province, sent up a report that the rebels who had disturbed Pin-chuen, 60 miles to the northward of that place, had in the month of June last year, come down into his prefecture, and frightened the inhabitants, when the former prefect Koo, sent some officers and police runners, to offer them 500 taels, to keep themselves quiet : the thieves at first complied, but latterly they have come on again, burning and pillaging the neighbourhood; and although the military have been despatched after them, they were not in sufficient numbers to put them down; the local militia also were not in good training, so that the relief was unavailing; thus not only was Chay-kan subject to inconvenience, but the whole prefecture was rendered desolate. The governor on enquiry found that in endeavouring to repress the incursions of these marauders, the prefect Koo had been reduced to sickness, and in the month of July last year had been relieved by a substitute. From the report of the intendant of circuit of that place dated the 24th of September it appears that the rebels invaded the district in question; and though the prefect sent a force against them, yet the thieves were so very desperate, and the soldiers so few, that some losses were sustained, and an additional force was requested, whereupon a major with more troops was sent to their aid. On the 25th of October the rebels had got to Tha-lang, where they met with some check; and on the 29th they were pursued to Tain-se, where a number were taken prisoners, and the remainder put down. With regard to the delinquent prefect, who paid the money to the thieves, it appears that he was merely influenced by fear, and had no real intention of helping them: he is therefore ordered to be degraded.

The *Gazette* of the 24th of April contains a report from Tih-hing-a, the commander of the forces near Yang-chow, stating that that city had been recaptured. It appears that since the rebels had got possession of Yang-chow they had sustained several defeats, on which account they had some intention of absconding, when at length on the 16th of April, several thousand of them proceeded to Seih-kea-low, when Tih-hing-a despatched Se-chang-a, at the head of the cavalry, to attack them. On the 17th the rebels made another attempt on Seih-kea-low in greater numbers, when Tih-hing-a placed a large quantity of troops in ambush, who waited until the rebels drew near, when the imperialists rushed out upon them. At the same time Foo-chun was directed to cut off their retreat; and before the rebels could get back to the city, the imperialists entered it, and putting to death those who were found therein, took possession of the place. The emperor observes on reading this, that though the imperial generals have regained the city so speedily, yet they have left the rebels in possession of the various places in the neighbourhood, where they are still skulking about; he therefore orders Tih-hing-a to exterminate them, without the least delay.

The *Gazette* of the 25th April contains a report from the lieutenant-governor of Hoo-pih, recommending to the commiseration of the emperor one Lo-tsih-nan, who fell in battle near Woo-ch'hang. It seems that this man, who had been raised to the rank of intendant of circuit, had assembled toge-

ther a number of his fellow-townsmen, and led them on in two hundred engagements in Hoo-nan, Keang-se, and Hoo-pih, where he had been the means of recovering 20 cities: on which account the emperor had admired his fidelity and courage, and raised him to the rank of intendant and treasurer. His Majesty had indulged the hope that this hero would be able to recover the cities of Woo-ch'hang and Hau-yang, and earn for himself still higher rewards, when, in a successful attack made on Woo-ch'hang, he ventured too near the walls, and received a mortal wound. The news of his death affected the emperor very much, and he has ordered that Lo-tsih-nan be buried with the honors due to a lieutenant-governor who has fallen in battle; that his father be adorned with a button of the highest rank, that his sons be promoted to be "masters of arts," and that temples be erected to his manes in all those places where he fought so bravely, for the comfort of his discousolate manes.

In the same *Gazette* one of the general inspectors at Peking introduces to the notice of the emperor the report of a gentleman, of purchased rank, belonging to the prefecture of Kwei-tih, in the province of Ho-nan, named Tow-she-tseuen, who details the violence and destructions occasioned by the rebels in that region. He says that ever since the year 1853, when the Canton rebels disturbed Kwei-tih, together with the provinces of Ho-nan and Gnan-hwuy, robbers and banditti have been continually rising up, and that in the autumn of last year several bandits, named Chang-loh-hing, Soo-tien-fuh, Kung-tih-yuh, and Kwan-shih-wei, had manufactured flags of various colours, under which they arranged their followers, while they assumed to themselves the titles of kings, and conferred official dignities on their chief men. Although the imperial troops had defeated them in several engagements, they could not succeed in effectually subduing them, so that the rebels grew in strength, and from the autumn of last year to the spring of the present, they have laid siege to the prefectural city and its subordinates, where they killed the officers and injured the people, and committed ravages of every kind. It is calculated that from Gnan-hwuy to Ho-nan, over a space measuring from east to west 100 miles and from north to south 50, the towns and villages had all been devastated, and the country covered with corpses. The bandits had also sent their emissaries into all quarters collecting the disaffected, until they amounted to several hundred thousand men. At present the troops under the command of the lieutenant-governor do not amount to one third of the enemy, while the militia guarding the various parts, are in some places not above a thousand in number, and in others not a hundred—so that it is feared they will not be able to withstand the violence of the foe. The cities to the south of Kwei-tih, such as Ying-chow and Poh, in Gnan-hwuy province, are the places where the above-named rebels are continually coming and going: to the east of this lie Tang-shan and Seaou, and to the north the cities of Tsaou and Tan, in Shan-tung, in all of which there are rebels skulking about, whose violence becomes more and more unrestrainable. On this account the memorialist requests the emperor to send experienced generals at the head of a large

force, immediately to exterminate these rebels and restore peace to the country. The emperor's reply is, Let it stand on record. [The above is the most complete account of the outbreak in Ho-nan which we have seen, which seems to be entirely independent of the Nanking rebellion.]

The *Gazette* of the 26th April contains a report from Tih-hing-a, stating that while he was busy devising plans for exterminating the foe, the villains attacked and captured the city of Keang-poo, on the north side of the river, opposite Nan-king; and another division of them went to Poo-k'how, which they also captured. The general Woo-k'hing attempted to retake Keang-poo, but was compelled to retire with the loss of several officers. The rebels again assembled and reduced him to great straits, and the imperial troops being worsted retired upon Luh-hoh. The emperor blames the officers, and orders them to be degraded.

The *Gazette* of the 1st of May contains another report from Tih-hing-a, who states that on the 10th of April Chang-kwoh-leang had advanced to Luh-hoh, to endeavour the expel the rebels from Keang-poo; an engagement ensued, in which he inflicted great loss on the rebels, and expected to reduce the city shortly.

The *Gazette* of the 3d of May contains a report from the same, stating that the forces advanced from Luh-hoh, to attack the enemy at Poo-k'how. They found that the rebels had in the mean time thrown up two stockades at Koh-tang, and constructed five batteries connected with them. On the 21st the imperialists attacked these and took them. The rebels then retired with great loss. The next day another engagement took place, when the rebels fled in confusion, and Poo-k'how was recaptured.

The *Gazette* of the 5th of May contains a report from the same, stating that on the 26th of April the city of Keang-poo was recovered and the rebels defeated with great slaughter. The emperor is delighted, and orders the officers to be suitably rewarded.

The *Gazette* of the 22d of May, contains a memorial from Wang-mow-yin, a member of the board of war, addressed to the emperor, on the state of the nation, and the measures which ought to be pursued by his majesty at the present crisis. The memorialist says that on inspecting the appearance of the sky he finds that heavy rains have prevailed during the present year, and that when fine weather does happen, there is a sort of halo near the sun of an unusual kind. On the 27th of March, and on the 10th of May, early in the morning, there was an unusual appearance in the sky, which led the memorialist to conceive that heaven was sending down some warning to the people. He finds also, on reference to the *Gazette*, that in the month of January, at Kin-chow, in Manchuria, the earth was shaken 42 times: now although Kin-chow is on the sea coast, it is near the original seat of the present dynasty, so that he would look upon this as an intimation of the will of Providence. In Peking, the price of silver as compared with copper has risen to four times its usual value, and productions of all kinds have ceased to be brought thither; the Manchus part of the population are becoming very much dissatisfied, and complain that they cannot maintain themselves: this is an evil that arises from

within the capital. In every region the influence of the rebels is increasing and no where diminishing, alarming intelligence is every day arriving, brave generals are killed, the pay of the troops is sometimes more than a year in arrears, and we are constantly hearing of their being discomfited, these are evils that exist outside the metropolis. Now the signs of the times and the affairs of the nation being both so critical, some means must be devised for the salvation of the state,—but where to begin is the most difficult question of all. It seems to the memorialist that Heaven has involved us in these calamities, and that the views of Divine Providence have not yet undergone a change in our favour. If we could only get the mind of Heaven once favourably disposed towards us, the rebellion would soon be put down, and the empire restored to tranquillity. The first thing to be done therefore is to seek to influence the mind of Heaven. To do this, however, the most strenuous attention must first be paid to the affairs of men, which latter can only be rightly managed when the feelings of the multitude are directed towards one point. What do we mean by this? Why, that the voice of the people is the voice of God, and the inclination of the masses shews the direction of the will of Heaven. And what is it that the people generally desire? but that *the one man* should first cultivate personal virtues, and then be particular about the instruments he employs. Both these things must derive their origin from one individual mind, and depend upon the views which he takes of the advice tendered him. The memorialist conceives that ever since the Canton riots began, the emperor has been deeply concerned for the people, and has been casting about for some method of allaying these disturbances, that he may gratify the mind of imperial Heaven: he has therefore been very reverential in the accustomed sacrifices to the Ruling Power, and felt as anxious as if he were treading on a tiger's tail, or on melting ice; he has had his mind pervaded with fear and awe, and has paid more attention to realities than ceremonies, so that every morning and evening he has exerted himself to the utmost; this has been evident to the whole nation, but the anticipated results have not yet been experienced. Why is this? Formerly when the emperor cultivated virtue, evil influences diminished, and at one word were dispersed; the effects upon the nation were as certain as the following of the substance by the shadow. How is it then that such results are not witnessed now? In the opinion of the memorialist, Heaven loves the chief of men, as a Father loves his son; and the chief among men should serve Heaven, as a son his parents: when the kind feelings of parents are not drawn out towards children, these should blame themselves for the defect of their filial piety; and when the favourable views of Heaven are not drawn out towards a dynasty, the head of it should reproach himself for a deficiency of personal virtue; it is to be desired therefore that his majesty would more deeply ponder the necessity of personal virtue.

The miseries of the people are now risen to the extreme; they are distressed by the rebels, and distressed by the troops, distressed also by inundations and by congregated banditti, they hurry about from place to place in an unprecedented manner,

and cannot insure their preservation from ruin; they are scattered and dispersed, and reduced to such a depth of poverty that no tongue can describe it. The emperor is afflicted with the distresses of his people, whom he loves with a most intense affection: in the sincerity of his feelings he blames himself most deeply; at all times and in all places he regards the people as his own brethren, and feels the most entire sympathy with them. Now to make the people acquainted with this fact, until they are melted into tears, so that Heaven itself shall be induced to revisit the nation with its favours—is the very first thing to be done. Formerly when the ruler of Loo asked about the best method of government, Confucius told him that it consisted in employing good people and discarding the bad. Why so? Because, when one honest man is raised to office, the people are as much delighted as if their own relatives were promoted, and when one rogue is dismissed, the people are as much pleased, as if the reform had taken place in their own families: it is not necessary that the parties in question should be their personal friends or enemies.

The people of the present day are as much imbued with right views as those of old; therefore, as the classic says, in order to tranquillize the empire, it is merely necessary for a monarch to love and hate in conformity with the public sentiment. Han-kaou-tsoo promoted Fan-ch'he, and put Ting-kung to death; he had no personal regard for the former, yet he rewarded him; the latter was his intimate friend, yet he slew him, solely out of regard to the wishes of the people. Now if the emperor would carefully enquire who is the favourite of the people, and heap favours upon him, then in favouring one man, he would please the million: or if he would enquire who is disliked by the people, and testify his displeasure towards him, then in disapproving of one individual, he would gratify the million; when men's minds thus accorded with the views of the ruler, Heaven itself might be influenced to regard the nation: this then is the second most important thing to be attended to. The reason why the memorialist wishes the emperor to cultivate personal virtue, and to listen to the advice of his ministers, will be apparent from a reference to ancient examples. Shun was a sage, and yet he encouraged his servants to tender their advice, which they did on various topics, to the great benefit of his administration. Now had not Shun been deeply sensible of the importance of consulting public opinion, and of regarding advice, he would not have acted thus. He who knows mankind is a wise man, but this has always been a difficult thing. Take another instance. In the early days of the Chinese monarchs the gates of the palace were thrown open, that intelligence might flow in, and information be acquired; for the ruler, being sensible that his own acquaintance with things was circumscribed, and that he was liable to make use of improper persons, wished to avail himself of the intelligence of the multitude, and make it his own. Should the emperor in the present day, in like manner, wish to cultivate personal virtue and to employ proper people, he must set his mind sincerely to listen to advice. Take a third instance; when the aborigines opposed the imperial will, the conduct of the modest and

unboasting Yu was thus spoken of, " whilst pride induces ruin, humility ensures success." The king of Tse issued an order, that if either officers or people would reprove him to his face, they should receive the highest reward; if they would do it by sending up a memorial, they should be rewarded in a secondary degree, and if they would even lampoon him they should still be rewarded, though in an inferior degree. No sooner was this known throughout the neighbouring states, than people came flocking to his court, and it was said of him that he gained his greatest victories in his divan. This is the way then to put down rebellion, and to conquer every foe. Since the present emperor came to the throne, he has frequently asked for advice, and has even said in his proclamation that when words are not unpleasant to the ear, they cannot be considered in the light of reproofs. When memorials were sent up relating to the employment of officers or the conduct of government, his majesty invariably welcomed them with respect; and whenever anything was said that was unsuitable, the emperor blamed the parties, not for sending up the memorial, but for its improper tone. Notwithstanding this, however, memorials have not been so frequent of late as formerly, perhaps out of deep reverence for his Sacred Majesty, which has prevented many from obtruding their observations unless invited or induced so to do. Not now to refer to other causes, the opinion that a certain general would not succeed, or that another general would certainly fail, though the subject of common report, and very generally true, yet persons were reluctant to memorialize about it, either because they wanted the exact proof, or feared that the proofs would on examination turn out to be inadequate, or they were apprehensive lest they should not be listened to, and thus get themselves into a scrape for nothing; or they might come to the conclusion that the decision after all rested with the emperor, and so they have none of them presented their complaints. But if the report of the probable failure of a given general had been made known, and he had been thereupon dismissed, the consequent defeat would have been avoided, which would have been preferable to the punishing of him after the defeat had taken place. Confucius called Shun a wise man, not only because he was fond of enquiry and examination, but because he said nothing about the bad advice which was given him, and only applauded the good. For if he had not been fond of enquiring, people would not have ventured upon giving him advice; also if on receiving advice he had not kept quiet about the bad, people would have been afraid even to tender the good. Moreover with regard to employing and advancing officers, an adviser feels certain difficulties, which require him to study concealment; for he is afraid of exciting the emperor's displeasure against himself, or he is apprehensive lest he should move his master to go to too great lengths against others. In tendering advice there is another thing to be considered: should his counsel be accepted, then every one will agree in admiring the emperor; but should his counsel be rejected, people will be displeased, and it sometimes happens that on account of the person recommended being set aside the people think the more highly of him, hence the necessity

of studying the public sentiment and agreeing thereto. When the present emperor has been memorialized he has generally regarded the smallest portion of advice, and his subjects have therefore deemed him an intelligent prince who perpetually gives his attention to business; only they think that in matters requiring attentive consideration it is better to have the mind free from disturbance, and they earnestly hope that he will the more carefully consider the great and pay less regard to the smaller matters. In the reports sent up from the viceroys and generals, it is necessary to consider the amount of their various talents, and the degree of their sincerity; as to the incapable and faithless, it is better to discard them, before they bring matters into confusion, by which means many evils would be avoided. The dismissal of one unworthy viceroy, will gratify the inhabitants of a whole province, and the cashiering of one inefficient general, will give pleasure to a whole army. In this may be seen the immense importance of acting according to the feelings of the people. It is said that an intelligent ruler takes trouble to enquire after clever men and readily promotes them when they are found, hence Yao was not at ease till he obtained Shun, nor Shun till he got Yu and Kaou-yao. On this account the king of Tsoo was distressed when he perceived that his ministers were inferior to himself in talent. At present talent is scarce throughout empire, a fact which must have been long apparent to the emperor's mind, and which forms the subject of his deep regret: but it is useless to say that there is no talent: Providence generally provides a sufficiency of talent for the wants of every age; if it is not to be found in the higher ranks, look for it in inferior stations. Lo-tsih-nan, for instance, is now known to every one to have been a man of talent, but he rose from a very humble station. Now if the one province of Hoo-nan, produced Keang-chung-yuen and his brother, with Lo-tsih-nan and his disciples, we may argue that the other provinces would yield an equal amount, only people seldom give their minds to hunt them out, as the lieutenant-governor of Hoo-nan has done. It is only a clever man who can discover a man of talent, and men of ability love their kind. Let the emperor now issue orders to all the viceroys and governors throughout the empire to make enquiry after capable men. It is to be apprehended, however, that the viceroys in question know them but will not employ them: if good advice on this subject were listened to, the talent of the age would not be left in the wilderness. The main dependence, however, is to be placed on the sincere efforts made by the emperor himself; the cultivation of the talents of one good general will delight the mind of a whole people; the bringing out of the abilities of one clever officer will gratify a generation: this shews us again the vast importance of acting in accordance with the wishes of the people. The retention of the empire depends upon the retention of the hearts of the people; the memorialist wishes to inveigh on the importance of according with the views of the multitude, in order to induce the mind of Heaven again to incline towards us. At present Woo-ch'hang remains in the hands of the rebels, and the whole province of Keang-se is in

extreme peril. It used to be said formerly that the inhabitants of these two provinces were the determined foes of the rebels, but we hear of late that the rebels have multiplied there exceedingly, and it is to be feared that not a few have followed their standard: this must have arisen from men's minds having changed, which is a circumstance of deep regret. The benevolence and the kindness of the former emperors of this dynasty cannot be so speedily obliterated from men's minds—but unless some vigorous measures be adopted at the present juncture, in order to win back their affections, it is to be feared that the rebels will be setting forth their pretended benevolence and justice in order to captivate the multitude, and then the minds of the people will become permanently infatuated, so as only to be recovered with the utmost difficulty. Whilst looking up with reverence to the imperial mind, wrapt in the abstruseness of its impenetrable retirement, imbued with that virtue which is the ground of peace, and possessing doubtless some wonderfully excellent plans, which the obtuseness of his people's intellects cannot penetrate—the memorialist, as he is deeply affected by the circumstances of the present crisis, cannot help expressing his sentiments, considering that, although in himself unworthy of the least regards, yet he has received unwonted favours, which he cannot recompense; he therefore exhausts his own petty intellect, in drawing up this respectful memorial, as to the propriety or impropriety of which he humbly solicits his Imperial majesty's instructions.

Thereby of the emperor is, Let it stand on record.

The *Gazette* of the 11th of May contains a report from Tih-hing-a, stating that the rebels who had evacuated Yang-chow, had gone in every direction creating disturbances, and that they had attacked a place called San-ch'ha-ho, in particular; but that on the 1st of May the cavalry had repulsed them; on the 3d of May, the rebel camp was burnt, and about 200 of them slain. After this the rebels from Kwa-chow came to the assistance of their comrades, and the attacks of the imperialists were less vigorous, while at the same time some rebels had attacked E-ching, and taken it.

The same *Gazette* contains a report from Tih-hing-a, stating that Luy-e-han and Chin-king-show had sent up a false statement regarding the recapture of Yang-chow, to the effect that they had aided in the retaking of that place, when they were at a distance from the scene of action, and had no share in the engagement. The emperor is very angry that such high officers should deal in fabrications. One of them, it appears has since died, and the other is ordered under arrest, to stand his trial.

The *Gazette* of the 19th of May contains a report from Ying-kwei, lieutenant-governor of Ho-nan, detailing various successes against the congregated vagabonds in that quarter. It seems that on the 11th of May he routed a force that had encamped at Woo-ma-kow, near Poh-chow, with the loss of about 1,000 men. Previous to this, on the 20th of April, a large body of insurgents came from Hing-san to attack the imperial forces, but were defeated, notwithstanding that numbers came from Mung to their assistance, who in their turn were driven back.

The *Gazette* of the 20th of May contains a report

from Tsung-guan, the governor of Shan-tung, detailing the overthrow of a body of rebels at Tsaou-chow, (in the southern part of that province, not far from Mung and Poh above-mentioned, and near to Kwei-tih in Ho-nan, the seat of a very large outbreak.) It seems that about 3,000 of these marauders had got together in that neighbourhood committing depredations, when on the 30th of April they attempted to ford a river that separates Yung-ching from Keu-yay, apparently with a view of proceeding northwards. The imperialists then attacked them with 30,000 men, just as the thieves were about half over. Those who had crossed escaped the attack, but those that were left on the south side of the stream were discomfited. In this engagement about a thousand were killed, and many drowned. Some prisoners were taken, amongst whom was one chief named Chang, whilst those that escaped were few in number.

The same *Gazette* contains a report from Yeh-ming-chin the viceroy of Canton stating that the rebels at Ying-tih, in the northern part of that province had been rooted out, and their skulking places burnt.

The *Gazette* of the 22d May contains a report from E-leang, the viceroy of Keang-nan, detailing the loss of Ning-kwoh-foo, about 200 miles to the westward of Shanghai. He says that the rebels who had been beaten out of Woo-yuen, and Kemun, in Hwuy-chow, came through the districts of T'hae-ping, and King to Ning-kwoh. It appears that on the 2d of May, the forces assigned for the defence of that place were encamped outside the city, when the rebels came suddenly upon them, and while they were preparing to resist them, they unexpectedly found that the villains had entered through the north gate into the city, by which means the place was lost. The general Heang-yung is now engaged in despatching a force to endeavour to recover the city, which the emperor orders him to do as speedily as possible.

The *Gazette* of the 26th of May contains a report from Ying-kwei, the lieutenant-governor of Ho-nan, stating that he had, according to orders, enquired into the conduct of Woo-lung-guih and Chang-wei-han, who had been accused of mismanagement. It appears that the above-named officers, had divided their forces between Yung-ching and Hea-yih, both in the north-eastern part of Ho-nan, when they heard that the rebels had attacked Hoo-keou, and seemed likely to effect a junction with those in Tsaou-chow in Shan-tung; just at that time the rebels advanced on Hea-yih, and again hastily moved in a north-westerly direction, whereupon the officers in question, fearing lest Kwei-tih should fall into their hands, advanced for the protection of that place; it is not to be supposed, however, that they contemplated the defeat of the imperial forces. The rebels then took possession of Yu, after the officers above-named had entered Kwei-tih. The lieutenant-governor finds that Woo-lung-guih being entrusted with the defence of that region, ought not to have allowed Hea and Yu to have fallen into the hands of the insurgents, he is therefore to be considered as cowardly and incapable, and is deprived of his office accordingly. It seems also that he allowed a noted prisoner to escape, which has made his offence more serious.

OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF
KEIH-URH-HANG-A.

The *Gazette* of the 9th of June contains the following rescript from the emperor. "Keih-urh-hang-a, the lieutenant-governor of Keang-soo, from being a member of one of the boards, was appointed intendant of circuit in Keang-soo, and having been successful in various engagements was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-governor; on the occasion of his retaking Shang-hae he was rewarded by being permitted to wear the insignia of the highest rank, and constituted a knight of the order of merit; after which he was commissioned to take in hand the military affairs of Keang-nan; from the time of his receiving this appointment, his arrangements have generally been suitable and satisfactory: during the present year, while engaged in attacking and exterminating the rebels who had skulked into Nan-king, he exerted himself to an extraordinary degree, not refusing the most indefatigable toil, and was just fired with the hope of recovering the city, whilst also our reliance was fully placed upon him, when, according to the report now sent up by Heang-yung and Tih-hing-a, the said lieutenant-governor, whilst busy in routing out the rebels from Yen-tun hill, ascended a height to inspect the position, where a shot from the enemy laid him low, much to our grief and vexation. Let Keih-urh-hang-a be interred with the honours due to a viceroy who has died on the field of battle, let him also be elevated to the highest rank, which shall be transmitted to his descendants. Let the funeral be conducted at the capital, let all the faults which have ever been recorded against him be wiped out, and let the proper board deliberate on what further clemency is to be extended towards him. Let his son, after the days of mourning are expired, be admitted into our presence, that we may confer the proper condolence."

The *Gazette* of the 13th of June contains the following rescript from the emperor: "It has been already published that Keih-urh-hang-a, the lieutenant-governor of Keang-soo, whilst exterminating the rebels at Yen-tun hill, fell by a chance shot from the enemy, and we have already issued a proclamation conferring upon him the proper condolence; but considering again that Keih-urh-hang-a had been personally engaged in various battles, and had attained a vast amount of merit, commanding the respect of all beholders, and sustaining the reputation of a true Manchu, we therefore command that in the place where he fell a temple be erected to his manes for the display and commemoration of his virtues. It appearing likewise that the lieutenant-general Pang-kwoh, and the prefect Lew-tsun-how fell in the same engagement, it is ordered that they also be commemorated in the same temple."

The *Gazette* of the 16th of June contains a despatch from Tseang-wei-yuen and Heaou-shun, stating that they had routed the rebels in Kwei-chow, who had been in connection with those in Kwang-so; after which the villains had the audacity to advance to Lo-ting, in the south-eastern part of the province, where they took possession of the fords of a river, and attacked the imperial camp and city adjoining; they were

however beaten back with great slaughter. On the 14th of May, Heaou-shun again sent out a force against them, and killed about 700 men: some of his soldiers on this occasion darted across the river, and marched straight up to a stone wall, which they broke down, and sword in hand engaged the enemy; these latter were routed, and their camp burned, while numbers of them were dashed over the precipices and killed. The next day the houses of the rebels were destroyed by fire, and the remnant of their horde pursued upwards of ten miles.

The *Gazette* of the 18th of June contains a report from Ho-kwei-tsing, detailing the attempts of the imperialists to retake Ning-kwoh. It appears that after the rebels had taken possession of that city Tsin-joo-hoo advanced to attack them, and twice obtained advantages over them. On the 24th of May, the general Teng-shaou-leang approached K'een-ping, and at Kin-ho bridge he stationed a force, which maintained itself stoutly, and from thence he advanced to Hung-lin bridge. On the 30th of May he joined his forces to those of Tsin-joo-hoo, when they both set out from Wang-kea hill. The rebels came out of the city to forage and plunder, when Tsin-joo-hoo attacked them, and took one of their stockades, killing about a hundred of them, after which the main body of the imperialists advanced to the double bridge. On the 1st of June they reached the bridge at Tung-k'he, when the thieves came out in three divisions to resist them. The imperialists also divided their forces into three bodies, and killed several hundred of the enemy, who thereupon retired in confusion into the city. On the 2nd of June Teng-shaou-leang led on a force in person to attack the great east gate, Tsin-joo-hoo attacked the little east gate. The rebels came out of the city in great numbers to resist, but the imperial forces exerted their utmost energies, and drove them back, killing a head man with yellow jacket ten other chiefs, and five or six hundred common men. The city, however, remained in the hands of the rebels.

The *Gazette* of the 24th of June contains a report from Heang-yung, the general commanding the imperial forces south of the Yang-tsze-keang, stating that the troops sent to relieve the besiegers of Chin-keang had gained several great victories! He states that the rebels having been defeated at Ting-maou bridge, came again, on the 7th of June, to attack the camp at King-h'een hill, when the Tartar general Fuh-hing, in conjunction with the Chinese general Chang-kwoh-leang hastened up to the heights in question, where they met the thieves, and in the engagement which ensued they chopped off 36 heads, and took 15 prisoners; the rest of the villains ran away. Fuh-hing then, after consultation, despatched Chang-kwoh-leang with a force to come upon the enemy from the direction of Tan-too, thus attacking them in flank, when the major Tae-wen-ying dashed right in to the enemy's centre, where he killed a rebel chief, and several of their most ferocious men. At the same time Yu-wan-tsiung, in conjunction with the general Le-che-ho, at the head of the force from King-h'een hill, crossed the grand canal by means of a temporary bridge, and came upon them from the right, Fuh-hing, then advanced at the head of

the main army, to support these combined attacks. The lieutenant-general Tih-tsing-guih, leading on the cavalry deployed in the enemy's rear, when the rebels were thrown into the greatest confusion, and retreated in the direction of Kew-hwa hill. About 200 of them were killed in the pursuit, 18 taken prisoners, and many military weapons and standards taken. On the 9th of June, Chang-kwoh-leang made a night attack on the enemy's camp, and advanced right up to the surrounding moat, so that he could throw fire-pots and fire-arrows, with a discharge of musquetry into the midst of their tents. The rebels, however, maintained their ground till the 10th, when they jumped over the mud walls of their encampment and fled, pursued by the imperialists, who cut them down on every side. The result was the destruction of three rebel stockades near the Ting-maou bridge. The rebels at Pagoda hill then burnt their own works and decamped to Hung-san (Red hill) where they were soon surrounded by the imperial troops, who killed vast numbers of the enemy, and took 15 prisoners. A rebel force, that came on from the side of the above-named hill, was defeated with the loss of several hundred men. On the 13th of June, the rebels advanced from Tung-yang to Kan-keakong, when Heang-yung sent the captain Chang-yuh-leang to intercept them. They met the enemy at Foo-kea bridge and killed a couple of hundred of them, taking prisoners one of their chiefs, with ten common men. The emperor remarks that this attempt to relieve the besieging force at Chin-keang, although it has not succeeded in utterly exterminating the ugly black-guards, has yet been crowned with various considerable successes, which has very much dispirited the villains; the remainder of whom having now lost heart, have retreated in the direction of Nanking. The emperor closes by the conferring of various titles and promotions on the successful generals, and condoling with the descendants of those who have fallen in battle. To the end of the despatch is appended the following postscript. On the 13th of June, some rebels disturbed the district of Leih-shwny, when the district magistrate proceeded to apprehend them; the rebels, however, resisted, and the militia were routed. The magistrate then attempted to get back to the district city in order to guard it, when another body of rebels entered in at the west gate. The magistrate retired and took up a position outside of the little east gate. At present Heang-yung is despatching a force from the main camp, to assist the magistrate and exterminate the rebels. The emperor says, let a sufficient number of troops be sent to recover the above-named city, and to prevent the rebels proceeding further in that direction. Let the magistrate in question be subjected to a severe examination, to see whether or not he has failed in his duty. [Our readers, by referring to the *North-China Herald* of June 26th, will be able to see what sort of victory it was that is above said to have been obtained by the imperialists. A victory resulting certainly in the loss of one Chinese city, in the retiring of the Imperial army, and in the alarming of the people of Soo-chow to such an extent that many of them fled, and traders ceased their usual specula-

tions. If such results indicate victories, what would be the sign of defeat?]

The *Gazette* of the 25th of June contains a report from Tseang-wei-yuen, the lieutenant-governor of Kwoi-chow, detailing the loss and recovery of a city in that province. It appears that the magistrate of Tung-jin, Lew-chauou-k'hae, with the captain Tah-chung-a, after the loss of Tung-chin, placed themselves at the head of a force, and recovered possession of the city. The emperor therefore orders, that though the above-named officers be deprived of rank, they be not further punished.

The *Gazette* of the 26th of June contains a report from Shaou-tsau and Keng-chang who state that at Tseu-chow, in the northern part of Keang-soo province, they had proceeded from the above-named prefecture to exterminate the rebels, in which they had been successful. It appears that the rebels had established themselves in the region about Yung-ching and Tsen-chow, when the general E-hing-guih, at the head of some cavalry and select troops, on the 11th of June, proceeded to Yen-kea-tsai, in the district of Yung-ching, and put to death Le-k'hae-seang, with 30 other rebels. The imperial troops then advanced to attack the rebel encampment at T'heih-fuh-sze, (the temple of the iron Buddha). The rebels came out and opposed them to the number of 1,000, but the imperial troops opened a fire upon them, and killed 70 or 80 of them. E-hing-guih then came upon them from the east, and put the rebels to the rout. The imperialists then pursued them about seven miles, when they strewed the ground with the slain, and captured a chief named Wang-tsuen-fuh, and five others. They also killed Chang-wen-tsau, and 36 others, while they burnt the rebel encampment at the temple of the iron Buddha, and put to death about 600 of the enemy.

The *Gazette* of the 29th of June contains a report from Ying-kwei, stating that the imperial troops had taken the rebel stockades at Che-ho-tsai, near Poh-chow, in the north-western part of Gnan-hwuy province. It seems that since the defeat of the rebels at the White Dragon temple, they took possession of various important passes, while they raised up defences on each side of the river at Che-ho-tsai. But Yuen-keah-san, on the 17th of June, advanced to the little gallery at Yen-kea, when the rebels drew up their force to the amount of ten thousand, spreading over a space of several miles. The imperial troops met them gallantly, and fought for several hours, when the rebels gave way, and were pursued for seven miles, during which 6,000 of them were killed. On the 19th the imperial troops arrived at Che-ho, where they burnt the rebel stockades, and killed 2,000 of the enemy, much to the satisfaction of the peaceable inhabitants.

OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF THE DEFEAT OF THE IMPERIAL ARMY.

In the *Gazette* of the 2nd of July, the emperor states that he has received a despatch from Heang-yung, and his fellows, reporting that the rebellious vagabonds had assembled their hordes and surrounded the imperial army, by which means the imperial camps had fallen into the hands of the enemy; but that the generals were now deliberating

about maintaining their ground and exterminating the rebels, whilst they begged his majesty to inflict on themselves such punishment as their misconduct deserved. The very sight of the despatch, says the emperor, deeply affected me with sorrow and indignation. It seems that after the city of Lieh-shuy had fallen into the hands of these rebellious villains, Heang-yung sent off several bodies of men successively to seek to recover the lost ground as speedily as possible; when who would have thought that the large body of rebels which had been seen in full retreat towards Chin-keang, should all on a sudden be found in occupation of the defences outside the Thae-ping and Shin-tsih gates of Nanking. On the 17th of June, several thousand rebels came out of the gorge called Sung-puh-tsze, to reconnoitre the imperial camp; while they threw up defences all along the space between the great and little water-gate at Fung-kea-péen. Whereupon the colonel Wang-seun was ordered to attack them, while the two divisions of cavalry were commanded to attack them in flank. The vagabonds then retreated. But another swarm of rebellious thieves came pouring down from Woo-hoo, and Kin-kwei pass farther up the river, with the view of entering Nanking, previous to which they encamped amongst the villages on the north-east; and eventually joined their forces with those rebels who already occupied Fung-kea-péen and the great water gate. Wang-seun was also directed secretly to advance upon the rebel camp at Hwang-ma, into which he threw various fire-arrows and pots filled with combustibles. The rebels were thus thrown into a state of alarm, and ran away in confusion. Fung-tze-tsze, one of the imperial officers, taking advantage of this opportunity, entered the camp, and burnt two of the rebel stockades. On the 19th of June, the rebels made a direct attack on the imperial camp outside the Che-hoh gate of Nanking, when Wang-seun drew up his forces, and met them in battle, on which occasion he killed great numbers, but being greatly inferior in strength, he had to keep on fighting and retreating, until the rebels were enabled to encompass the imperial camp on all sides. Upon this Heang-yung ordered the captain Le-hung-heun to proceed to the assistance of the invested encampment: by which means the rebels were compelled to retire. The Tartar general Fuh-hing, finding the rebels too numerous for him, went off in the direction of Tsing-ma-keun, where he occupied himself day and night in strengthening his defences, and in preventing the rebels from approaching farther on the yet unassailed country; when contrary to our expectations the rebels continued to come on in several divisions. To stop this incursion the general Chang-kwoh-leang led on his troops and auxiliaries with great vigour, slaughtering vast numbers of the enemy. At the same time another body of rebels from Tsze-kin hill, near Nanking, attacked the cavalry lines, which they set on fire; this resulted in the whole of the imperial encampment falling into the hands of the enemy. The outrageous scoundrels then invested the camp occupied by Heang-yung himself, when Chang-kwoh-leang and Tih-chang, wounded as they were, fought bravely, slaughtering thousands of the foe. The result has been that the whole of the imperial army have retreated from Shun-hwa

(a town about 10 miles E.S.E. of Nanking) to Tan-yang, (a city lying 20 miles further east) which they continue to hold, lest the rebels should advance further in the direction of Soo-chow. The emperor continues to observe, it seems that the rebels have collected their hordes, and surrounded the imperial camp; and although the force under Heang-yung has been reduced to extremities, he has several times succeeded in extricating himself from these difficulties. On the other hand though his troops have been few in number, he has erred in not disposing of them to the best advantage, by which means he has ill-requited our benevolence and failed in his duty. Let therefore Heang-yung, the general of the Hoo-pih army, be immediately degraded from rank and deprived of his peacock's feather, but let him still retain the seals of Imperial Commissioner, and the command of the army. Let also Fuh-hing, the General of the Le-guan division, be deprived of rank, but retained in office, without his peacock's feather, and as before, let him assist Heang-yung in endeavouring to do something to redeem their characters. As to the rest of the officers, who have fled no one knows whither, let them be sought after and dealt with accordingly.

The *Gazette* of the 3rd of July contains a report from Tseang-wei-yuen, the lieutenant-governor of Kwei-chow, stating that the remainder of the rebels at Tung-jin, under Chaou-tze-lung, hearing of the attempts of the aborigines at Shih-heen to invest one of the fortified places, secretly went and connected themselves with them. On the 23rd of April the colonel Tseang-yuh-lung, from Sze-chuen, proceeded with a force to attack them, at Ping-t'how-sze, (about 30 miles to the northward of Tung-jin) where he slew great numbers of them, and captured several of the aborigines. The magistrate of the neighbouring district of Sung-t'haou then joined him with his forces, and on the 16th of May they together attacked the enemy near the walls of Shih-tsen. The aborigines made a very stout resistance, but the imperial forces succeeded in entering the above-named fortified place, where they slew vast numbers of the aborigines, who trampled one another under foot, and strewed the ground with their dead bodies; of those that escaped about 60 were taken, and 50 heads. The well-inclined aborigines who lived near were soothed by the imperial general, and urged to return to their occupations. The rebel Chaou, who is still at large, is sought for in all directions, to pay the forfeit of his crimes.

The *Gazette* of the 7th of July contains a report from Tsung-guan, the lieutenant-governor of Shan-tung, stating that one of the grain-bearing vessels, proceeding from the south towards Tsen-tsin, had on its arrival at Shih-taou, the south-eastern part of the Shan-tung promontory, been boarded by pirates, and robbed of silver and other things, though the grain was uninjured. The emperor orders that the officers in charge of the transport of grain be severely examined, and punished according to their deserts.

The *Gazette* of the 9th of July contains a despatch from Heang-yung, stating that after the rebels fled back (?) to Nan-king, they again collected together, and attacked the imperial camp outside of Chin-keang; when Yu-wau-tsing or-

dered all the regiments to repress the incursion, while he himself led on a large force to attack the rebel encampment outside of the south gate of that city. On the 17th of June, he advanced by night from Ting-maou bridge, and set fire to their stockades, and burnt the one situated at Woo-fung-k'how. The rebels then fled in confusion, while the imperialists pursued them, and trampled down their defences. The rebels also evacuated the two stockades in the rear of the above, in which many were killed; the rebels from Mo-ke hill then came out to assist their comrades, but the imperial troops intercepted them, and killed a large number. In these actions three stockades were burnt, and 5 or 600 men killed. The emperor observes that the rebels in Chin-keang are very powerful, but this time they have met with their merited punishment, and the imperial troops being proportionally exhilarated, Heang-yung and Yu-wan-tsing must avail themselves of this opportunity to blunt the edge of their fierceness.

In the *Gazette* of the 10th of July Heang-yung reports that on the 20th of June the main body of the rebels attacked the imperial camps, and burnt not only the dwellings of the people but the store of grain intended for the army, both in the general and separate commissariats, all of which were consumed, including large quantities of rice. The officers in charge having been unable to prevent this disaster are really deserving of blame; the emperor orders that they be handed over to the board for trial.

The *Gazette* of the same day contains another despatch from Heang-yung, giving some account of the officers that were missing after the previous defeat. The major-general Pa-too, and his two sons, the chief captain of the Kwang-se division Choo-tih-luh, and a scholar from Shan-tung, all fell in battle near the Sien-hoh gate of Nan-king. The lieutenant-colonel from the Canton division Chin-ming-che, the colonel from the Kwei-chow division Le-fah-yung, the major from the same province Lew-sew-choo, the major from the Szechuen division Le-chin-yung, and the expectant major Chang-tih-luh, all shed their blood on the battle field, in mortal combat with the rebels. The whole are therefore recommended to the notice of the emperor, to receive posthumous honours.

The *Gazette* of the 11th of July contains a report from Tseng-kwoh-fan, the lieutenant-governor of Keang-se, and Wen-seun, the general in command in that province, detailing some successes over the rebels at Yaou-chow. It seems that the prefecture above-named had been overrun by the rebels, when the treasurer of the province K'haou-ling, adopted measures for repressing them; the governor also sent a major Peih-king-k'haou, at the head of some land and water forces, to attack them. Between the months of April and June, the rebels attacked the district city of Po-yang, and a place called Shih-luh-too, but were beaten back by the local militia, who killed several hundreds of them, while some of the military were also wounded and slain. After Peih-king-k'haou had arrived at the place of contest, on the 17th of June, he killed numbers of the rebels, and routed them; whilst the imperialists were in pursuit, an ambuscade,

amounting to four or five thousand men, suddenly rushed out upon and surrounded them; Peih-king-k'haou immediately drew up his soldiers to repel the attack, and killed about 600 long-haired rebels, capturing 24 others, after which the rebels retired. The emperor admires the courage displayed by this major, in repelling so great a number with only a few soldiers, and has conferred upon him an order of knighthood.

The *Gazette* of the 10th of July contains a report from Kwei-leang, the viceroy of Pih-chih-le, detailing a disturbance occasioned by a popular riot, and calling for punishment to be inflicted on the officers who were not able to put it down. It seems that at Keu-luh (Lat. 37° 17' N., Long. 115° 11' E.) a fellow named Yang-tsing-pang had got together a mob, in a bread riot, and when the viceroy sent a force to apprehend the rioters, and bring them up for judgment, the son of the said Yang-tsing-pang, named Yang-hwang-maou, had the audacity to delude a number of people and make an attack on the magistrate's office, where they liberated the prisoners and burnt the gaol. The civil and military officers of the place do not appear to have done anything to repress these excesses, which are not to be reckoned among common rows. The emperor therefore orders that the magistrate of Keu-luh should be deprived of his insignia of office, and handed over to the board for trial; while the military officers who were in charge are to be cashiered, but retained in the place a certain period being allotted them, within which they must apprehend the principal offenders. The prefect of Shun-tih, within whose jurisdiction Keu-luh lies, is also to be handed over to the board for trial, for not laying hold of the chief rioters, before matters came to such a serious pass as they have done.

The *Gazette* of the 17th of July contains a report from E-leang, the viceroy of Keang-nan, detailing successes over the rebels. It appears that on the 3d and 4th of July, the rebels advanced from Keu-yung and Pih-kwei to Woolle-poo, near Tan-yang, where they attacked the imperial camp. Heang-yung then led out his forces against them, and obtained a complete victory over them, pursuing them for about six miles, in the course of which he put to death about a thousand rebels. The emperor is well satisfied with the result of this engagement, and orders Heang-yung to avail himself of these successes, and repress the further advances of the rebels. The prefect Chaou-ting-ning who was in charge of the city of Keu-yung, having been engaged at that post for four years, during which time he trained the militia to co-operate with the regular troops in repelling the enemy, is entitled to some degree of consideration; but as he has on the present occasion allowed the rebels to get possession of the place, he cannot escape blame: he must therefore be degraded from rank, but retained in his office, to see if he can make amends for his fault. The city of Leih-shwuy having been lost, the magistrate thereof must be degraded, but as usual retained in his office, to redeem his character. A separate report states that the districts of E-hing and King-k'he have been thrown into confusion by the appearance of some rebel boats there; but the magistrates assembled

their forces, with what irregulars they could muster, and went forth to repel them, when the rebels retired to Pin-tang, where they were pursued by the military. Afterwards a scholar from Yuen-tsun at the head of his fellow villagers advanced to attack the insurgents, numbers of whom he killed. The rebel boats then retired to Fung-e, the people of which place got together and burnt four of their vessels, killing 200 of their followers. The emperor is highly pleased with the loyalty of these people, and orders them to be encouraged to further exertions.

In the *Gazette* of the 18th of July mention is made of Tsang-kih-ling-sin, the Tartar king, having had an audience of his majesty on the preceding day.

The *Gazette* of July 20 states that the city T'ung-ling-heen, on the south bank of the Great River, beyond Woo-hoo, had been retaken by the imperial troops. A foraging party of rebels from Nanking, had been out in that neighbourhood, when they were attacked by Le-teh-ling. The imperial force was in boats of the kind called long-dragon and fast-crab. In the engagement that ensued with the rebel fleet, a victory was gained and many of the enemy were killed. The rebel garrison in T'ung-ling now came out to aid their comrades. The imperial boats turned round to meet them, and by the ensuing cannonade many were killed, and the rebels did not dare return to the city. The remainder of the garrison left the city by the east gate, and the troops entering it, obtained large quantities of ammunition and 13 prisoners who were at once put to death. Heang-yung is ordered to report those who distinguished themselves that the emperor may reward them.

On July 22d the general of Ngan-hwei, Ho-ch'un, reports a battle at the place called San-ho. The rebels who held that town had become weak and would not have been able to keep their position but for the water courses that surrounded them. On the 4th of July more than 1,000 of the insurgents had come out of Woo-wei-chow in the neighbourhood to assist them. The next day Chang-tsing placed an ambush by night on their south side. Ho-ch'un also led a force to attack their camp. On July 6th an engagement came on, through the troops in ambush appearing as the enemy advanced. At this time Ho-ch'un came to the rescue and secured a victory. The rebels were pursued for four miles. The rebel garrison in San-ho now issued forth to aid their friends, but were repulsed by Too-sang-a. Four or five hundred rebels were killed. Ho-ch'un then bombarded the city, but the garrison refused to make their appearance. He is ordered by the emperor to take the town without loss of time.

On July 29th, a memorial from Ho-ch'un states that engagements had taken place with the Niefei, or Hoonan rebels, in the north-west of his province. They had advanced to Mung-ch'eng, a city near the Hoonan boundary. From this place they attempted to pass westward to Ying-shang across the Sand river. More than 10,000 militia were assembled to attack them. They themselves only numbered 3,000. Many were killed in the ensuing engagement. Those that had already crossed the Sand river were met with a

force under Lin-lang and shared the fate of those in the rear. More than 1,000 fell.

Another force of rebels at Tae-ho, a city in the same region, were attacked on June 16th, for several days in succession and several hundreds of them killed.

On July 30th, the *Gazette* states that Heang-yung had memorialized the emperor on the conduct of Le-fang-kwei, an officer of the rank Pa-tsung. He had recently been rewarded with promotion and a peacock's feather at the instance of Heang-yung himself, but had since been accused of killing honest people instead of rebels in order to obtain a false reputation in regard to the number of rebels he had slain. He had also when distributing money to the soldiers made a systematic appropriation of a part of it for his own advantage. On examination by Heang-yung he made no defence, and was consequently beheaded, as a warning to the army generally.

The *Gazette* of August 3d states that Heang-yung had reported a victory over the rebels and the destruction of a battery. The latter had attacked the imperial encampments at Tan-yang, and erected a battery on the south-east. On July 9th some successes were gained over them. Hearing that they were erecting stockades at Fung-hwang-kang, Chang-koh-leang attacked them with cannon and jingalls in the night. On the 13th an attack was made on the stockades from 8 till 4 o'clock which terminated in their destruction. In three days and nights of continued fighting, quite 1,000 rebels were killed. Of heads and ears there were more than 200. On July 17th, 2,000 or 3,000 rebels approached a place called Hoo-fung-lin where they were met by the imperial troops sent to drive them back. They fought with desperation to maintain their ground. On the 18th the rebels returned in three bodies to attack the imperial camp. It was reported that their chief was killed in the cannonade with which they were received.

The *Gazette* of August 5th contains a report from Kwan-wen, governor-general of Hoonan and Hoopih, stating that successes had been gained over the rebels in the eastern part of the Great River in his vicerealty and also over those at the cities Hwang-chow and Han-yang. The siege of Woo-chang, capital of Hoopih province, and of Han-yang on the opposite side of the river, had been continued for a long time. The rebels in those cities had secretly negotiated with their comrades lower down the river to obtain aid from them. Kwan-wen had prevented this by a timely disposition of forces at suitable positions. On July 10th an imperialist force had met a body of insurgents at Ngo-kung-t'ow a town under the jurisdiction of Hwang-chow, and killed more than 1,000 of them. The remainder fled. General Too-king-a taking advantage of this success proceeded to the city itself and destroyed some stockades outside the walls with their defenders to the number of more than 100. On July 22d forty or fifty rebel boats from Woo-chang advanced and were received with a cannonade from the imperial force by which many were burnt, with great loss of life to those on board of them. At the same time a body of more than 1,000 rebels on shore commenced an action with the imperial troops resulting in loss to themselves of more than

500 men. The emperor remarks that Kwau-wen and others have been besieging Woo-chang and Han-yang for a long time unsuccessfully. Reports of small victories are not to their credit while their great work is undone. They must exert themselves more or they will find that there is a law in the land to punish their procrastination (with death.)

On August 8th there is a memorial from Yeh-ming-ts'en the governor-general of the two Kwang provinces relating to the property of Woo-k'ien-chang, late Taoutae at Shanghai. Formerly (June 1855) by order from court his property consisting of money, ornaments and furniture, in Heang-shan-li'en (Macao) had been appraised and placed under seal in the local treasury to await further instructions. His case had been examined by E-leang and Kir-hang-ha by command of the emperor, and judgment given. The object of the memorial is to request the emperor to decide what shall be done with the property. The emperor replies that the memorial is recorded.

The *Gazette* of August 12th contains a despatch from Heang-yung describing a victory. Rebels from Nanking and Chin-keang had come out as far as Woo-li-pae and Hwang-chwang-keou, to make encampments at those villages. Chang-kwoh-leang had attacked them, and destroyed their outer stockades and a battery. Stimulated by this success he advanced to their inner line of works. The rebels concealed behind their works opened fire. The imperial soldiers stormed in, burnt the wooden fences, and levelled the stockades. More than 100 heads were brought in. The rest of the rebels escaped. Heang-yung had also attacked a body of them at Keen-tuh-ho. For this service he had recalled Hoo-kwen-yuen and others. The rebels resisted stoutly. The soldiers behaved well. Under the command of Choo-king-shan they entered the rebel defences. They killed those they found within, set fire to their powder, and then followed the runaways killing many more as they fled. Chang-kwoh-leang then led his troops forward to face the rebels who were on the west bank of the stream and formed an encampment there, opposite to the foe. At midnight the rebels disappeared setting fire to their own encampments. On this day five encampments were destroyed and three deserted, while more than 2,000 rebels were killed. The emperor applauds this achievement and orders Heang-yung to take the towns to the westward between him and Chin-keang.

On August 13th the *Gazette* states that a memorial had been received from Ying-kwei, detailing a victory over the Nie-fei, (local banditti in Honan the province of which he is governor). These plunderers had, after being repulsed at San-ho-ts'een, seized boats and gone towards Chang-yang custom-house. Checked by the imperial troops they left their boats, and proceeded by land. On July 29th Loh-shen, an officer of the fourth rank, had led his troops to a position 20 miles from Yin-chow and had there engaged the rebels. Many were killed and 400 carts and carriages were taken. The rebels retired to T'sau-kea-tsih. Yuen-kea-san conducted troops from the city of Yin-shang by land and water, to attack the rebels in that neighbourhood amounting to 2,000 or 3,000. More than 400 were killed.

While the remainder were contemplating an escape by night, Yuen-paou-heng, of the Han-lin college, led a force of musketeers to attack stragglers, and killed more than 100. On August 3d, the remainder of the rebels attacked the imperial camp. They were met by cavalry under Yuen-kea-san and many of them slaughtered. Traces of them were found after this in various parts of the district of Yin-shang. But their chief being killed it is expected they will soon be entirely destroyed. The emperor orders that certain Manchus who had been killed, should have suitable honours paid to their memory.

An imperial edict on the 19th day of the 7th month (19th August), announces the death of the General Heang as follows:—

"The Imperial Commissioner Heang Yung, Commander-in-Chief for Hoo-pih, having risen from the ranks, on various occasions distinguished himself in the service, at Hwa-heen, Kashgar, and other places, till by degrees he reached the highest military rank. By the favour of my August Sire, he was raised to the rank of Commander-in-Chief; and during a long service in the field, he gave frequent proofs of his military talent. Formerly when the troubles broke out among the Kwangse banditti, the army being placed under his direction, by his energetic conduct, he saved Kwei-lin, Chang-sha and other cities. I having invested him with the imperial commission, he followed up the thieves from Hoo-pih to the neighbourhood of Nan-king; and although he was unable to take that city, his fidelity, bravery and sincerity were manifest. The soldiers being obedient to his commands, for several years he has defended Keang-soo and Che-keang; he has also rescued various places in the south, besides the territory on the north of the Yang-tsze keang; in every instance giving his whole heart and strength, he has displayed unwearied diligence. In the 5th month of the present year, the rebels being numerous, and our troops but few, he retired to hold possession of the city of Tan-yang, and although suffering from sickness, he was vigorous in his duties, urging the annihilation of the rebel hordes. While I was anticipating troops assembling to the rescue, that the dignity of the imperial army might be vindicated, suddenly the news of his death arrived. Alas! alas! on perusing his dying behests, I find there is not one word about his family affairs, while his fidelity and righteous indignation exhibit his public-spirited character, regardless of private interest. Let the following favours he conferred. Let Heang Yung have the title of Commander-in-Chief restored; let him be again rewarded with the peacock's feather; and let the usual forms be observed, for Commanders who have died in the camp. Let presents of commiseration be conferred, and let him be rewarded with the hereditary office of the highest grade, *King-keu too wei*; let the various privileges connected with the offices he has hitherto held, be all restored to him. Let the proper board investigate what are the presents of commiseration that ought to be bestowed, and send up their report. After the period of mourning, let his three grandsons Heang Gan and the others, be introduced to my presence by the officers of the Board of Office. In the various districts through which the funeral cortège shall pass, let the local autho-

rites afford security and entertainment, to mark the grateful remembrance which I entertain of his extreme fidelity. Respect this."

The *Gazette* of August 22d contains a report from Ho-ch'un and Fuh-tsi of a victory in the province of Ngan-hwei. Hoh-kwang-kea, general of the second rank, had on July 3d attacked the local rebels (Nie-fei) who had disturbed the district of Yin-shang and forced them to retreat. On the 5th, 6th and 7th he had obtained a succession of triumphs over them. 600 or 700 had been killed or taken prisoners. More than 300 horses had been taken. On being joined by Foo-ching-pang and others he proceeded on the 9th to attack them again, and killed more than 100. Also on the 17th and following days successes were obtained. Certain officers who had been killed are ordered to receive posthumous honours.

The *Gazette* of August 24th contains a report from Fuh-hing, in command of Heang-yung's army, of a victory (near Tan-yang?) On August 5th, the rebels had come out to Woo-lee-p'ae. They were attacked by Chang-kwoh-leang and others, and a leader in yellow robes was killed. A party of them then advanced to Shih-le-p'ae and Pin-ts'un. Many of them were killed. On the 6th some rebels came out to inspect the encampments on the west of the city. Chang-kwoh-leang sent a force to attack them in front and another to lie in ambush. As the foe advanced they were cannonaded, more than 10 being killed at each discharge. Altogether more than 100 were killed. They then retreated to the above-mentioned villages. Here they were joined by their comrades and attacked by the imperial cavalry and the ambush-party. They were forced to retreat losing in the two days of fighting upwards of 1,000 men. The vermilion pencil adds that after Heang-yung's death, Chang-kwoh-leang had repeatedly attacked the rebels by day and night and in such a way that they could not resist. On the 13th of August they had retreated in various parties. They had been attacked by night and many killed. Eleven encampments formerly occupied by the rebels having been destroyed, and they having retired to a considerable distance from Tan-yang, the viceroy E-leang and others are ordered to despatch troops to Kin-t'an and Leih-yang (towns westward of the T'ae-hoo) to prevent the remainder of the defeated rebels from wandering in that direction.

In the *Gazette* for Sept. 22d new out-breaks are reported from the south-west of the empire, in the province of Kweichau. On the night of August 18th the district city of Shi-ping was lost, having been attacked by bands of the aborigines, the *Miau-tze*; and on the night of the 30th, of the same month, the prefect city of Tu-yun was lost in like manner. Of course, on the receipt of the report of these losses, both the governor-general and governor, were delivered over to the appropriate Board for trial, and at the same time commanded instantly to recover the lost cities, and hasten to report who of the civil and military officers had fallen and who were wounded.—These cities are in the south-eastern part of the province, the first not far from the borders of Hu-nan, and the other on the frontiers of Kwangsi.

On Hochun, the successor of Hiang Yung, as Imperial Commissioner, tokens of favor have been

conferred by his master Hienfung. These consist of a small sword, and a precious stone tube with a peacock's feather, and a few other such like articles. The emperor, in his rescript, says that Hochun had destroyed more than eight thousand of the bandits, and that such bravery and zeal deserved commendation.

These bandits were on the borders of Ngan-hwui, where that province is contumacious with that of Honan, to which latter the emperor has just dispatched large reinforcements and able generals, fearing perhaps that some of those "eight thousand and odd," as others on former occasions, may have "fled" towards his capital.

The autumnal equinox, September 23d, (the 25th day of the 8th moon,) had been fixed upon by the Emperor, in obedience to ancient usage, for changing the court dress—by putting on the winter-cap, instead of the lighter one worn in summer.

In the vicinity of Peking flights of locusts had caused no inconsiderable concern; and numerous and various accounts regarding them, had been sent up to the Emperor, from the local officers in Shun-tien fu; in some places the locusts had not alighted, but merely passed over the country; in others, where they did alight, they had been thrashed, cut up, and entirely destroyed, so that the damage to the latter harvest was expected to be very little; from some of the districts the reports were unsatisfactory; while from three no reports at all had been received. Great fears were entertained lest the locusts should deposit their eggs and so cause a larger progeny to come up on the face of the land next year. The injunctions, therefore, were renewed for their destruction, and also orders given for the trial and punishment of delinquent officers, and for succor to the poor people who might be already suffering.

In the *Peking Gazette* received on the 20th October, there is a memorial from E-leang, governor-general of the two Keang, respecting the former Shanghai Taoutae Samqua, called in Chinese Woo Keen-chang, who was degraded by the Emperor Hien-fung for allowing the rebels to get possession of the city of Shanghai and flying himself to the residence of the foreigners for protection,—that he, Samqua, had made a present to the government of munitions of war—eleven cannon weighing each 1,100 catties, two cannon weighing each 500 catties, forty-four cannon weighing from 200 to 600 catties each, two hundred muskets flint locks, twenty-four percussion muskets, fifty jingals, nineteen hundred catties of gunpowder, two hundred and forty bamboo shields, two thousand catties of shot, one hundred and forty swords, two hundred bamboo fighting hats, and one hundred and forty suits of bamboo armor; and E-leang prayed that His Majesty would again take the said Woo Keen-chang, ex Taoutae, into favor, for his contribution of munitions of war for the suppression of the present disturbed state of the Empire. It is therefore very probable that Samqua may be taken into favor, and countenance shewn to him while he will continue to make presents to government and to high mandarins to exert their influences to get him again into office. It is doubtful however if he will again be placed in any port in Keang-soo.

THE latest date received is September 26th. Military stores, and provisions of grain for both the army and the people, are at present among the standing topics of discussion, with those who are in the high councils of the empire; and these councils, or Boards, move on in their deliberations, seemingly quite unconcerned and undisturbed, while half of the empire is moved with civil disorders or open rebellion.

It appears, incidentally in some of the recent numbers, that general Cháng Kwohliáng has allied himself to the Bannermen, but when and for what reasons does not appear. Till very recently he has been spoken of in the *Gazette*, as one of the emperor's *chin*, a common appellation of Chinese ministers of state; now he is called *nú-tái*, a term of the same import, used by the Manchus, Bannermen, &c. Cháng is a native of one of the southern provinces, and was once an outlaw, if reports be true, the leader of a rebel gang and the murderer of a magistrate. It is supposed, therefore, by those who consider themselves judges in such matters, that he has entered the Bannermen's list, with the belief that thus enrolled he will be more secure from the penalties of violated laws. He is generally regarded as a good soldier and a brave man, and is now high in favor and high in rank—being second or third in command at Tányáng.

The victorious and bloody exploits of the new commander-in-chief, Hochun, are recounted—some of them, at least,—in the *Gazette* of September 24th. On successive days—from the 9th to 15th of that month, the Imperial troops, under his command in Ngánhwui, at a place called the Three Rivers, attacked the local banditti, of whom more than 5,000 were killed; 3,000 and odd heads cut off; and more than 360 taken alive; among these latter were 15 leaders or chiefs.—This "affair" is the same as that alluded to in a former *Gazette*, and noticed in the *Herald* of last week.

In the *Gazette* of the same date, September 24th, one of the Imperial censors, Ho Kwei-fun, in a memorial to the throne, begs that measures may be adopted to keep down at a proper rate the price of grain. Thus far during the current year, according to his memorial, the supplies for the people had been sufficient; but quite recently the price of rice had risen and was still rising. A chief cause of this increase was owing to the conduct of gain-seeking grain-dealers, who were endeavoring to enhance the price for their own private advantage and to the great damage of the people.

An Imperial edict is issued, in consequence of the memorial, for the adoption of measures at once to check the growing evil and to introduce the proper remedy.

The *Gazette* of September the 18th contains a memorial from Liáng Tungsin of Canton, a relative of the old hong-merchant Kingqua, who repaired to Peking within a year past, and now holds an office near the throne. It is not unlikely that his acquaintance with the dearth of breadstuffs in Canton in the spring of 1855, and

the timely supply introduced by foreign ships, has suggested this proposition of a *dépôt* at Shanghai. The following is his memorial:—

Liáng Tungsin, assistant reader to the Privy Council, humbly memorializes respecting the drought and short crops in Kiangsu and Chehkiang, and proposes to introduce foreign rice in order to supply food to the people and replenish the granaries at the capital; upon which he humbly requests the "sacred glance."

During late years the grain for transportation has depended upon the supplies by sea from Kiangsu and Chehkiang, but I have lately heard that the drought has been excessive in those two provinces, and there are signs of a famine apparent; in fact such is the deficiency in the crops, that the food of the people is really in danger, while the difficulties of sea-transit will prevent the usual amount. It will be proper, therefore, to devise some plan to replenish the granaries at the capital.

Now it is known that the northern provinces produce several sorts of food, and the southern ones rice. The transit through Sz'chuen and Húnán is difficult and expensive either by land or water. Of that which comes by water, besides what is bought up in Formosa, the province of Kwangtung produces hardly enough for the consumption of its inhabitants. The result of my views, from what now actually exists, is to propose that foreign rice be brought in as has already been done at Canton. Let a proclamation be issued at Shanghai, inviting the merchants to open a *dépôt* for collecting it in. Foreign ships come to that port in great numbers, and for years the established mode of transit thence onward has been known, and the traders there are thoroughly acquainted with the business.

The places where foreign grain is produced are numerous, and the qualities of it are dissimilar; if it come by sea, it often gets wet and heated, and the taste is deteriorated. Rules for receiving it should therefore be first made known, classing it into first, second and third qualities; and according to the market price let the rate be settled, and then buy up according to samples; if the dealers find they can obtain profit, they will gladly avail themselves of the offer. If any of the grain should not equal the prescribed quality, still the high provincial officers should make such accommodations to the traders as they can, and so that in any event the supply for transit be sufficient to send forward, and also that there be enough for the food of the people. If the matter be managed too strictly, it will only decide the merchants to keep out of it.

The supplies of treasure for purchasing the grain will also need to be deliberated upon, but as the deficiency in the crops in Chehkiang and Kiangnan is great, we are obliged to recur to other provinces to get funds. It will, therefore, be well for your Majesty to order the high officers of those two provinces to take the amount they would have expended this year in transportation, and issue a proclamation at the port of Shanghai inviting the merchants to open a *dépôt* for collecting the grain. Commands may also be issued forthwith to the Board of Revenue to deliberate as to the proportion to be furnished by each province to buy rice, and urge its officers to induce subscrip-

tions. Then let the amounts which may be remaining with the provincial treasurers or with the intendants, or be subscribed, be borrowed in advance and immediately paid over to the officer in charge of the general dépôt of grain. The plans of subscribing being settled, the money can successively be paid over, and then afterwards returned to those treasuries. In this way a full supply of funds will avail for purchasing grain, and there will be enough for transit to the capital. If the quality of the foreign grain is inferior, then the two high provincial officers can report to the commissioners of grain appointed to be at Tientsin and Tungehau, that they may act according to the facts of the case. I am unable to say whether my views are proper, and therefore humbly represent them in this memorial for your Majesty's inspection, that action may be taken on them if they are received.

The Vermilion rescript is, That the Board of Revenue quickly deliberate and report on this subject.

In Kwángsi, the original scene of the Great Rebellion, the provincial examination for literary honors had been duly held; and the reports thereof from the governor, Yung Tsungkwáng, are given in the numbers of the *Gazette* for September 24th and 25th. The candidates in that province, always few in comparison with those in some of the other provinces, were much fewer than usual, on account of the continued troubles—large bands being still in open rebellion; and so occupied was the governor with these, that the literary chancellor was called upon to preside in his stead.

These rebels were in boats fleeing down the river, from Tsiuchau, towards the province of Canton.

Flights of locusts, early in September, overshadowed the capital and adjacent regions. On the 16th of that month, the emperor, having on the previous day himself been spectator, of these, as "they passed to and fro covering the firmament," issued orders for the work of extermination to be renewed and to be carried on with increased diligence and zeal, so that in all the surrounding country both the locusts and their eggs might be destroyed. The presence of such flights of locusts is regarded by the Chinese as a direful calamity, and especially when the capital is the scene of visitation.

Desertions from the Imperial army, complained of much, both in Peking and in the provinces, is a very grievous evil, though not a new thing, and in the *Gazette* for the 26th of September is made the subject of a memorial.

FILCHING bandits, in the province of Honán, have been vanquished, and in part exterminated,—according to the following account contained in an Imperial Edict, published in the *Gazette* for October 10th. The scene of action was on the river Chí.

IMPERIAL EDICT.

Yingkwai, governor of the province of Honán, has reported to us the destruction of filching bandits, over whom he had gained successive victories.

These filchers, according to his report, proceeding from the regions about the river Chí, had fled in disorder and passed over the river, when our troops, deploying on both banks, advanced for their destruction.

On the 23d of September, Sui-ngán and other officers came up with the enemy near the monastery at Hanghwáng and gave battle; when Kih-pángah and Tehngoah, leading on their respective troops of cavalry, made a furious charge, and cutting them down, pursued them six miles and more. Three hundred and odd of the bandits were left dead on the field.

Again, on the 25th, our troops, advancing for an onslaught, fell in with Kung Teh, one of the bandit chiefs, and his followers, near the temple at Luínái. Sui-ngán now led on both the horse and infantry; and again some hundreds of the bandits were cut to pieces and left dead on the field.

Four days later, on the 29th of September, these same filchers, having constructed a floating bridge, all passed over to the north bank, where they encamped, greatly exasperated and very strong. Our troops, again deploying, came down upon them on all sides, and for four hours fought desperately, when the filchers scattered and drew off. Seizing on that opportunity, our troops all passed over the river, and went in pursuit; for many miles the enemy were cut down, great numbers of them falling into the river, where they perished.

Let Yingkwai lead on our veteran troops and the militia, and improve these advantages to achieve a final conquest. Let him first hasten and destroy the rebel leader Cháng and his followers, now encamped on Dragon Hill; and then, in detail, exterminate all the others. Let there be no more lingering or delay. This is from the Emperor.

Two cities have been lost in the province of Kweichau, and the governor-general and others subjected to courtmartial, on account of these losses. Túyun and Tsingkiáng, one a prefecture, and the other a district city, are situated in the south-east of Kweichau, near the borders of Húnán and Kwángsi. In the *Gazette* for October 14th, two Edicts appear, one having special reference to the neglect of duty that occasioned the loss of Túyun (previously reported); the other gives the simple announcement of the loss of Tsingkiáng, and commands for an examination with reference thereto.

IMPERIAL EDICT.

Hangchun, governor-general of Yunnan and Kweichau, has reported to us the dereliction of duty on the part of colonel Chin Tehkung, and requested that he may be subjected to trial

Formerly, when at Táliang and other places, the said colonel, having acted valorously against the rebels, was often and favorably recommended to us, by the governor-general; but forgetful of the favors received, and neglectful of his obligations, his disordered mind has been moved with envy and jealousy by the ability and success of others. From the severe contest with the rebels at Funghiang and Ungláng, he suddenly turned back, and retired to Wanteh, and encamped with his troops where there was no enemy; he sent up to the governor-general false reports of his proceedings; and so delayed to advance for the defense of Túyun, that through his dereliction of duty the city was lost. So likewise at the city Mar (or Maho), while general Háushun was engaged in battle with the rebels, he not only came not to the rescue, but recalled his own battalion. All this and more he has done; for while he was receiving large military supplies, he appropriated to himself much of what was designed for others. So deceitful has been his heart, so recreant he to his trust, so forgetful of favors, that he ought to be subjected to the most searching inquiries, in order that the dignity of the military service may be sustained.

Let the said Chin Teliung be immediately deprived of his office, put in chains, and delivered over to the governor-general to be tried by him in person, and his case decided according to law, and a report of proceedings addressed to us. This is from the Emperor.

IMPERIAL EDICT.

Hangchun has reported to us the loss of a district city, and requested that he may be duly punished for this loss. The district city of Tsingkiang was taken by the rebels on the 11th of September. As Hungchun and Tsíang Wei-yuen were unable to defend the city, let them both be delivered over for trial to the Board of War; and let them make examination concerning the conduct of the various local military and civil officers, and report to us. This is from the Emperor.

THE five places named in the following Edict are situated on the eastern and north-eastern frontiers of Kiángsi: Loh-ping, the most northerly, is in latitude 29 deg., nearly; Kwáng-cháng is the most southerly and distant from it eighty miles, more or less; Kwei-ki, between these two, is due south from the first named, having Kin-ki on the south of it and Yih-yáng on the east.

IMPERIAL EDICT.

ACCORDING to a memorial formerly presented by Ho Kwei-tsing, the degraded intendant Shih King-fan, placed in charge of Kwei-ki in Kiángsi, when, by the overthrow of Kwáng-cháng and other cities by the rebels, the city of Kin-ki was endangered, marched for its defense, and withdrew his troops from Kwei-ki; afterwards, when the rebels came up against Kwei-ki, the said intendant did not return for the rescue of that city, but returned to Loh-ping his native place; ac-

cordingly, as it was right, he was delivered over to Ho Kwei-tsing, who, aided by Lien Chau-lun, was to bring up the delinquent, examine and degrade him, and take further necessary action.

Now, according to a memorial presented by Lien Chau-lun, it appears that, when the rebels came up against Kwei-ki, said intendant did not come to its rescue, but was in the regions of Yih-yáng, there engaged in fighting with the rebels, and when defeated, and the road to Kwei-ki was obstructed, he drew off and returned to Loh-ping.

Thus, when the rebels came up against Kwei-ki, the said intendant, placed in charge thereof, could not meet them, and defend it; and when our troops were defeated and scattered, he left them and retired to his native place; such conduct is unmanly and cowardly in the highest degree; let the said Shih King-fan, therefore, be at once sent into banishment on the frontiers, and there strive to make amends for his guilt, as a reproof and a warning.

Let the two graduates, Yáng King-ts'z' and Tsang Shau-ching, who were with him in the defeat, be deprived of their honors, admonished, and retained in our service, to see if they can retrieve their standing.

As to the officers and men, who fell or suffered, in said engagement and defeat, let Lien Chau-lun, make examination; and after due deliberation, request that some compassionate regard may be besowed. This is from the emperor.—*See Gaz:* Oct. 16th, 1856.

THE following Edict refers to the same band of filchers that was noticed in the *Gazette* of October 10th, and in the *Herald* for 22d ulto. The leader of the band is Cháng Loh-hing; the field of depredations is on the southern borders of the province of Honán and on the northern part of Ngánhui. It is not known that this band has any connection with the rebels from the south, whose head-quarters are at Nanking.

IMPERIAL EDICT.

YING-KWEI has presented to us a memorial, regarding a victory over the bandits and their destruction by the troops from Kiáng-sú and Honán.

Already Sháu Tsáu and Kang-cháng have reported to the throne the particulars of the victory, gained in the vicinity of the Tieh-fuh monastery, by our troops from Kiáng-sú; on the third of October, our troops from Honán passed secretly the river Wú-kiá on the Matsun bridge, when all the bandits there came out against them in great strength. Kihpaugah chief in command and Kwán-páu the brigadier, leading on their troops of cavalry, jointly advanced upon the enemy; when major-general Sainingah and colonel Yoh Shen, having placed their cavalry in ambush, simultaneously came forward and surround the enemy; thus hemmed in, and unable to withstand the assault, the bandits were thrown into disorder and retreated. Our troops pursued them for ten or twelve miles, with dreadful carnage, leaving dead

on the field more than a thousand; while not a few fell into the river and there perished.

Kiu Lien-ngan, Tsung-ngán, and others, are now returning with their troops by the western route, while Shi Yung-chun, Hing-king, Ming-shán and others, with their forces, are still in pursuit of the enemy by the eastern route. As soon as these shall have formed a junction with the other troops, from Kíángsú, they will with their full force again attack the enemy.

Let Ying-kwei at once give orders to all the aforesaid generals quickly to advance and exterminate those bandits, destroying all their lurking places, and in detail sweeping them clean away. There must be no lingering nor delay. This is from the emperor.—See *Gaz.* Oct. 17.

On the north side of the Great River, eighty miles westward from Nanking, not far above the cities of Wúhú and Fán-cháng which are on the south bank, lies the city of *Wúwei chau*, the theatre of the bloody victories, reported by the governor of Ngán-hwui, as detailed in the following document. Five separate onslaughts were made; in the first, every man was cut off; in the second, between six and seven hundred; in the third, the enemy perished "without number;" in the fourth, more than two thousand; and in the fifth, seventeen hundred,—in all, according to the report, not less than five thousand,—and all these without loss or injury to any one of the Imperialists—so far as appears from the record.

IMPERIAL EDICT.

Fuhtsi and Ching Kwei-sz have reported to us, by a memorial, an attack on, and the recovery of, the city of Wúwei chau in Ngánhwui.

For a long time this city had been in the possession of the rebels, when, on the 26th of Sept., the selected prefect Li Yuen-shen was directed by the governor to place himself at the head of the militia, to proceed by the Ning-kíá bridge, and to assault and destroy the rebels there quartered; just as he came to the river, some hundreds of the rebels were forcing their way down the stream loaded with plunder, and surrounded by our trained bands and militia, their whole number was cut to pieces and exterminated.

The next day, when our troops had entrenched themselves with strong barricades, some thousands of the rebels came out of the west gate of the city, advanced, and, as they made an attack, were received by our forces, who cut them down in great fury, leaving six or seven hundred dead on the field.

The following day, September 29th, leaving the city by the west and south gates, the rebels came again, advanced by different routes, and made an attack on all sides;—and again they were cut down and destroyed without number.

On the night of the 30th our troops, placed in ambush on all the four sides of the city, first set fire to the rebels' quarters near the east and west

gates, and when these were all on fire they scaled the walls thick as ants; the rebels, scattering and flying, were cut down at each of the gates; more than two thousand were killed, and more than a hundred taken alive,—with horses and arms without number.

Thus were the rebels overcome, and the city of Wúwei recovered.

After the enemy had been dispersed and put to flight, seventeen hundred were intercepted by our militia and put to death.

On this occasion the destruction has been carried on, against the bandits, with good success. Let Fuhtsi and his colleagues enjoin it on all their subalterns, in command of the land and naval forces, that they with united strength complete the work of extermination, and so bring it to a speedy and successful termination.

The aforesaid high officers have addressed to us a supplementary memorial, regarding the restoration to honors and to office of the magistrate Lin Lán, who was in charge of the city when it was lost, and who assisted in its recovery. Since the said magistrate, after the rebels had entered the city, did zealously urge on the people to make contributions for the support of the war, and did encourage the militia and train them for service, he has exhibited a consciousness of shame for the past, and a degree of courage that promises well for the future. Having, in this instance joined with and aided our officers in the recovery of the city, his meritorious and delinquent acts would now seem to balance each other. Let him, therefore, be reinstated; and, as an expectant for the same office [*Chi-chau*,] be retained for a vacancy in the province of Ngán-hwui. This is from the emperor.—See *Gazette*, Oct. 17.

In the *Gazette* for October 20th, it is recorded, by the vermilion pencil, that the Mongolian Pihkwei, governor of Kwáng-tung—and there till recently associated with the governor-general and cabinet minister Yeh Mingchin—has had leave to repair to Peking: he was, by Imperial permission, to deliver over to Yeh the seals of his office on the 26th of August, and on the 29th to take his departure for the capital, by way of Húnán. Fortunate man, in thus escaping from the barbarians in Canton!—if indeed he has escaped,—for as yet there has not appeared any notice of his departure.

The Numbers of the *Gazette* down to the 17th of the 10th moon—Nov. 14th,—have come to hand, but make no allusion to the recent occurrences at Canton.

The *Peking Gazette* received at Shanghai on the 1st December contains a memorial from Yopin, Acting Governor-General of the province of Szechuen—of which below is given an abstract:—

I, Yopin, General-in-chief of the Manchoo troops in Szechuen, and Acting Governor-General of Szechuen,—beg respectfully to memorialize your Majesty, that, having received intelligence that the barbarian banditti had issued from their Fastnesses and were committing disorders in the adjoining lowland country at Tsinyuen city which is under the charge of the Keenchang commandant, I immediately despatched a body of troops to drive them back into their mountains; and I have also ordered one of my aid-de-camps to repair to the spot to examine into the cause of the outbreak, and to take the necessary steps to quiet the country. In the meanwhile, however, I have deemed it my duty to lose no time in acquainting your Majesty as to what I have been informed has been the cause of the present inroad and destruction of property.

On the 28th July of the current year a body of barbarian banditti burst from their Fastnesses upon the towns of Joshwuy, Mihtekow, and Tung-seloh, places under the charge of the Keenchang Commandant, and committed all kinds of disorders until the Magistrate of Le-kwan could bring soldiers and irregulars to attack and drive them into their mountains.

During the month of August of the current year a body of Black and White barbarian banditti came down from their homes in the mountains to a town called Polo in the Kening district, and carried off a number of horned cattle. While in the act of seizing them the lowland people attacked these barbarians and killed several tens of them. The barbarians vowed vengeance against the people and threatened to return with a large body of their countrymen and punish them for the loss of their comrades.

Accordingly, not long afterwards, several thousands of barbarian banditti, like a cloud of locusts, rushed from their Fastnesses into the lowlands to Polo and Chuhung, which they attacked and burnt. Later they attacked and took possession of the city of Tsing-yuen, which was owing to the military of the place not being sufficiently strong to defend it. One ensign and a great number of the common men were killed in the defence of the place.

I, Yopin, find on examination that the cities of Tsing-yuen, Lechang, and Joshwuy, are situated but a short distance from the strongholds of these barbarian banditti, being only separated from them by one chain of mountains. Now although I have to report to your Majesty that the Yun-nan military, in conjunction with the Szechuen military, have been ordered to act against these barbarian banditti in order to drive them from the low country, still as the dispositions of these barbarians are like dogs and sheep,—that is incomprehensible, it is possible they may again rush down into the lowlands and attempt to commit disorders, I have now therefore to beseech your Majesty to be pleased to issue commands that additional troops be hereafter stationed on the frontiers of the country of these barbarians in order the more efficiently to protect the lowlands against their inroads.

Shanghai, 4th Dec., 1856.

Note—Tsing-yuen mentioned above, as taken by the barbarians is situated in the south of Szechuen, near the borders of the province of Yun-

nan, and adjoining the mountain ranges inhabited by the independent and free mountaineers, who have never been under the control of the Manchoo government.

THE following memorial, in a financial point of view, is very valuable—declaring, as it does, that the receipts, for the Public Works on the Yellow River this year, in those parts that are under his jurisdiction, have not been *one third* of what they were in former times. In the translation, some of the details have been omitted—since they can have but little interest for the foreign reader, and without copious notes would hardly be intelligible. This governor-general of the Rivers has under him intendants, magistrates, &c.; and the appropriations, made by the Board in Peking, with the Emperor's sanction, are in various forms—taxes, duties, contributions, &c., drawn from the provinces and delivered over to the governor-general or to his subalterns. Reduction in the annual appropriations would be perferred anywhere else, probably, rather than in these for the Public Works on the Yellow River,—for if these are neglected, the people and the government both must suffer. Indeed, the Yellow River is regarded with superstitious interest by the nation, and government must be in a hard case when it can secure only three tenths of the ordinary receipts for the Works thereon.

MEMORIAL.

HIS Majesty's Minister Kangcháng, the governor-general of the rivers of Kiángán humbly memorializes the throne, requesting an appropriation of money to purchase materials wanted the ensuing year, that they may be duly in readiness for the repairs and preservation of our Public Works: having respectfully prepared his Memorial, he now presents it, praying that a glance of the Emperor may be bestowed thereon.

The most essential materials, for repairing the works on the Yellow River, are timber and tall reeds, which must be procured in advance. In all former times, it has been customary during the eighth month to memorialize the throne, requesting an appropriation of 1,200,000 Taels, for procuring in advance an annual supply of materials, such as during the year will be required to repair the damages occasioned by currents and floods; and always the appropriations were granted in accordance with the estimates set forth in the memorials. So the records show.

Now it appears, on referring to the records of the annual supplies granted for the year 1855, that the minister then in charge, Yáng Itsang, asked for 800,000 Taels, and that the Board appropriated only 550,000 Taels, and that, for the

current year, the annual supplies asked for, by the former incumbent in this office, was also 800,000 Taels, of which only 400,000 Taels were granted.

After my entrance on the duties of this office, complete accounts and estimates were made out; although at present the great works at Lányáng [near the capital of Houán] are advancing but slowly, yet in Kíángnán the repairs are progressing as usual; over the former works there are nine officers in charge, and thirteen over the latter; and taking these two-and-twenty collectively, the very least that will suffice to complete their entire works this year is five tenths; but the actual receipts for these two years, compared with those in former times, do not amount to three tenths.

For this very great deficiency, in the quota of funds received from the respective provinces to maintain these works, the excuse is, that, as the military operations are still in progress, the appropriations are kept back to provide rations for the army. Moreover, as the contributions for the public service, taken up on the South side of the river, are inadequate to supply the army with provisions, no aid from that quarter can be had for the works on the Yellow River. Thus it is that the sums still due, to the aforesaid [two-and-twenty] officers, is very great,—a state of things this that must, in case of inundations, greatly embarrass the Public Works and lead to manifold distresses.

Already Your Majesty's Minister has given it in charge to each of the aforesaid officers, that they must, in view of the exigencies of the times, devise ways and means to urge through and complete their works, since no pretext, excuse, or refusal will be admitted; moreover, out of regard to their own individual standing, since their works are in due course to be subjected to a public inspection, these officers will all be induced to do their best to render them substantial and secure.

Now, that autumn is far advanced, it is high time that successive instalments of new materials were being accumulated in store; and that they may be seasonably in readiness for the repairs and preservation of our Public Works, they ought to be purchased early and in large quantities.

In conformity with the established regulations, each of the several Intendants have handed in their statements, and requested that appropriations may be made; and these their statements have been, by me, subjected to the most rigid scrutiny; and it appears that, at present, the works on the South side of the river are in a dilapidated and ruined condition that is intolerable, while the circumstances of our treasury are in a state many-fold worse than in by-gone years. The appropriations of money, required for the materials to be used the ensuing year, must of necessity be ample, in order to meet the demands that will be needed for the repairs, and to prevent reductions that can lead only to waste.

Wherefore, Your Majesty's Minister, looking up, begs for a display of Heavenly favor, that, bearing in mind how small the last years appropriations have been, when compared with those of former times, the Board may be instructed to make an appropriation of 800,000 Taels, and to issue the requisite Exchequer Bills and Orders, the half of which may be employed in procuring

materials for repair, &c. For such great consideration, unbounded thanks will be given.

For this the memorial is respectfully presented to the throne, and prostrate H. I. M.'s Minister begs that the august, high, and holy Emperor will deign to look thereon.

The vermillion reply has been received, directing the Board of Revenue to deliberate thereon, and then to report to the throne.—See *Gazette*, Oct. 21.

THE writer of the following memorial is governor-general of the two provinces Yunnán and Kweichau; the aboriginal barbarians, or *Míáu i*, are doubtless the kith and kin of those mentioned by the acting governor-general of Sz'chuen, in a *Gazette* of Nov. 8th, as published in the last number of the *Herald*; the prefecture Túyun is situated near the centre of Kweichau, its distance being nearly the same from Sz'chuen, Yunnán, and Kwángsi,—in which three provinces, as well as in this one, these independent mountaineers are numerous; and, in all probability they are identical, as well in origin and character, as in name, with the Karens, who inhabit regions further south and west—where the word *Karen** means aboriginal. Some of these “barbarians” are known to be in the Insurgent army at Chinkiang. The following paper, reporting the destruction of *Míáu i* in Kweichau, appears in the *Gazette* for the 15th of the 10th month—Nov. 12th, 1856.

IMPERIAL EDICT.

Hangchun has presented a memorial to the throne, reporting victories gained over bandits, with their destruction, in various quarters.

On the 26th of September and following days, first and last, many tens of these banditti of Kweichau were destroyed; ten and more of their camps, twenty of their stockades, and more than a hundred of their huts were burnt. Seventeen of the bandits were taken alive, and many standard-bearers killed, and many of their guns and implements of war captured, when these aboriginal barbarians all begged to submit themselves [to our rule and authority].

Again [in other quarters], between the 20th of August and the 16th of October, Páyángah, general assisting, detailed divisions of his troops into *Hántsz-tung*, and other retreats, to ferret out

* The Reader will find able and elaborate dissertations on this subject, in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, written by the Revd. Messrs. Cross and Brown, see vol. IV. No. 2; and on the *Míáu-tz'*, in the southern and western provinces of China, he may also find various details in the *Chinese Repository*; see vol. XIV. pp. 104, 115, &c.

and destroy the banditti in those places, when time after time altogether more than two thousand were killed, and three hundred and odd taken alive, among whom were not a few leaders and headmen; six camps, thirty stockades, and more than six thousand huts were burnt.

Also general Tung Pán-mie, and his associates, at *Tsinglái-táng* and other places, had many successful encounters with the enemy, killing them without number.

Such are the details given in the memorial; from which it is evident that, in the province of Kweichau, these confederate bands of rebels have been increasing ever since the fall of Táyün (some month back); on these several recent occasions, however, and in all these various places, OUR officers have had good success; and the late colonel Páyángah, especially deserving commendation for his valorous deeds in overcoming the enemy, is now [promoted] to the brevet rank [of general]; let his case be submitted to the deliberations of the Board of War, to determine what further honors ought to be conferred as encouragement; and let the other officers, who distinguished themselves, be reported to us by the governor-general, when he shall have duly ascertained their respective merits. This is from the Emperor.

THE following Memorial, published in the *Gazette* for November 20th, in more than one respect will be interesting to the foreign reader. The subject of it is a member of one of those very rich families which, in old by-gone days, enjoyed the monopoly of the foreign commerce with China. His ancestors, a few generations back, resided in the province of Fuhkien; and the first adventurer to Canton, it has been said, brought with him all his chattels, his entire property, on his own shoulders. There are records of his grandfather's traveling abroad in the Philippines; subsequently to that, he was a conspicuous member of the "Cohong," and had the credit of exercising a large influence, under the emperor's officers, in creating and consolidating that exclusive policy at Canton, which is now there being so vigorously assailed: he was known by the name of *Pwankequa*; his successor by that of *Tingqua*; and this personage by that of *Pwán Sz'shing*. The estate contributed largely for munitions of war in the former troubles with the "English Barbarians;" is, it will be seen, doing so in the existing troubles with the Insurgents and "bandit barbarians;" and, doubtless, will be expected to do so, also, in these new troubles with said English Barbarians. Though not a scholar, Pwán

Sz'shing is a liberal patron of literature; and, among the works published by him, there is a good edition of the "Great Thesaurus of Kanghi." It is money, however, as the reader will see, that has gained, and is gaining for this man, his high rank and many honors.

MEMORIAL.

WANG ETEH governor-general of the provinces of Fuhkien and Chehkiáng and Lü Tsiuen-sun governor of Fuhkien, H. I. M.'s ministers, humbly memorialize the throne in regard to cannon and implements of war, brought to Fuhkien for use, manufactured in his native province by Pwán Sz'shing, formerly holding the office of Commissioner of Salt in the province of Chehkiáng; and, looking up, beg that the Holy Emperor will condescend to look upon the Memorial, and be pleased to honor him with additional promotion and advancement in degrees of rank.

It appears on record that we, H. I. M.'s ministers, having first ascertained that Pwán Sz'shing, Commissioner of Salt and a native of the province of Kwángtung (Canton) was most thoroughly acquainted with the manufacture of cannon and other implements of war, did by memorial request that he might be instructed to repair to the province of Fuhkien on public service; and now, recently, we have received a communication, from H. E. Yeh Ming-chin, governor-general of Kwángtung and Kwángsi, covering a Report addressed to him by the said Commissioner of Salt, stating as follows:

"Having selected a site of ground at Peh-hien-kuh, collected materials and engaged workmen, I thereupon, on the 13th of September 1855, opened a foundry for the manufacture of cannon and other implements of war; and there have been made ready—

Iron ordnance,

80 pieces, each weighing	300 catties;
70 pieces, each weighing	500 catties;
10 pieces, each weighing	1,000 catties;

Total, 160 pieces.

"Also there have been constructed, for these pieces of ordnance,

160 gun-carriages;
10 bundles of gun-matches; and
24,000 catties of shot.

"Likewise, other implements of war, viz.,

40 three-pronged spears;
70 two-hooked spears;
80 hatched-shaped spears;
20 melon-leaf-shaped spears;
80 goose-feather-shaped swords;
70 duck-tongue-shaped swords;
20 slaughter-horse-shaped swords; and
20 long-shafted, (or long poled) swords.

"But by reason of a severe and long-continued cough and illness, I have not been able to repair in person to Fuhkien and there make delivery of these munitions of war, and therefore have to request that Your Excellency will be placed to commission the literary graduate Li Sing, an officer of the sixth rank, and connected with the

ordnance department in Kwángtung, and furnish him with a safe-conduct and authority to hire boats, that in my stead he may go, by sea, and in charge of the aforesaid munitions, safely deliver them in Fuhkien."

On the receipt of the communication from Yeh Mingchin, one military and two civil officers were directed, by the Commissioner of Justice in Fuhkien, to examine and receive the 160 pieces of ordnance, the 160 gun-carriages, the 10 matches, the 400 spears and swords, and the shot; which latter was found, by the said three officers, to have fallen short 1838 catties; but it was declared to us, by the literary graduate Li Sing, who came in charge thereof, that this loss was occasioned on the long way by the shot falling into the water when being transhipped; he further stated to us that, with this exception, and some other very trifling losses, the entire lot was complete; and the guns, swords and spears on examination (by the three officers), all have been found to be of superior quality and well fitted for use. The very trifling defects and damages occasioned by their long transportation will in due course be remedied and repaired by the ordnance department in Fuhkien.

Now moreover, having furnished Li Sing with the proper dispatches for his return, we, H. I. M.'s ministers, after due investigation, have to report, that the aforesaid Pwán Sz'shing, is a native of the province of Canton; that, many years ago, in the reign of Táukwáng, being then a graduate of the first degree, he obtained by purchase the office of *láng-chung*, and repaired to the examination in Shuntien (Peking), where he won the *fú-páng* degree; that while remaining in Peking, and contributing largely for the support of the poor, the emperor was pleased to confer on him the degree of *küjin*; that, on returning to his native province, he there repaired the embankments of the rivers, which being reported to the throne, the office of *láng-chung* of the Board of War, was conferred on him, with directions that he should fill the first vacancy occurring in that office; that, on the outbreak of the troubles with the English Barbarians, he exerted himself in the preparation of cannon, other implements, and ships of war; that he contributed for the support of the village-braves, collected in subscriptions 2,000,000 Taels for the army, and gave himself 80,000 Taels in aid of the same; also that he caused to be manufactured powder and water-thunder guns; repaired the Examination Hall, the literary chancellor's court and other public buildings in his native province; headed a subscription to purchase 5,200 *máu* (say 900 acres) of land for the benefit of the Imperial troops; displayed great energy while aiding in the management of the affairs of the Barbarians; on successive occasions, by the pleasure of His Majesty, was honored with presents, first of a peacock's feather, then the three Commissionerships of Salt, of Justice, and of Finance, and in each of these offices was promoted three steps; was honored with an Intendancy in Kánsuh; filled the office of Superintendent of the Salt works in Kwángtung; was promoted to the Intendancy of the same department in two provinces of Kwángtung and Kwángai, but detained on public service in his native province; by special favor of the Em-

peror invested with the second rank in the state; in the year 1852 appointed to the Commissionership of Salt in Chehkiáng; degraded for not reaching his post in due season, and afterwards reinstated on account of his having furnished munitions of war for that province; and now in this present instance [as specified above] has furnished a similar supply for the province of Fuhkien.

In consideration of such a long career of labors and so many and such large contributions,—and especially for this last, in supplying munitions of war for the province of Fuhkien, may we not look up and implore the Imperial favor, that, from the office of Commissioner of Finance, he may be advanced three degrees and invested with the first rank in the state?

Note.—Parts of the detail, in the original of this long document, have been abridged in the translation: the memorialists, after winding up the case of Pwán Sz'shing, proceed to bring to the notice of the Emperor the merits of Pwán's friend and deputy, Li Sing; also a report from the ordnance department in the province of Fuhkien; and then conclude their memorial, with the usual formulas; to which is added: "The vermillion reply to the memorial has been received; let the Board of Revenue hasten to deliberate thereon, and report to us. This is from the emperor."

Note.—"The Affairs of the Barbarians," were the negotiations with the Americans and French in the formation of Treaties with those two powers.

Note.—The application of this investiture, "with the first rank," is to be postliminously strictly,—at once, on and after conferment, to be enjoyed by Tingqua, Pwan-kequa, and others of the family like them already deceased, and by Pwán Sz'shing also only after he too shall have gone to the "narrow house."

THE number for the 24th day of the 10th moon of the 6th year of Hienfung.—Nov. 21st, 1856, contains the following

MEMORIAL.

TSAU TANG-YUNG, H. I. M.'s minister and censor, charged with the duty of inspecting the regions of country comprising the provinces of Húpeh and Húnán humbly memorializes the throne, concerning the calamitous condition of the provinces, and the ways and means that ought speedily to be devised in order to afford succor, and requests that the appropriate Board may be instructed to fix a definite period within which the condition of the people and the means for their relief shall be post-haste reported; and looking up, he prays that the Holy Emperor will bestow a glance upon this memorial.

In your minister's opinion, there is required, greater urgency to save from famine than from fire, and greater haste to rescue from starving than from drowning. During the current year (1856), drought and locusts have joined issue in the provinces of Kiángsi, Chehkiáng, Honán, Chihli, Shántung, Húpeh, Shánsi, and Shensi, where the harvests have been short; during the month of May these provinces were visited by inundations; subsequently, *Fungtien* *fu* experienced successive shocks of earthquake; while the price of rice has been high in the provinces of Kwángtung, Kwángsi, and Fuhkien.

At any native city, Kwángchan, in the province of Honán, the price of rice rose to one thousand

cash per *tan*; and during the month of September water was eight cash per catty: among the people, water and rice were in fact not to be had, so that whole families destroyed themselves. From these statements the condition of other places may be inferred.

When but a single province is visited with calamities, the neighboring provinces may afford succor; but what must become of the lives of the people when famine spreads over several provinces! Many times our Holy Sovereign has been pleased to take into consideration the condition of the empire, and has given commands for strict inquiry to be made, and succor to be granted; and, as I look up, I behold on the bosom of my August Emperor the afflictions of our people, and unceasing love towards them in the depths of his heart.

In bye-gone days, the one best method for saving the people from famine was, to persuade them beforehand to lay up large quantities of grain in store against times of distress; and to save them in times of their distress, the one best method was, to dispense succor according to the number of the individuals suffering.

At the present moment one half of the public granaries, throughout the empire, exist only in name, and are altogether utterly inadequate for seasons of plenty or of scarcity. Accordingly, the only schemes now available to meet present exigencies in affording immediate succor are—either to allow more or less time for the people to pay their taxes; or to secure to them succor by some scheme of exchanges; or by employing them on public works profitable to themselves; or by opening before them some commercial enterprises—meantime collecting the scattered, verifying the numbers in their respective households, clearing off their lawsuits, or giving them occupation in destroying the larva of the locusts—schemes that are to be adopted or not, and with greater or less expedition, according to circumstances of place, time, &c.

As the regulations, for making out reports of the calamities in the provinces, require that those of summer go not beyond the month of August, and those of autumn not beyond that of November; and as, upon the first and slightest indications of famine, the prices of provisions always go up at once; therefore, if the suffering clamorous people are long kept waiting for sustenance, they will soon be everywhere scattered over the fields and wide wastes in search of food.

Now if there must be delay for the magistrates to report to the prefects and intendants, and for these to report to the governors and governors-general, and for these to correspond with each other and after that make out their statements for the throne, half a month will be the least time that will suffice for those nearest to Peking to reach the ear of majesty, while for the most distant a month and more will be required.

Were instructions given for the immediate exercise of Imperial favor, by granting to the distressed and forlorn people a longer period for the payment of their taxes, even then they would faint and fall upon the highways while waiting in expectation of relief. How much more disastrous must be their fate, if months are to elapse by delays to go through all the formalities

of reports, and they must wait thus till succor shall reach them! Ere it comes to them, their dead bodies may be cast into the ditches and gullies. In the language of Mencius, What avails the benevolent heart and the benevolent government, so long as the multitudes of the people obtain therefrom no benefit?

But, while the governors and governors-general of the provinces are preparing faithful reports of the circumstances of the famine, to be laid before the Emperor, why not adopt ways and means that shall afford instant succor? Already the calamities of the families are extreme; and assuredly the court will not begrudge any outlay from its coffers. If the exercise of the Imperial bounty be hastened forward but a single day, that will be hastening forward just one day the resuscitation of the people. Why, for the sake of mere technicalities and formalities, suffer myriads of the living to perish? Truly such a course cannot be too much deprecated.

Moreover, at a time when marauders and rebels are everywhere rising thickly as swarming bees, the people may be easily converted into bandits. If immediate steps are not taken for their relief, there is reason to apprehend that, while we are waiting for other harvest-seasons to arrive, the ignorant multitudes will not quietly fold their arms and wait for death to overtake them.

Wherefore it seems right and proper to request the exercise of the Imperial Will, to instruct the appropriate Board, that, in order to ascertain the full extent of the calamities throughout the provinces, certain periods of time be fixed, for the remote and the near, within which all particulars, with the ways and means to afford succor, shall be reported; and that, if the magistrates make shifts and delays, or in any measure conceal aught of the calamities or give any misrepresentations, seeking to extort money and enrich themselves, the said governors and governors-general shall proceed against them in the most rigid and summary manner; moreover, that all malversation on the part of the police and underlings be carefully guarded against: then the black-haired multitudes will be speedily enriched with favors, and tranquility and peace be restored to the land.

Such are the humble views entertained by H. I. M.'s minister; and whether they be right and worthy of being accepted or not, he prostrate begs the August Emperor to glance thereon. A respectful memorial.

The vermillion reply has been received, directing the Board of Revenue at once to deliberate thereon and report to the throne. This is from the Emperor.

Note.—The *tan* is equal to sixteen catties (more or less), which at sixty-four cash a catty would give the cost of the *tan* 1024—nearly twice the current price of rice in the market of this city.

IMPERIAL EDICT.

TSIANG WEIYUEN has memorialized the throne, reporting a victory gained at the Sankioh Bund. The aboriginal bandits of Kweichan, it appears, had effected a lodgment at the Sankioh Bund, in the district of Tuhshan, and wandering hither and thither had created no small disturbances, when the said Tsiang Weiyuen, the governor of the province, sent against them ge-

General Wáng Tien-ngáu and the degraded magistrate Yáng Ming, with the imperial troops and militia collected from various quarters; on the 23d of September, and at five different places, they commenced the attack, killed more than two thousand of the rebels and slaughtered a great many of their chiefs; and again, on the 24th October, the troops advancing along the banks of the river, in several columns, destroying all before him, broke up four of the enemy's encampments, killed three of their chiefs, and, on reaching Sankioh, the bandits having all dispersed, they burnt down their huts.

Let the governor give instant orders for an attack on the enemy at Páhsái and Túkiáng, so that a complete victory may be won. No delay must be allowed. Let the cases of the graduate Yuen Tingsun, and Yáng Tientsioh, a military officer of the sixth rank, who were killed in battle, be handed over to the appropriate Board, for an exercise of merciful regard; let the magistrate, Yáng Ming, who has often, since his degradation, acquired merit in the exercise of the militia, be reinstated and excused from making any payments for his recovered honors; and let him be retained, for public service, in the province of Kweichau. This is from the Emperor.—*See Gazette*, Nov. 22d, 1856.

IMPERIAL EDICT.

HOCHUN has memorialized the throne, reporting victories gained on successive days, over the rebels at Kúyung, Lihshwui and Chinkiang. The rebels, it appears, had arrogantly taken up their quarters in the cities of Kúyung and Lihshwui,—places that easily afford succor to each other,—when Hochun, having reached headquarters, sent divisions of the Imperial army to assist in their destruction.

Between 29th of October and the 9th of November Cháng Kwóliáng led on our collected forces, and at various points attacked the city of Kúyung. The rebels with great obstinacy kept their position, while our forces violently assailed them, and challenged them to come out and take open battle; and this they did on successive days, when sometimes a thousand, and sometimes a few hundreds or tens of them, were slaughtered. Great was the onslaught and most complete the destruction of the rebels at Yuhíáng and Kiáng-káng Head, where they had plundered and burnt up every thing.

Also against the city of Lihshwui, where the rebels lay strongly concealed, Fú Chingpáng and Hú Sungliu led on their respective troops, and having drawn out the enemy charged upon them with great slaughter.

Moreover, abuscades were placed before the city of Chinkiang, and as the rebels came out in large bodies, our troops fell upon them in fury and might; major Fú Tingpáng and the sergeants Ho Yingkwei and Ching Kwóhtái, were the first that threw themselves into the enemy's ranks, hand to hand attacking the rebel chiefs, great numbers of whom were killed by the imperial troops, who charged the enemy under colonel Patungah.

Hochun, having hastened his arrival before Kúyung, will now in person lead on the attacks for the destruction of the enemy. Let him, with

Cháng Kwóliáng, give instructions to all our officers, that they avail themselves of these advantages now gained to take that city and also Chinkiang, so that, these being recovered, they may advance to final conquest!

Let the several officers who fell in battle be dully compassionated, and their respective cases submitted to the Board of war for a grant of mercy, so that their brave souls may be comforted. This is from the Emperor.—*See Gazette*, Nov. 23d, 1856.

THE RECAPTURE OF THE CITIES OF WOO-CHANG AND HAN-YANG.

WOO-CHANG.

On the 1st day of the 12th month (December 27th 1856) the Imperial Commands were received as follows:—

Hoo-lin-yih (Acting Governor of Hoo-peh Province) has announced to Us in a Memorial forwarded at the rate of 800 lee per day the recapture of the Provincial City of Woo-chang. The rebels who had before seized upon Woo-chang were attacked by Our Government troops and successive victories were obtained over them. Hoo-lin-yih continued to increase the number of his camps and batteries, so as to attack them on every side. The strength of the rebels diminished daily. On the 15th and following days of the 10th month the rebels made repeated sallies, but were uniformly driven back with loss. On the 26th the Tsung-ping Yang-tsai-fuh led on the water forces to the attack of the rebel camps at Woo-chang, Neen-ya-taou, Han-yang, and Nan-gan-isoocy. Colonel Wang-min-shan also valiantly engaged in bloody combats with them. The rebels were unable to reply, and upwards of 50 of their war-boats were burned. The said Colonel also captured seven long dragon boats, and thus their fleet was nearly all destroyed. From the 5th day of the 11th month up to the 15th, the rebels in large bodies repeatedly sallied out from the city, and fought desperately, but they were successively repulsed by Hoo-lin-yih, and lost more than a thousand men—besides a similar number of warlike weapons. Hoo-lin-yih accordingly made arrangements with Kwan-wun and fixed a date for a combined attack with all their forces by land and water. On the 22nd, Yang-tsai-fuh in person led out the thirteen camps of water forces, and divided them into two bodies, one to attack from above, and the other from below the city. The chains laid across the river by the rebels were cut or broken, and their boats one by one were set on fire. The rebels being now at a loss what measures to adopt, in their desperation opened all their gates and came forth in seven divisions to give battle. The Government forces were likewise divided to receive the combat. The battle continued for six hours. The ardent spirit of the Army increased, while the rebels suffered a disastrous defeat and fled in confusion. The Government troops improving the victory, entered the city, and kept up a fierce attack. More than ten thousand of the rebels were slain. Of their leaders Koo-yew-shan and forty-four others were captured alive. Of the front attack of the rebels more than eight hun-

dred men were subjected to the extreme penalty of the law, and four thousand were retained prisoners. Then when Woo-chang was thus taken those of the rebels who sought safety in flight by land were all cut to pieces by the soldiery, while vast numbers perished in the river.

This wing of the rebels had long held this position, and now that Hoo-lin-yih has encouraged the spirit of the army,—engaged in dozens of combats with success, so that the city has been retaken, and the rebel crowd exterminated, thus proving his extraordinary ability, it became *Us* forthwith to bestow our kindness upon him for the encouragement of others. Let Hoo-lin-yih receive the Governorship of Hoo-peh, and be also rewarded with a Button of the first class. Let the Tsung-ping Yang-tsai-fuh be rewarded by promotion to the rank of Tee-tuh. Respect this.

HAN-YANG.

On the 2nd day of the 12th month (December 28th 1856) the Imperial Commands were received to the following effect:—

Yesterday We learned by Memorial from Hoo-lin-yih that on the 22nd day of the 11th month (December 8th 1856) the Provincial City of Woo-chang had been retaken. To-day it further appears that Kwan-wun reports, in a Memorial forwarded at the rate of 800 lee per day, as follows—That the exterminating attack was made by land and by water.—Han-yang was first retaken, and the whole of the rebels there were slain. On the same day Woo-chang was retaken, as is separately stated. The rebels in Han-yang relying on the strength of the city made a determined defence. Our army engaged in successive fights with them on the 19th and 20th of the 11th month, in which it was victorious. On the 22nd Kwan-wun* in person led on the troops. The attack was made from Woo-lee-tun by land, and by water from Chun-kow, above the place. From Sha-kow below, the gun-boats also ascended to join in the attack. Lee-mang-kiun attacked the rebel posts outside the city on three points,—north, south, and west. Pa-yangah followed up the advance with his cavalry. Yen-chaou-ou led on land, Tang-tsing by water, and hemmed them in on every side. The rebels to the number of several thousand issued from the East Gate and engaged with the forces on the Great River. The rebel batteries also opened a fire like hail. Anon the the troops sheltered themselves, and again ad-

* Kwan-wun is the Manchoo General commanding in Hoo-peh province.

vanced to the city moat. Wang-kwo-tsai pulled up the chevaux de frise of bamboos covering the moat, and numbers of the rebels were burned, while numbers more fell in the attack. Kwan-wun then detached a force to demolish the Woo-hien temple. Some rebels defended the several enclosures within the temple with desperation, but they were all killed. Lee-mang-kiun then sent a brigade to take Kwei-shan while Wang-kwo-tsai and Yang-chang-sze attacked the West Gate bridge, as also the whole line of defence at the South Gate. The rebels being thus assailed on every side became panic struck and confused. Our troops forced their way in, killing more than 2000 of the rebels. They then levelled the earth work defences and rushed into the city. At 4 o'clock of the day the city of Han-yang was thus retaken. But after the city was entered, the rebels fought in the streets, and several tens of their leaders in yellow caps, and yellow dresses, were killed, and of the common rebels more than 2000. Of their so called generals and others more than 500 were taken alive, and an immense quantity of weapons and warlike stores was found. Upwards of one hundred cannon large and small were also taken. Those of the rebels who attempted to escape by flight were attacked and more than 3000 of them fell. Upwards of 1000 also were drowned in the river in trying to escape. Their boats more than ten in number were all overset and lost.

Woo-chang was on this same day retaken at 9 o'clock of the evening by the army under Hoo-lin-yih.

The rebel banditti had held possession of Woo-chang,† and Han-yang for about two years, and now these two strong cities have both been recovered in the same day. Few of the rebels have escaped out of the net. Kwan-wun having proved his capacity as a General, let him be rewarded with a peacock's feather and let the Military Board also take his merits into consideration. We also desire that Kwan-wun and Hoo-lin-yih join in preparing for *Us* a true account of all the Officers and men who distinguished themselves on this occasion, that after it is presented to *Us*, We may bestow our favours upon them. Respect this.

† Woo-chang and Han-yang fell into the hands of the rebels in December 1852 and after being pillaged by them were evacuated early in 1853.

Subsequently in 1854 the rebels ascended the river and there being few troops to oppose them, these unfortunate cities a second time fell into their power.

MEMORIAL

OF THE

ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOP MOULY TO THE EMPEROR OF CHINA.

(Printed at Hongkong in November, 1855.)

THE French subject, J. M. Mouly Erique de Fessulan, Vicar Apostolic of Mongolia and Peking, and Roman Catholic Bishop, respectfully memorializes the throne, regarding the affairs of the western scholars who have visited China from first to last, also respecting the restoration of the northern and southern churches with the foreign cemetery at Peking, likewise with reference to such Chinese Christians as have been persecuted and brought to trial,—all which circumstances he begs leave to present before the sacred glance of his Imperial Majesty.

The Memorialist has been appointed by the Pope to diffuse religion in China for the last 20 years, during which time he has been solely employed in inculcating the knowledge of God, and in exhorting people to do good, and to abandon vice. On the 1st of May last he despatched a native Christian, named Foo-keang, with a Latin letter, treating of matters belonging to his episcopate, also conveying a white figured surplice, a napkin, and several bottles of holy oil, which were all discovered and taken possession of by some soldiers belonging to the district of Koo-guan, (about 20 miles to the south of Peking). Apprehensive lest the individual in question and his fellows should be subjected to ill-treatment (for such things have frequently happened to native Christians during the past year, in consequence of reports that the Roman Catholics have been engaged in rebellion,) the memorialist wished urgently to represent his case, but was deterred from a fear of appearing too troublesome. Lately, however, having a favourable opportunity, the memorialist proceeded in person to the district of Guan-suh (about 35 miles to the south-westward of Peking) where he reported his name, and begged that the magistrate of that place would make his arrival known to the higher officers, that they might report it to the Emperor.

The Roman Catholic Religion, professed by the Memorialist, is not only propagated in China, but spread throughout uncivilized nations, wherever heaven overspreads or the earth supports, indeed as far as ships and carriages, or human strength can travel, this religion universally exists. From the Ming dynasty to the present day, thousands and myriads of western scholars have resorted to China,* deterred neither by the dangers nor expenses of the journey, disregarding also their present transitory lives, and willing even to shed their blood, if they may but carry out the work of saving the world. This is their object, and this their design, this their hope, and this their glory;

to this in short they desire to devote their lives. For the Saviour aimed at delivering both ancients and moderns for a thousand generations, on which account he spared not his own blood, but freely shed it on the earth, where he endured untold anguish, and died upon the cross; those therefore who adopt his religion, and profess to be his disciples, must take up their cross in imitation of him. With this view the western scholars brave death, and follow one another to the field, with no other view than simply to proclaim the merits of the Saviour to the world.

On referring to the character 蘇 Soo, in Kang-he's Dictionary we meet with a quotation from a historical work, called the *Chih-fang-wae-ke*, which says that "the western regions consider Jesus as the Saviour of the world." Also under the 神 Shin character we have a quotation from the *Shwuh-wan*, (a more ancient dictionary) which says that "the Spirit of Heaven leads out all things:" followed by a quotation from *Seu-k'hae*, who says that "the right hand side of the 神 shin character, viz., 申 shin, means to lead out, because Heaven's chief business is to send down its influences in order to affect the myriad of things, therefore it is said to lead out all things."* Is not this a clear proof that the author of the im-

* The bishop has adduced this quotation from Kang-he's Dictionary under the impression that the words 天主 T'hên-choo, (which we have rendered "Heaven's chief business") are to be read together in the sense of "the Lord of Heaven," in order to shew that Chinese writers employed the phrase "Lord of Heaven" for God, in the same way that the Roman Catholics do. But the best teachers whom we have been able to consult, divide the terms, making 天 t'hên, heaven, the subject of the

sentence, and 主 choo, the verb with which it agrees. The Roman Catholics have urged that Kang-he had in his mind the phrase "Lord of Heaven," which was familiar to him, as the Roman Catholic term for God, and that he made the quotation from *Seu*, in order to establish the use of that term. But of this there is no proof, and the question still comes up, not what Kang-he thought of the quotation, but what the original writer intended by the words. That *Seu* did not employ the words with a view to favour the Roman Catholic term is evident, as he flourished in the 9th century, long before the Roman Catholic Religion came into China, and before their term for God was invented.

* A slight exaggeration.

perial dictionary was fully acquainted with the doctrines of Christianity? When we meet with such testimony in documents examined by an intelligent emperor, fixed as the standard for a thousand generations, and cherished as a gem by the scholars of a whole country, can we have any further doubt on the subject? This "Saviour of the world," and this "Spirit of Heaven," is no other than the most exalted and incomparable "Lord of Heaven" who originally created heaven and earth, spirits and men, together with the myriad of things: the sovereign of sovereigns, the king of kings, and the lord of lords. On examination we find that this is He whom the ancient emperors and kings, sages and philosophers, from age to age, have with the greatest veneration worshipped and served.

The Book of Changes has said, that "heaven and earth existed before the myriad of things:" from this we may infer, that before they existed, they must have been in a state of non-existence, and owed their existence to the creative power of God, without the display of which, it is evident that neither heaven and earth with the myriad of things, nor male and female with the relations of life, could of themselves have had any existence. Therefore the western scholars, in exhorting to virtue and dissuading from vice, lead men in the first place to an acquaintance with God as the great parent of the universe, urging them to obey the ten commandments of the Lord of Heaven. The first three of these commands direct men to love God above all others, and the remaining seven inculcate the duty of loving our neighbours as ourselves.* Now as the greatest favour which men receive, next to the goodness of God, is the kind care of parents, therefore the fourth commandment, to honour one's father and mother, is placed just after the three preceding commands, and at the head of the seven following ones. There are three kinds of persons who may be viewed in the light of parents, viz., princes, progenitors, and preceptors, because superiors of every kind are classed with our immediate parents. If men are disloyal, unfilial, or unbrotherly, in the least degree, they offend against this command; he who offends against prince or parent, offends also against God; therefore the true God teaches that servants should be faithful, children filial, and subjects loyal, all fulfilling the various obligations devolving on them. The laws of the realm, however, can but restrain men's outward actions, it is only the command of God that can affect the inward mind, inasmuch as its business is with the conscience, prohibiting not only improper conduct, but unworthy thoughts; for men may be deluded, but God is all eye, he sees both within and without, how can he be deceived? As the book of Odes says, "It is as if there were ten eyes looking at you?" Suppose an individual Christian or two were to refuse to obey the Divine commands, these should be considered hypocrites and self-deceivers, and their misconduct should not be placed to the score of their religion. Even the meritorious emperor Shun, though a

sage, found some difficult in restraining vicious people; and the statutes of the Chow dynasty, though minute, could not reform all improper habits. It may be remembered, that the prohibitions against this religion have been in existence for several years, and some, because they refused to disobey God, have been banished to Tartary, and made slaves to the Mahometans; still they would not acknowledge the Mahometans as their sovereign, but remained loyal subjects of their own emperor: and when the rebellious Mahometans organised an insurrection, the Christians ventured their lives in the service of their country: after the rebellion was suppressed, these faithful men were by imperial favour permitted to return and become subjects of the reigning dynasty. Throughout the imperial army, in divers places, there have been found a number of Roman Catholics, some of whom have fallen in battle, and all of whom, animated by the principles of their religion, are willing to die for their superiors, and sacrifice life itself out of gratitude to their sovereign. But fidelity to one's country is fidelity to one's God, who will immediately bestow the endless happiness of heaven on those for whom he has reserved it. In their morning and evening prayers, Christians pray to God to preserve the emperor, that he may obtain health of body, clearness of mind, intelligence and wisdom, posterity and longevity, with the perpetuation of his dynasty, in peace and tranquillity; these earnest prayers are continually offered for the perpetual welfare of the sovereign. The daily liturgy of the Roman Catholic Religion is a proof of this fact.

We also perceive that the books of the Roman Catholic Religion, ever since they have been prohibited, have been examined by the Board of Punishments, and by the various magistrates throughout the provinces, during thousand and myriads of trials, at which there have been brought forward for inspection cart-loads of books and images, sufficient to burthen the beasts that conveyed them and to fill the rooms where they have been deposited up to the ceiling—and not only amongst them all, have there been found no seditious pamphlets, but there has not been discovered one word, or one sentence contrary to right principles; had the examiners stumbled upon a single notion or idea repugnant to the teachings of the *literati*,* the parties holding it would have been long ere this condemned and executed, while their system would have been torn up root and branch, without being suffered to continue to the present day. It is observable that in the reports sent up by the Board of Punishments, it is always stated that the judges have examined the books and documents connected with this religion, while they have found nothing contrary to sound doctrine. This is one proof of their innocence. Moreover in all the indictments drawn up against the accused, the sole charge has been their adherence to the "Religion of the Lord of Heaven," whilst no unlawful proceeding of any other kind has been proved against them; this is another evidence of their innocence.

* This division of the commandments is according to the Roman Catholic custom of joining the first and second commands together (the last of which they generally omit) and of splitting the tenth into two.

* The bishop is here going too far, as the Roman Catholic books frequently prohibit the worship of ancestors, which is enjoined by the *literati*.

Furthermore, many years have elapsed since the western scholars have come in great numbers to China, but no suspicion has been raised against them; the proverb says, "That if no punishment overtakes a thief, in three years he will confess his crime;" this only refers to a single individual, and intimates that, however secret he may keep his counsels, he will not be able to pass three years undiscovered; the difficulty is increased when there are two or three such persons. But when there are thousands and myriads of such, passing through a range of a hundred or thousand years, without a single discovery having been made, the chances of there being no real impropriety are increased beyond the possibility of computation.

On examining we find, that western scholars have been in the habit of visiting China ever since the 9th year of Chin-kwan, of the Tang dynasty (A. D. 636)* when the emperor ordered his prime minister Fang-yuen-ling to arrange a procession, and greet them on their arrival at the western boundary,—up to the autumn of 639, when the following proclamation was issued "Right principles have no invariable name, and holy men are not confined to one station; but religions are established in divers places, with the view of saving the multitudes of living men. The very virtuous Alopun, of the realm of Ta-tsin, has brought some sacred books and images from that distant region to present them at our metropolis. Having examined the doctrines of this religion, we find them to be extremely mysterious, and yet unconstrained; having investigated its origin, we find that it proceeds from an important principle, its expressions are not redundant, its operations are independent of instruments, and it is beneficial to men and things; let it be diffused throughout the empire." This tablet is still preserved at Se-gnan-foo, about two miles west of that city, in a temple; at the top of the tablet there is the holy sign of the cross as an evidence:† it is not difficult to examine this monument, a fac-simile of which, taken from the stone, is now forwarded for inspection. It appears that in the

* This refers to the introduction of the Nestorian form of Christianity into China in the 7th Century. The bishop refers to it as if the Nestorian faith were identical with the Roman Catholic, when it is well known that the two churches are distinct, and in some instances opposed to each other. The Nestorians do not acknowledge the personal authority of the Pope, nor admit images nor pictures into their churches, nor attribute to the Virgin Mary the epithet of "the Mother of God," nor insist on the celibacy of the clergy, nor practice auricular confession, while they manifest extreme liberality towards other sects, combined with great reverence for the Scriptures, and administer the communion in both kinds. They are, therefore, as different from the Roman Catholics as possible. M. Hue has, in his "Chinese Empire," made similar reference to the Si-gnan-foo tablet, without stating that the propagators of Christianity in China, in the 7th century, were Nestorians and not Roman Catholics. He has even intimated that the faithful of that epoch had to sustain many contests, both with the bonzes and the Nestorians, as if they were not Nestorians, but belonged to the Romanists. Such an attempt to mislead his readers is highly culpable.

† There is no sign of the cross at the top of the tablet, though there is a reference to the cross in several parts of the eulogy. This, therefore, is merely an embellishment of the bishop's.

first instance 21 persons* came from the west, who were followed by others in great numbers, until at length their religion was spread throughout the ten provinces, and their temples filled a hundred cities, while instruction was given from house to house, so that even now there are some traces of the religion to be found, such as for instance the inscription drawn up to the honour of heaven and earth, which is placed in almost every family.† But inasmuch as subsequent generations have, for a long time, lost the instruction communicated by those early Missionaries, and, neglecting to venerate the Ruler of all, who created heaven and earth, the three worlds, the ten quarters, and the myriad of intelligences, have worshipped the heavens and the earth which the Lord of all created—(being right as to the inscription which they drew up, but wrong as to the veneration they paid to it, in which practice not only the stupid multitude but the more polished literati, and the wealthier classes, together with those honorable men acquainted with right principles, all joined,)—therefore the Roman Catholic Religion has prohibited the setting up of such inscriptions, as involving a transgression of the first commandment.

During the Yuen dynasty (from A. D. 1280 to 1368) some more Missionaries from the country of Ta-tsin, coming from the north-west, travelled by land to China. At that time there were many propagators of religion throughout the provinces of Pih-chih-le and Keang-nan, among whom was Jean de Monte Corviro, bishop of Peking, who built there a Roman Catholic church and a monastery. Although the emperor at that time did not profess the Roman faith, yet he was very much pleased with the western scholar above named, honouring his virtues, and praising his religion, while he frequently attended the ceremonies connected with the worship of the Lord of Heaven, and listened with delight to the harmony of the sacred music; on which account he granted permission to the western scholars to travel through the country as usual, on the same footing with the lamas and priests of the Buddhist and Taouist religions. He also commanded the establishment of Roman Catholic Churches in the various provinces of the empire.

Afterwards, in the reign of Wan-leih, of the Ming dynasty (A. D. 1567 to 1573) another western scholar named Matthew Ricci, with eight companions, came to China, to propagate the faith; he was introduced at the recommendation of the Board of Rites, and permitted to visit the imperial palace, where he presented as tribute certain articles brought from his own country, amongst which were images of the Lord of Heaven, and the holy mother, with some Roman

* This reference to the 21 persons is in the ancient emperor's proclamation, and follows after the words "Let it be proclaimed throughout the empire;" thus "Let the proper authority build a church at the capital, in the E-ning street, which shall be presided over by 21 priests." It does not appear that all these came from the west, or that these 21 persons were the first that came.

† The inscriptions drawn up in honour of heaven and earth have no reference whatever to the Si-gnan-foo tablet, neither does the religion taught by the Nestorians inculcate the worship of heaven, earth, prince, parents and preceptors, as the said inscriptions do.

Catholic books, a clock, a dial, a harpsichord, and a map of the world. The Emperor pleased with the idea that the stranger had come from such a distance, summoned him to his private residence, where he commanded his servants to acquaint themselves with western music, whilst he examined into the nature of foreign poetry. He also enquired into the meaning of the religion of the west, as well as the customs of the people, the government of the various states, and such like. Thus from the Tang dynasty to that period, and from that time to the present day, there have not been wanting, through every age, men to propagate this religion, on which account the truth has been handed down without intermission.

When the present dynasty was established, the Missionaries put forth more abundant energies in the prosecution of their plans, disseminating their faith with greater diligence and untiring vigour; the meritorious results of which are too numerous to be mentioned. There are, however, records of the same, and marks of the imperial favour to testify thereto; the most remarkable instance of which is that Shun-che, the first emperor of the present dynasty, conferred upon John Adam Schaaf, the title of "the thoroughly minute teacher;" in consequence of his construction of the astronomical tables, which were so exactly in accordance with the motion of the heavenly bodies, and in all respects beautiful and admirable. The emperor also bestowed on him a tablet declaring that his astronomical and mathematical calculations were worthy of being handed down in perpetuity. He was likewise made the recipient of a gratuity, amounting to 10,000 taels, for the purpose of building a hall: when the completion of this was announced, the emperor wrote a title for it as follows, "the elegant abode of the thoroughly minute scholar, conferred by imperial favour;" a gateway also was allowed to be erected in front, with this inscription "the Roman Catholic Hall, built by special order of the emperor." His Majesty further wrote a couplet, to the following effect:—

"This my servant from afar is the most excellent of western nations;
Bringing with him images, and constructing lofty halls:
Reverential towards the spirits, and loyal to his sovereign:
May all you propagators of religion imitate his example."

How magnificent are these celestial words! brilliant as the sun and stars! although many mouths were employed in detractions, they could not succeed in overturning his fair fame.

During the reign of K'hang-he (from 1602 to 1723) the extraordinary favours heaped upon the propagators of this religion are still more hard to be enumerated. This emperor had perused nearly all the Roman Catholic books, after which he indited the following verses:—

"When the grand display of the myriad forms passes
before one's eyes,
We must acknowledge that they all proceeded from
creative might;
One in essence is He, without beginning or end,
His persons three, who are neither unmoved nor un-
occupied.
The ancients had long been confined in the lower
regions,

When the Divine Son first opened out the road to
heaven:

While we banish heretical opinions without hesitation,
What really learned man would refuse to reverence
this system."

His Majesty also indited a tablet to the following effect:—

"The true origin of all things."

Together with a couplet as follows:—

"The true Lord, without beginning or end, who created
all material things,
The great Power, both just and merciful, who saves
the myriads of men."

This emperor also issued his commands that churches should be built in every city of the empire. On this account many western scholars came to China about that time, who located themselves throughout the various provinces, to propagate religion, in conformity with the imperial decree.

In the spring of 1685, the prime minister E-sang-a received a decree from the emperor to the following effect:—

"Formerly the Board of Rites recommended that the Roman Catholic churches in various places should be allowed to remain, but that only the western scholars should worship therein. This recommendation was at the time acceded to. Now, however, it appears that the said western scholars have managed the mathematical department well; moreover, when troops were employed, they exerted themselves in inventing weapons of war and casting cannon: more recently they have acquired some merit in following the army which was sent to chastise the Russians; being at the same time free from any charge of evil conduct, or exciting insurrection;—as they appear, therefore, to be an innocent class of persons, it does not seem proper to view their religion as heresy and prohibit it: do you, therefore, of the privy council and the board of rites deliberate thereon and report." On receiving this decree, Koo-pah-tae, the president of the board of rites, (who for some other cause had been degraded one step,) and his fellows, deliberated on the matter, when they came to the following conclusion: "that the western scholars out of regard to the sacred virtues of His Majesty in renovating his people, had come over the seas, from a distance of several thousand miles. That they have managed the astronomical department, and exerted themselves in time of war to invent military weapons and cast cannon; also when they were sent towards Russia they did their utmost to arrange matters, in all of which things they have attained various degrees of merit. It appearing also that the western scholars who have resided in the different provinces have not practiced any evil thing nor fomented disturbances: their religion, moreover, not being of a heretical character, calculated to deceive the multitude, and give rise to trouble: inasmuch as the lamas and priests of Buddha and Taou are allowed to burn incense, and go in and out of their temples, if these western scholars, who have not in the minutest degree disobeyed the laws, were to be prohibited, it would seem to be improper; we therefore deem it suitable, that the Roman Catholic churches in various places should be allowed to continue, that all who wish to burn incense and worship therein may be per-

mitted to do as they have been accustomed, without interdiction; and that when the imperial pleasure on this subject is made known, it be promulgated throughout all the provinces." On the 3d day of the 2d moon of the 31st year of K'hang-he (1685), the above deliberation was made, and on the 5th day of the same moon, the imperial decree was received, saying, "Let it be done as is recommended. Respect this."

At the present day, inside the Seu-en-woo gate of the city of Peking, in front of the Roman Catholic church, there is a pavilion covered with yellow tiles, in which there are two tablets, standing on tortoises and incircled with dragon wreaths, which are open to inspection. There is also still extant the imperial document which was given into the hands of the parties concerned.

Thus during a period of nearly two hundred years, we are enabled to contemplate the imperial benevolence exhibited by your Majesty's sacred ancestors, and though our pencils were worn to stumps and our lips to dryness, we should never be able to detail the ten thousandth part of the benefits resulting therefrom. If the various emperors had not clearly perceived the holy character of this religion, together with the truth and correctness of its doctrines, how could they have bestowed such commendations on the faith, and such favours and encouragements on its professors, or how they have they employed them to such an unlimited degree!

But in the reign of Kea-k'hing, an imperial censor named Kan-kea-pin, with slanderous words, improperly addressed the throne, saying that the Roman Catholics clandestinely extracted the eye-balls of the sick and dying, while they deceived and defiled men's wives and daughters, with other such-like unfounded statements; by which means he bedimmed the imperial intelligence, so that the profession of the Roman Catholic religion was deemed a crime. The memorialist with tears in his eyes contemplates these western scholars, refusing to accept of official dignity or enter into the connubial relation, but giving up their family connections and devoting themselves to the study of religion, they first cultivate their own advancement in virtue, whilst they serve the Lord, in order to promote their personal salvation; and then extending this feeling towards others, they seek to further their neighbour's advancement in virtue, whilst they serve the Lord, in order to promote the salvation of their fellow-men; keeping these two objects in view, they go on from day to day in self-renovation, until they arrive at a state of perfection, never losing sight of the object in view until they attain it. Setting out with the idea of renouncing fame and gain, wordly riches and honours, they seek only to exhort men to keep those commands which inculcate reverence for God and love for man, while they avoid vice and practice virtue, until they can promote enlightened virtue throughout the empire, and then return to dust and give in their account—how can persons, who have braved death amidst winds and waves, and come with such objects as these, ever descend to the practice of such villanies as those of which they have been accused. But who is their accuser, and where are the witnesses? Is it not all empty slander? It is very much to be feared

that this censor, by his improper representations, has exposed himself to a punishment hard to endure.

The Missionaries and converts of that time could do nothing else than simply bear the trials to which they were exposed, and maintain their religious profession to the death, without complaint or recrimination; knowing that whether religion is to be diffused or crushed, rests entirely with God.

In the 24th year of Taou-kiang (1844) the English nation, on account of the prohibition of opium got into a dispute with China; whilst the French interposed with exhortations to peace. At that time the French ambassador Lagrene requested that the professors of Christianity in China should be exempted from punishment; he also solicited that at the proper seasons they might be allowed to assemble for the worship of the Lord of Heaven, the veneration of the cross, and images, and the reciting of prayers according to their ritual, accompanied by exhortations to virtue. He also asked that the places which had been consecrated to the worship of the Lord of Heaven should not be prohibited, failing all which the Roman Catholic religion could not be professed. All of these suggestions were graciously acceded to by his imperial majesty, who affixed his vermilion signature, saying, "Let it be as suggested. Respect this." From that time the Roman Catholic religion experienced a year of revival. But this gracious decree, exempting from punishment, has not been generally published; not only are many of the soldiers and people ignorant of it, but there are several provinces, prefectures, and districts, where it has not been proclaimed. Therefore, ever since the issuing of the said decree, there has been no cessation of inimical accusations, of judicial condemnations, of the deceptions of police officers, and of the extortions of worthless individuals, all which improper proceedings are continually occurring.

Because Roman Catholics are afraid of offending against the ten commandments, and are resolutely determined not to follow the customs generally prevailing, knowing at the same time that the laws of the country are rigid and severe—still when there is any building of idol temples, theatrical performances in their honour, and contributions for the support of the priests of false religions, together with the worship of the visible heaven and earth, the honouring of clay images, and sacrifices for the dead, in obedience to the precepts of Taou or Buddha, a true Roman Catholic would rather die than comply with such practices. On this account they are generally despised and detested, in so much that their most intimate friends avoid their company. At the present time, while the villainous rebels are creating disturbances, some enemies to our faith have got up false accusations with a view to injure us, saying that because the rebels call themselves "the association for worshipping 上帝 Shang-te (God)," this

is another name for the Roman Catholic religion. It is also said, that the rebels have a cross upon their flags, the truth of which we cannot certify; but should it be true, we apprehend that it is merely the device of those who borrow pretexts from religion for the sake of perpetrating wicked-

ness. The adherents of the Roman Catholic Religion most assuredly would not assume a different title for their faith than that of "the religion of the Lord of heaven." Should there be any association under another title, it is evidently not the Roman Catholic, but some other religion. For instance, in the south of China, at the five ports, there has been recently disseminated a religion, called the religion of Shang-te, and the religion of Jesus. Now although the adherents of these religions do with us worship the Lord of heaven, honour Jesus, and venerate the cross, yet because they err in numerous instances from the true doctrines of the Roman Catholics, they have therefore lost the essential elements of truth, and notwithstanding their giving a few exhortations to virtue and dissuaves from vice, they after all belong to the class of those who delude themselves and deceive others, and are therefore to be denominated heretics. The western scholars belonging to the Roman Catholic religion, although they associate with such in common things, would not dare to worship God in the same temple, deeming them to be defiled, and transgressors against the Lord of heaven, for whom no intercession can be made. This is what is usually denominated false Christianity.

That which the memorialist and his friends propagate is the true and veritable religion of the Lord of heaven, which from the Tang dynasty †† (A. D. 636) up to the present day has been promulgated by the accredited ministers of the Pope of Rome; with this the "Religion of Shang-te (God)" and "the religion of Jesus" are as different in their temperature as ice is from burning charcoal, and can no more travel together than horses and cows in the same yoke. The Roman Catholic religion abominates these on account of their contrariety to Scripture (?) and truth, from which setting out with a slight variation of only a hair's breadth, they arrive eventually at a discrepancy of a thousand miles in width. The memorialist is perfectly willing to sacrifice his life in testifying to the truth of the Roman Catholic religion, but he could on no account unite his faith with theirs, as though he professed the same religion. Because the influence of the rebels is at present boisterously extending, the memorialist afraid lest it should involve his co-religionists, makes known his views beforehand, and if he should experience the imperial favour, so as to obtain deliverance from the machinations of the enemy, he would account himself extremely fortunate.

The imperial proclamation, to which reference has been already made, only permits that Europeans should propagate their religion at the places assigned to commercial intercourse, and does not allow them, on their own responsibility, to travel into the interior, less such coming and going which is not conformable to the laws should lead to disturbances and improprieties; but although the strangers from afar who propagate the Roman Catholic religion do pass the boundaries and enter into the interior,—they do not create dis-

turbances nor practice improprieties, neither do they offend against the imperial decree issued with the view of separating good grain from the weeds. If, notwithstanding their conduct is exposed to censure, they are willing to risk their personal safety, and present themselves before the tribunals, whilst they explain the books, exhort to virtue and dissuade from vice, they not only do not inflict an injury, but really impart a great benefit to the country. Again, considering that the imperial decree above referred to has clearly enjoined on the various officers not to inflict punishment in a hurry, in order to carry out the benevolent wishes of the government towards strangers, how can the adherents of the Roman Catholic religion in China neglect our advice, or refuse to listen to our exhortations to virtue! Moreover when the imperial decree in our favour was issued, the proclamation was immediately promulgated in the southern provinces; and in the first year of Heên-fung, on the 10th month, and the 3d day (December 1851) the aforesaid imperial decree was again proclaimed there; hence those who profess the Roman Catholic religion in the southern provinces, who are enabled to live at peace, and joyfully following their usual avocations act as good subjects, may be considered as the recipients of real kindness. But throughout the province of Peking the decree has not yet been promulgated, for what reason it is impossible to tell. In the memorialist's humble opinion, the affairs of the northern and southern part of the empire should be subject to one regulation. His Imperial Majesty views all parts of his empire with equal benevolence, they are the children of one imperial parent, and the subjects of one imperial master. Why should some be thus well-fed and clothed, while others are cold and hungry.

When the emperors of the present dynasty soothed and patronized the western scholars, they treated them like children of the same family; and in the metropolitan city, it was graciously allowed that they should purchase ground and build churches and dwellings; whilst the emperor of the French with the emperor of China mutually presented gifts,†† the propagators of religion also sent up as tribute the produce of their native countries, and obsequiously bowing they laboured most diligently, without cessation by night or by day. After which the talents of the western scholars became the objects of envy, and suspicions were raised against them, leading to the stoppage of free intercourse, from which time the two churches on the north and south side of Peking were allowed to fall into ruins, whilst the two cemeteries near the temple of "true happiness," became prohibited ground. At present the dwellings of the Missionaries are pulled down or sold, and the timber of the groves cut down at will; and whoever pleases may trample on the graves. According to the customs of China, even the commonest part of the people repair the tombs of their forefathers, and do not suffer the graves of their ancestors to fall into neglect; how much less in the case of those meritorious men, who during their lifetime enjoyed the special regards and

†† The religion propagated in China in 636, was introduced by the Nestorians, with whom the Bishop of Rome had nothing to do. But the Emperor of China knows no better: it will do for him.

†† We are not aware that the emperor of the French ever sent an embassy to China.

unwonted favours of former emperors, in untold instances, ought their graves after their death to be left without a single guardian, or any one to recite prayers and offer sacrifices for them in the churches near their cemeteries? Among western scholars, to discontinue the ceremonies used out of regard for the dead, is the same as to abolish the worship of ancestors among the Chinese, both neglects being considered as very lamentable. From the year 1844 up to the year 1846, when the treaty was made, the proclamation stated that the churches erected throughout the various provinces in the reign of K'hang-he (with the exception of those which had been already converted into temples or private dwellings, which were to be left in that condition without enquiry) wherever the old buildings after examination made were still without doubt preserved,—that such churches should be given back. In Peking, the original premises where the northern church once stood, to which the emperor of the French (at that time) contributed several hundred thousand taels, are still in existence; and although the said premises are at present occupied by a family named Yu, as a private residence, yet because during the reign of Taou-kiang, there were no French scholars in the capital, the emperor decided on giving for the premises in question 5,000 taels to Feih-heh-yuen, §§ whereupon the northern church of the metropolis was made over to the Yu family for a residence in perpetuity; but it was not the wish of the French scholars that such premises should be sold. If now the emperor, out of the abundance of his benevolence, and the extent of his magnanimity, compassionating the meritorious dead, and pitying the honest professors of religion in the present day, should take the northern and southern churches of Peking, and give them back, the memorialist is willing to refund the 5,000 taels that have been paid, in order that the western scholars may fix their residence there, while the said western scholars will send some one to look after the cemeteries, and perform the ceremonies which are usual out of regard to the dead. Moreover, if the emperor will take the gracious decree, exempting Christians from punishment, and everywhere proclaim it, so that the honest Chinese who profess this religion may be delivered from the machinations of their enemies, and practice virtue with a contented mind, not only would the memorialist feel unbounded gratitude, but the various nations of Europe would, without an exception, admire his benevolence, and look up to his example, while they praised the imperial benevolence throughout successive ages.

As it regards the European propagators of religion, having from their youth given up all the ties of family, for the purpose of cultivating

§§ This is the name of some Christian or perhaps of a European resident at the capital.

virtue, they have no idea either of assuming office, or of receiving pay, looking neither for fame nor gain;—but remembering that the emperor K'hang-he employed the western scholars in various public offices, and allowed them to travel freely throughout the empire for the purpose of propagating their religion, for the glory of the Lord of heaven, therefore, the western scholars of the present day willing to become the arms and legs, the ears and eyes of the government, and aid the celestial dynasty in obtaining lengthened tranquillity and perpetual rule,—If the present emperor should wish to follow the example of K'hang-he, and employ the western scholars in various government offices, the western scholars are ready to imitate the meritorious officers now departed, and to exert their energies in behalf of the emperors of the Ta-tsing (or Tartar) dynasty. Whether this be allowed or not, the memorialist only desires that the emperor would employ his penetrating intelligence in examining into this matter, and in making the proper disposition regarding it: while he waits for the decree with the most intense anxiety.

Dated the 2d day of the 5th moon, of the 4th year of the reign of Heën-fung (June 1854.)

The name and office of the memorialist are prefixed to the present document.

P. S.—Ever since the memorialist has resided in the family of Chang-seih-lun, he has been treated extremely well, and it is but just that he should report the same to the viceroy. The viceroy has frequently enjoined on the said Chang-seih-lun to take care of him, and has sent official messengers to soothe the memorialist, and enquire whether he had been ill-used in any way. For this manifestation of kindness to men from afar the memorialist is extremely grateful; but the conduct of the officer in command at the place where the seizure of his letter was made, and that of the military superintendant, at the city of Koonan, who injured the religious implements belonging to the memorialist, and tortured the messenger, in order to make him abjure his religion,—such conduct but ill accords with the emperor's gracious decree that Christians should be exempted from punishment. On this account the memorialist feels deeply grieved, and would give utterance to his feelings, but that the wishes of inferiors are with difficulty made known to those in higher stations; and also reflecting that he has himself clandestinely passed the boundary, he does not dare further to annoy the imperial ear with his complaint; but merely contents himself with committing this affair to the plenipotentiary of his native country, who will report on his behalf, waiting for the imperial inspection.

Dated on the 14th of the 7th moon, of the 4th year of Heën-fung (August 1854.)

NINGPO, November 14th, 1855.

To the Editor of the

"NORTH-CHINA HERALD."

SIR,—Though unskilled in the art of book-making, and not yet infected with the 'cacoëthes scribendi' imputed to some authors, I should not venture to court observation in the pages of your *Herald* did I not feel that the account, however imperfect, of a trip of nearly a month into the interior of this province, with visits to ten walled cities hitherto unvisited by foreigners in their national costume, might afford some gratification to your numerous readers. There can be no doubt that the time is approaching when the barriers of intercourse hitherto existing between this and other countries must be broken down, and both as a preparation for the removal of that barrier, as also as a means for its accomplishment, must be reckoned the visits of foreigners speaking the language of the people, and having free intercourse with them.

The trip we made was purely a Missionary one, for the purpose of distributing a portion of the large Edition of the New Testament Scriptures, and also of religious and scientific and moral tracts, and of proclaiming in the cities and villages through which we might pass the words of the life of the Gospel. It is very gratifying to find that the energy of Missionaries whose station has been appointed at Shanghai, is finding outlet in the same direction; that there is a desire in many quarters to break the bond that has been supposed to confine them to the foreign settlement and small city of Shanghai, and now soon by prudent measures and steady perseverance the whole of the country north of the Hang-chiu river may by their lips have sounded in their ears the news of Redeeming grace.

On the morning of October 16th, the boat in which we had started the previous evening had arrived in the Fung-hwa district, and after three or four hours hard work by poling and by towline, we reached the suburbs of Fung-hwa city by 10 o'clock. We made arrangements to proceed at once, hired sedan-chairs which are made so as to allow of a recumbent posture; and porters to convey our baggage. Our first day's journey consisting of a short twenty miles presented nothing very remarkable. The road lay not far from the coast of a deep inlet of the sea, which with hills rising from the shore gave very much of the character of lake scenery.

Our first night's halting place was Si-tin a large village of about 2,000 inhabitants. Being on the high road to Tai-chow, W'an-chow, and Fuh-chow, and the most convenient place for the first night's halt; it abounds in places of accommodation for travellers, which we might call inns, but that the name would give far too high an idea of these lodging houses which might rather be called outs than inns for any inducement they afford to enter or remain there. After looking through some rooms which were already occupied by opium-smokers, we chose a small upper apart-

ment which was however, unfortunately for our eyes, immediately over the kitchen and not occupable therefore until the evening meal was cooked and the fires cleared away. The less said about our night's rest the better for delicate ears; these Chinese inns have been a depository of vermin for many years, and I may only give as a hint to future travellers, not only to turn off all the straw mattresses, but also to have the boards which compose the bed well knocked against the ground to shake out any chance intruders. Another hint may also be of service, which is to have a large piece of oil-cloth, or in the stead of it some sheets of strong oil-paper to spread over the bed to be occupied. Our proximity to the sea brought to our board good fish, crabs and shrimps, so that it was not necessary to open our own provision-store save for bread.

The following morning was very wet, and the rain continued without intermission all day, so that we were doubly glad of the arrangement we had made to go as far only as a neighbouring village on the coast, at the distance of six miles. Some little account of this place may not be uninteresting even to the foreign resident in China, as possibly not many places will be found so perfectly unique as this. The population of the place was estimated at about a thousand families; from three to five thousand persons. These all rejoiced in the surname of U, there was not a second family in the place, save those who might casually have dropped in on business or pleasure as we had done. Now only imagine a colony of Jones', or Smith's or Brown's of this extent, young and old, rich and poor, servant and master, farmer and labourer, shopkeeper and apprentice, scholar and master, literate and illiterate, all only to be distinguished by their calling or their Christian name. An expedient had been adopted there, which is sometimes in a very limited way adopted at home, viz., to fix upon some name which should be the distinguishing mark of that branch of the family, thus for example among two thousand Smiths, one branch of the family would fix on Sterling as the distinguishing name of that branch, and so there would be George Sterling Smith, Charles Sterling Smith, Henry Sterling Smith, &c. Another branch would fix on Pelham, and so there would be John Pelham Smith, Isaac Pelham Smith, &c., &c. This with the age, occupation and relation to some well known members of the family would be quite sufficient for all practical purposes. This family of U have some name in the country; one of the old members nearly 80 years in life holds office under government at Ningpo; the person to whose house we went had taken a degree in his youth, but having the management of extensive property, both in oyster-beds, and in small vessels, and being looked up to as the business head by the whole of the U community, led a life of too great anxiety and

bustle to continue his literary studies. On occasion of a former visit, when this person whose friendship I had contracted walked me round as a fine living specimen of hung-maou humanity, it was interesting to see how in cottage after cottage some anxious mother, or lone widow had a word of counsel to ask, some business affecting perhaps her all of earth to be set right without the process of a quarrel or a lawsuit. Perfect good nature was ever stamped up my host's countenance, and I thought if he could but be induced to admit Christian books into the schools of the village, and recommend them among those over whom he had influence what a good he might be the means of effecting.

On the occasion of our present visit, our host was not at home, he was gone to the neighbouring city of Ning-hai to see the Che-heen, who was an old school-mate. His two sons however were not backward in entertaining us, and did the honors of the house in their father's absence. The chief interest of this place to those resident at Ningpo is that from it and its immediate neighbourhood the whole supply of oysters come: the mode of rearing these is perhaps unknown in the West. Large flats of mud daily covered by the tide are laid out into beds which are filled with round, paving stones, about the size of a large fist; after three years these are taken up, and are found to be encrusted with the oysters varying in number from 10 to 30. We much surprised the people by taking away some specimens with us; if carefully selected they form not only a curiosity for the cabinet, but a not unpleasing ornament for the mantel-piece. The next morning October 18th, we rose with the prospect of a fine day for our walk of twenty miles to Ning-hai city; we were not sorry to get away, for the house was a scene of bustle and confusion the whole day; most uncomfortable indeed to our notions are these Chinese dwellings, and a description of this would sufficiently shew that travelling even among friends, and so called high civilization affords plenty of annoyance to Anglo-Saxon flesh and blood. It is hardly possible indeed to imagine, without actual experience and personal contact, the state of domestic discomfort of the ordinary routine of a Chinese family, even though they may be as this family was, well to do in the world. The reception room only three-fourths boarded over, the other fourth left to set away any packages that might arrive. The furniture of this room consists of one square table which can dine four or at a pinch eight persons, and half-a-dozen old chairs, fortunately too much used to be dusty. An adjoining room is set apart for guests, and is very nearly filled up with two beds, two tables, a book-case, sundry boxes, some chairs, and indiscriminate litter. Both into the reception room, as well as into this our private bedroom, any member of the family, or any stranger who has dropped in for business has a perfect right to go, and sit and stare and smoke &c., just as they please.

The women of the family, for I purposely called on Mrs. U, were not dressed nearly so well and tidily as a cottager's wife at home and their habits of smoke and dirt make them look more wretched still; Mrs. U was in the kitchen, more usefully for us doubtless than ornamentally for herself, her

daughters and daughters in law were very *slatternly* looking, lounging at the foot of a flight of stairs which led to their apartments. The children will not of course be better than their elders, they were for the most part unwashed, uncombed, and untamed; wholly without those features which constitute the outside at least of good boys and girls at home. The younger of the two sons of our host brought his eldest nephew to me, a boy of six years' old, and seemed very proud of him that he was able to read a few easy Chinese words: a little girl of nine tried to remember four words forming the title of a book. What a contrast to our little boys of six, and girls of nine years' old. One of the most painful features in the family was the absence of all exercise of mind, of all quiet sound, thoughtful reading, of anything that is likely to profit the *man*; even half an hour's quiet conversation was a rare thing, and for any member of this household to get a quiet hour's reading, it was of course quite out of the question.

The city of Ning-hai I had visited in the spring of the year, so that the excitement of the entrance of two foreigners was much less than it would otherwise have been. On the road I had received accounts of the dreadful mortality through agues and low typhoid fevers, and found that it continued even to the city: my host of the last occasion, one of the most influential families in the city was confined to his room. Having some medicines with me I ventured to prescribe for him, and have little doubt but the ague was driven away for the time being. We had the pleasure of finding Mr. U who introduced us to a family where he was staying, the head of which was endeavouring to perform his part in life by the distributing of moral books; he was very glad to receive those we brought with us, and expressed a wish that he could get as liberal support for his works as we appeared to do for ours. A friend of his who was on a visit of business at the time, sat up more than half the night reading various books that we brought, and on the morning when we saw him again made some very sensible remarks on what he had read. The afternoon of one day and the early morning of the next was all the time we could spare on this occasion, for our object was chiefly exploratory, hoping to open a way which might by ourselves or others be followed more at leisure at another time. The situation of Ning-hai is very beautiful, we were struck with it immediately on leaving the walls, it is imbedded in hills, which in two directions are crowned with Pagodas; a river of no great body of water, save when the freshets descend from the hills after rains widens into a broad sheet no great way from the walls, and with the clumps of tallow trees on its banks and oxen drinking in its waters afforded us a prospect which brought home vividly to our remembrance. The first impression produced by our appearance in the villages was that we were traffickers in the opium drug, of which we found smokers all along our road, in the Tai-chow district however the opium is chiefly of native growth. From one to two persons in ten families were given as the proportion of smokers and of these very frequently women.

The loveliness of the road beguiled its length, for miles our path lay through long lines of the tallow tree, the leaves of which were just shewing

the red line the effect of the first frosts, and the berries of which were just cracking and opening to display their snow white seeds. At the top of a pass about 1,500 feet high we found an inn, which was to be our resting place for the night; it had however but one room besides the kitchen; in this room were only at most seven beds, and with our chair-bearers and porters there were thirteen of us to be accommodated, besides any chance travellers who like ourselves might have fixed upon this for their night's resting place. In fact, as I afterwards learnt, there were twenty-one persons occupying this room and the kitchen. Fortunately for us there was a few steps off an old ancestral hall, and not being possessed with the fear of ghosts so much as of fleas and dirt, we were very glad to obtain permission of the family to whom the old temple belonged, to spread our mats on the floor. We found up an old dusty table, and with our portmanteaus for chairs we had nothing to do but congratulate ourselves on our good fortune. Good sound sleep, a hearty breakfast, the bracing mountain air, and the fine scenery sent us on our way the next morning with a bounding step. With regret we descended again from our high elevation and entered the plain in which the city of T'ien-t'ai lies. The path by which we descended the hill gave us good views of terrace cultivation, which is carried here to great perfection; from fifty to a hundred different platforms, each raised above the other by from two to five feet, shewed the unwearying labour of man; these terraces were planted with rice, while the higher ridges of the hill were almost invariably crowned with crops of Indian corn, for which we found a great variety of names, the Ningpo name of "the sixth grain" was not known, it was called foreign millet 'high millet,' 'hip millet,' (from the corn growing out of the hip of the plant and many other names amounting to about ten in all, which I cannot now recall.

A waterfall which lay five miles off our path, and was said to have a considerable body of water, and to be two hundred feet high, excited our desire to go and see for ourselves, but our time would not admit of it, so we contented ourselves with those which lay on our path, which would not be considered unworthy of note, had they contained a larger body of water. A large quantity of iron is found in the neighbouring country: when travelling with Dr. Medhurst in the spring of the year not very far from hence, we passed the brook whence large quantities were extracted, and the furnace where the ore was smelted. We met both to-day and yesterday men carrying into rice boilers cast in the city of T'ien-t'ai. We arrived at the walls of the city about 4 p.m. and made our way at once to a Buddhist establishment, where we found comfortable quarters, and were beset almost immediately by all classes of the people, eager to see us, and get books from us. We were glad to find that some of the scholars laid aside their shyness, and ventured to visit us at our rooms, among them was one apparently of great power and originality of mind. He made such good and sound remarks on the subject of religion that I propounded a question to him, something similar to that put to Jesus, "What is the chief thing in religion?" After a few moments thought he answered in one word Shin 神,

going on to say that the spirit of man must be brought into conformity to the spirit above; this was certainly a remarkable answer for a man who up to that time had no light but that of nature and of reason to guide him. This person had called upon us from having heard in the morning an address at one of the chief temples, with the statements of which he said he agreed thoroughly. One of the famous monasteries of the T'ien-t'ai hills is situated about three miles from the city, and as it is the most noted of all, and the rules of Buddhism are adhered to there most strictly, my companion was desirous of seeing it, nor was I sorry to renew my acquaintance with the place and its inmates. Never did I see a Pagoda more imposing in its effect than that which stands at the foot of the hills just before the path winds into the monastery of Koh-ts'ing. The sun was in the West and shining upon it, and the foliage by which it is backed brought out into clear and definite outline every cornice and moulding; no whitewash had civilized it, as we found was the case in other parts subsequently visited by us, but a mellow old age rested upon it, nor was it probably otherwise than improved in beauty by having been made partly a ruin some centuries ago, when a fire had destroyed its staircase and balconies. We did not find the old Abbot at home, he was away on business, collecting the revenues of his establishment, which fell short this year by about two thousand taels of silver, this was put down to the disturbed state of the country. A very well-informed priest who was our guide on a former visit was soon in attendance upon us, and we were mutually glad to renew our acquaintance. On our arrival we had seen a long double file of priests marching to the large hall for vespers, and went to see the performance of their services. All was of course very unmeaning to us, consisting of a monotonous chant, by about 50 priests in alternate responses: while they were thus engaged the principal actor a novice of about 25 years of age who was said in technical language to have "departed this life," i.e. got out of the range and influence of mortal objects, and approaching the region and state of Nirvana attracted our chief attention. Rapid evolutions, genuflections, motions with the hand and fingers, raising of cups, sprinkling of water or tea, all were most unintelligible to us, and I asked our conductor, a man always much in earnest, whether what I saw was empty show or reality. He expressed surprise at the question, and said with much earnestness, real, most real, all is the expression of inward feelings and emotions of the heart. The young priest seemed very much in earnest, and as he bowed low before the huge gilded image of Amida Buddha, I could but feel, here may be a sincere devotee, one devoting himself to the personification of all excellence, not a worshipper of a mute image, but one really striving to attain to that absence of mind from all earthly concerns which is supposed to characterize that person. On my saying something about Buddha not being God, for the priest who stood by us all the time had allowed that none but God was to be worshipped, he said, Oh but he is God, and as this was, or at least was put forward by him, as an article of his faith, I might as well expect that a Christian would yield the point if

I should turn to an engraving of Jesus, and say that He was not God. We renewed a conversation previously commenced about the worship of images, he allowed that the superior way was to dispense with them but that it was impossible that the ordinary class of mind, and especially women could be instructed without them. He made a defence also of the beads in prayer saying that their use was to keep the mind to a point, appealing to me as to whether thoughts did not wander in prayer, and whether we did not need some assistance to fix our attention. Alluding to the subject of the prevailing epidemic, and asking him after the health of the monastery, he said most pointedly that by Buddha's protection all in his establishment were preserved from sickness, it had not come nigh them, he said this with great deliberation and evident satisfaction. During a slight repast I introduced the subject of killing animals for food, after saying that they were the gift of God for our use, which he of course denied, I urged the great inconvenience that would ensue if animals were thus allowed to multiply. And so, he replied would there be great inconvenience were mankind to multiply without the destruction of man by his fellow man, and yet you will not say that murder is justifiable. I then took up other ground; the principle of right I said is implanted in every one's heart; directly he violates this principle, he feels compunction, the sting of conscience will tell where a man has acted wrong. Now through the wide world animal life is taken and animal food is eaten, and no moral principle is felt to be violated, this is unaccountable on the supposition that there is anything wrong in taking animal life. He could only shake his head, and retire within the fortress of his own faith. After visiting the curiosities of the monastery we returned to our rooms in the city, to spend an evening of noisy discussion with a succession of visitors. Refreshed by our day's rest, we made an early start on Monday morning, crossing the river immediately after leaving the city. The stream is navigable for rafts and small boats all the way to T'ai-chow, but the water being very low, owing to the late scarcity of rain, we preferred to walk—nor did we repent of doing so, for the day was fine, and our path lay over hill and through dale, by brooks and streams of water, with a perpetual succession of evergreen hills, in which as usual the pine and the bamboo were predominant. The river was the first part of the way on our left hand, when at "half-way ferry," we crossed in a boat, and then had it on our right. Our halting place for the night was a small village, which boasted of an inn with a boarded floor, where our precautions against the inroads of vermin met with complete success. We learnt here to our concern that at the city of T'ai-chow now only 10 miles distant, there had been a rising of the "Heaven and Earth Society," identified by the people with the Kwang-se insurgents, probably Fo-kien men, and that two of their number had been apprehended and beheaded, which for the time had quieted them. This made our entrance into the city rather a nervous matter, for we could but feel it possible that the excitement of our presence might be taken advantage of by the disaffected, and a tumult ensue. We therefore kept close in our chairs, and though we had a letter of

introduction to a friend, thought it better to go at once to a large Taoist monastery situated on an eminence in the Northern quarter of the city.

Our chair-bearers took us here so quietly by back streets that no one knew of our arrival, and we made our appearance suddenly in the midst of a crowd of worshippers who were most busy with chaunting, drumming, bell-ringing, incense burning, candle lighting, &c., to propitiate the Northern or Southern constellation, one of the two having the power of death over one of the members of the family then lying ill. A room was placed at our service, and the rest of the day and the following morning were most busily employed in shewing ourselves to the people, addressing large crowds of them, and supplying the shops of the principal streets and the offices of the principal courts with books. We met with no hindrance from the authorities, of course there were many enquiries made of our names, our business, our residence, our position in life, &c. These we answered freely, but left them rather in the dark as to where we were going, saying in vague terms that when our books were distributed we should return to Ningpo. At the Ching-wang-meau we found some Loochooans, who had been cast ashore in a storm; we were not able to converse with them, or to learn how they were treated, but their looks shewed very good keeping; being illiterate, very little could be gathered from them by the authorities. Owing to a grand dinner given to us the next day by the head of the Taoist monastery we could not start till the afternoon, and so only went a distance of about 10 miles. The inn was miserably small, and wretchedly dirty, though it was said to be the resting place of mandarins when they travelled that way. By spying about, I found a long range of farm-buildings, and after some trouble obtained permission to sleep in a straw loft which was much preferable to the inn beds. The owner of the establishment was not badly repaid for his kindness in the cure of several members of his family who were ill with intermittent fever. The following morning our host had killed and prepared a chicken for our breakfast, this we soon despatched and started for the city of Sin-kyü by 7 o'clock. We found in our walk of to-day and indeed throughout all this journey the great correctness of a map we had with us, originally prepared by the Jesuits, and drafted on a larger scale by some of the Missionaries at Ningpo. Instead of crossing the river as we expected, we followed its course keeping it on our left till we arrived at the head of the stream, where we turned west into the hilly country about Sin-kyü. Towards the close of our walk a Pagoda on an eminence shewed us the site of the city, and a large new temple dedicated to the Queen of heaven crowned the top of a hill about two miles to the N.E. Sin-kyü had been represented as a very wild place, but we found it not more so than other parts through which we had been, and its bad name probably arises from men of the neighbourhood having occasionally been implicated in disturbances, and also from the fact that it produces very few scholars. We bent our steps at once to the Ching-wang-meau, hearing that this was the most convenient place for a night's lodging. Being in the principal street, the whole city almost was soon gathered together, their

curiosity excited to the highest pitch. In vain did a native who accompanied us endeavour to address his countrymen, out of several hundreds present there were evidently not more than a dozen listening to him, the rest were quite engrossed with our presence. As the evening drew on, and we had already been their gazing stock for an hour or more, I ascended the stage, and having procured a stool sat down in the presence of a large multitude, who had the politeness to hear me patiently through a simple address. At the close of it, I said we were quite tired with our day's march, had had no dinner or tea, and should feel obliged to them if they would quietly disperse till the morning, when we should be distributing our books. A murmur of assent followed this, and I in my simplicity thought we should have a quiet supper, and a peaceful evening. No long time was required to undeceive me; we had fastened our door while we took our tea, and as our servants refused to open it to the clamours of those outside, it was unable to stand their pushing and knocking, and down it came. File after file of persons of all sorts and sizes now came on, as each company reached the top of the staircase they were bowed back again by us, and we requested them to wait till the morrow, and then call or come for books. It was all in vain, so I bid all our chairbearers and porters go to their supper, telling them to bring a stool and set it before the broken door at the foot of the staircase. Here I sat, and no one had the face to cross the threshold thus guarded. Two young and impetuous young men tried to do it, but on my rebuking them and saying they should be admitted if they came respectfully with their cards to call on us, they withdrew. Outside this door I sat for a long time, crowds of people coming and going all the time and lighting me up with lanterns, examining me most accurately from head to foot. My companion afterwards took my place, when he underwent the like close examination. In the evening we were gratified with a visit from two scholars, men of the greatest influence in the place, and of more especial note perhaps from the scarcity of such, they were cousins, and looked what they were said to be, men of integrity, and of high standing among their countrymen. On the following morning we were out early, distributing books, which was very quietly effected in all the principal shops, at the office of the Che-heen who was away at Hang-chow, and at the residence of the public examiner. We then took a view of the city, which we found to be of considerable extent, of an oval shape, its measurement from East to West being much greater than from North to South. We made our exit by the West gate, and met here a person with the cards of the two cousins, who sent for one of our New Testaments. The eagerness to obtain it was shewn by that person accompanying us two miles along the road till we had overtaken our chairs in which a few of these books were. Our journey to-day lay along the bed of a mountain stream, which at times widens out into an extensive plain destitute of all cultivation; literally sown with pebble stones, and yielding only a few stunted trees, and patches of long reed grass, of the pith of which the candle-wicks are made. In many places the stream was confined within a narrow channel and made to work

a water-wheel, of which there are a great number in this district, some for pounding the rice corn, and others with an horizontal motion also worked by the direct action of the water for grinding meal. I thought at first that the simple addition of a few cogs by which the vertical wheel could give the horizontal motion had not occurred to them, but found afterwards my mistake; large mills at a place called Wu-dzing a market town, worked six rice pounders, and two meal grinders with the same wheel. The whole face of this country seems to be swept with the violence of the mountain torrents, and the road to one unacquainted with the country would be most difficult to find. Bridges that once existed were only marked by some scattered blocks of stone, and the road, a highway between two cities, led frequently through the pebbly bed of the stream which could sometimes be crossed on stepping stones, at others it had to be forded. The singular appearance of the hills in this district attracted our attention, not rising into peaks, but shewing a rude and broken level, and then descending abruptly like a wall, of from 300 to 500 feet high into the plain. One of the hills which constantly attracted our notice was finished off with a large cone projected forward so that the side of the cone was perpendicular to the horizon, the cone itself was about 200 feet high. We were now nearing a range of mountains from 3,000 to 4,000 feet high which had to be crossed to reach the city of Kyng-hwa, and the country of the celebrated Hang-chow river, the T sien-tang-keang. A small village afforded us a resting place for the night, we gladly yielded all the lower part of the inn to our attendants, and spread our mats among the straw of India corn and millet in an upper story. Having nothing to detain us in the morning, for the place did not boast of many scholars, nor contain many people, we were off early, feeling sure from the length of the pass said to be 40 le, or about 13 miles in length that we should meet with some fine scenery. In our expectation we were not disappointed, a well wooded steep mountain side, with winding path, and rushing mountain stream albeit we had not the beauty of the verdure of spring, brought fresh interest at every step, and beguiled the tediousness of the steep ascent. At about three quarters of the way up the top of the pass I observed that the water of the stream had changed to a deep iron colour, and on asking the people what was the reason of it they pointed to the fields of the blue dye (din-tshing) in the neighbourhood: we thought this was on a par with other absurd ideas the Chinese had, so we laughed at them for supposing that the plant of blue dye could change the water to almost a red colour. Thinking it was no doubt a chalybeate and rejoicing at the discovery, I went off the road to taste the water, it was sufficiently nasty both in taste and in smell to be a chalybeate of the finest quality: the higher we went the deeper the colour, and on arriving at a point where the road diverged from the stream I most ardently followed it over rocks and thickets almost impassable save to one in full chase after some particular object. As I observed every stream that fell into that along which my course was to be pure white, I could but feel that the country-people might be right after all, and the mystery was at length

explained when we arrived at the top of the pass where were several large manufactures of this dye; the plant was gathered and stowed away in large pits into which quantities of lime were then thrown, and it was the action of this on the fibre of the plant that caused the deposit of deep brick-coloured liquid which was sufficient to colour the stream for a mile down the hill. Our toil up the latter part of the steep ascent was no doubt very much lightened by our eager pursuit of this supposed discovery. On the further side of the mountain our path was not so steep, and we had the satisfaction of thinking of the streams descending the hill-side, as joining the waters of the Tsien-tang river, which would soon bear us in our homeward course towards Hang-chow.

Our halting place for the night was the market town of Wu-dzing mentioned above as remarkable for its unusually large water-wheels, which both pound and grind the corn. This place is also noted for the longevity of its inhabitants, and we noticed a simple metal collar worn by several people, which was put on them in infancy never to be removed again, in the hope that it might tend to the prolonging of their life. Old people with the collar were however very rare. In honour of some few who had attained 100 years, and also widows who had remained unmarried stone gateways were erected, there were in all eight of these, all having the imperial stamp upon them.

The pride of the people in their place as productive of good scholars worked well for us: it would be a great disgrace they said to the place should scholars from the West be allowed to stay at an inn, so our baggage was all brought to the house of the family of the most note once possessed of large incomes, but now much reduced by the munificence of the grandfather of the present head of the family, who must needs spend 63,000 taels of silver, or about £20,000, in the erection of three stone bridges in the province. One of these bridges is on the outskirts of the town, spanning the stream which runs by it. It is a very fine structure, well and elegantly built of most solid masonry; it has thirteen arches, the buttresses between which are built very sharp to offer less resistance to the water, the length of the bridge is 530 feet, its breadth 15, and its height from the water about 25, it was finished in the first year of Taou-kwang, and our Chinese companion facetiously called it my 'twin brother.' The family who had invited us, of the name of Le 李, were all young, some of them managing the property, and the others devoting themselves to their studies, they and the other scholars of the place were just then in great excitement, as the successful candidates in the late examination for 'keu-jing' at Hang-chow would be published in a few days. After our severe mountain walk the rest of the Sabbath was doubly refreshing, and we found plenty to occupy our time in the reception of visitors, going out among the people of the place preaching and distributing books.

Our course now lay due West as far as the heen city of Ywing-k'óng, which is unwall'd, but is entered at the four cardinal points by gates; here the stream, along the course of which we had come, widens to a river navigable by rafts and small boats but very deficient in a season like the present, when there had been a long continuance

of dry weather. Having secured a boat, which engaged to take us at least as far as Leen-kyi, and perhaps to Nyi-gyiao twenty miles from Hang-chow, we were at liberty till the following morning. Our Chinese companion and myself went to a gentleman's house in the neighbourhood, where he had some business of his own to transact.

The head of the family who had taken the degree of 進士 was away in Sze-chuen where he held some office under government; the third brother was away in the country consulting some deity for the removal of a disease, and the second brother, a sort of farming bailiff was alone at home. I had been told before concerning this person that he was quite unpolished in manners, and to all appearance like a domestic more than a master. I found this to be the case, he set our chairs, brought the wash-basin, wiped the table, &c., and when we had done our frugal supper consisting of vermicelli and pork, he waited till we had finished our conversation, and then came to light us to our room. It was not much better than some of the barns we had been in for comfort, a cement floor, bare brick walls, one table, one chair, and one bed, and no coverlet; I had fortunately brought my own, and shared both it and the bed with my Chinese friend, fortunately for my first trial, a very cleanly man. If I had been disposed to make a trouble of our circumstances it would have been of no long duration, for sleep soon made us forget all the fatigue and excitement of the day. After an early breakfast I returned in my chair to Ywing-k'óng, and as the boat was in readiness we started off about ten o'clock. In this place the dialect is most remarkably different from that of Ningpo, our native teacher confessed that he could not understand a word of what passed in a conversation between two countrymen, he could only compare it to the Fo-kien tongue and the twitering of swallows. This was of course when they spoke freely in their own patois, there was not much difficulty in understanding and making oneself understood on any ordinary topic. In our course down the river we stayed to examine a white-washed Pagoda, in very good repair, the staircase was built in the outer wall and consisted of 147 steps, the only peculiarity of it was that at each story it would take a half-turn, round the building before it ascended again. We stopped at several villages on our way down, but none of them seemed of much importance. Owing to the frequency of the rapids it was impossible to proceed by night, nor did we care to urge the boatmen to that which if it had not caused the destruction of their boat would certainly have interfered materially with our rest. Even in the day-time the rapids seemed sufficiently perilous, often large blocks of stone in the middle of the stream, which taxed all the strength of the men to avoid. Before the day had well broke we were off having the city of Ki-nyi to visit on our way, we neared it in the grey of the morning, and a mist rising like a white curtain shewed off to great advantage a Pagoda similar in height and general appearance to that visited yesterday; on our return from the city in broader daylight, the whitewash somewhat spoilt the effect. The people seemed at first very timid, but afterwards gained more confidence, and gladly received our books, the dialect had again much improved, and we were able to understand and make

ourselves understood. We left a parcel of books here also for the Che-heen, and the public examiner, the former we heard sent a servant to look for us, and invite us to his office, but as we did not meet with him, we took no notice of his kind intentions. Our servant had been called in and was asked the usual questions about us, which I suppose be answered to the satisfaction of his enquirers. We only travelled 40 *le* during the day, our course at the fords was frequently stopped by a long line of rafts which were taking green-dye from the district of Choo-chow to Leen-ky'i, and bringing Leen-ky'i goods into the interior of the country. We remained for the night near to some stone quarries, which our curiosity induced us to visit: they were not so well worth seeing as those near Ningpo.

A cold gusty morning ushers in the month of November, and we were glad of a run on shore alongside the boat to warm our blood. Sooner than we anticipated we sighted the beautiful Pagoda of Kyng-hwa city, called the Pagoda of the 10,000 Buddhas. By eleven o'clock we entered the city gate, and found that the streets in their breadth and cleanliness, as also in the general appearance of the shops to be equal to the best parts of Ningpo. We found also that the dialect was remarkably similar to our own, we should hardly have known that we were not in Ningpo. Distribution of books, and a visit to the great Pagoda and the Ching-wang-meaou were our first object. As we moved through the streets with a noisy crowd at our heels, gentlemen in red tasselled caps were much too frequent for our liking, and we were repeatedly asked, evidently officially, our business in the place. The Pagoda of seven stories is the finest building of the kind I have seen, and in the best state of repair, it is covered over from the bottom to the top with figures of Buddha in relief, hence its name, the "tower of 10,000 Buddhas." There was a staircase only as high as 5 of the stories, but this was sufficient for a view of the city and its environs. The city is extensive, and abounds in orchards of orange-trees, whose tempting-fruit frequently overhung the road; the country round is planted with the tallow-tree which gives a rich effect to the scenery; but little rice is produced in the district; there are eight gates, and the walls are said to have been partly destroyed by the Manchows, on an insurrection made in the early part of the present dynasty. Having descended again we found a large crowd waiting to gratify their curiosity, these we addressed, and with marked effect, on the subject of religion. All the moral part of my discourse was repeated by an elderly man of respectable appearance, and when he was unable to answer a question put as to what was to be done if we had sinned against Heaven, an intelligent looking middle-aged man took up this point, and shewed how it was on account of their not knowing any expiation for sin that these foreigners had come and spoken to them about Jesus.

In the afternoon we learnt that our head boatman had been called before the officers, and chained, and flogged for letting his boat to us, this was all a gross exaggeration, he had only been called into the court to answer some questions as to our names and business, &c. He was however frightened and dare go no further with us, and

we heard that the Che-heen had sent for our servant. Upon this we determined to go and see this officer ourselves. We found a not unpleasant man who professed anxiety on our behalf lest the people, struck with our strange appearance, should molest us, and said he would send two attendants with us on our journey. We asked when they would be ready to start, and were told, as early in the morning as we pleased. A separate boat was provided for these police, and they did not in the least interfere with our movements, thus the fears of our boatman were also quieted and he consented to take us on. Spanning the river here is a fine bridge, the very counterpart to that at Wu-dzing, and which no doubt had formed the model for that structure, the length and breadth and height, and number of arches were also as similar as possible. In the evening we visited some shops and hongs and found that in many places our books, left in the course of the afternoon were being read. By accident we turned into an opium den, and very much alarmed the inmates, one young man who who was preparing his pipe for smoking jumped up, and protested that he never used the drug. By starting before the break of day we arrived at Leen-ky'i by eleven o'clock. This though only a city of the third class, yet ranks higher in point of trade than any of the interior cities of the province, it occupies a very central position as may be seen by the map, three second class cities lying at short distances from it in three several directions and all approachable by water, Kyng-hwa to the South-east, Gyü-chow to the South-west, and Nyin-chow to the North, within these again are three other cities of the third class, named in our dialect, T'ông-ky'i, Loug-yin, and Zin-ts'ông. No words can sufficiently describe the excitement at Leen-ky'i, made doubly worse as it was by the extreme narrowness of the streets, and their narrowness again reduced by the presence of hucksters' stalls on either side. Nor could we get free from the tumult in our boat, for the water of the river being shallow a rush was made at us and when we pushed into deeper water other boats would throng alongside. We were very glad to find that our police would not attend us any further, and the boatman evidently heard something favorable, for he volunteered to take us on to Nyi-gyiao, or to Hang-chow if we pleased. Beyond that which belonged to our daily duty as Missionaries, nothing of importance occurred during the next three days, when we passed Nyin-chow, and Dong-lu, and Tu-ying, the two latter cities of the third class, one in the district of Nyin-chow, and the other in that of Hang-chow.

Knowing the jealousy with which Hang-chow is still kept from foreigners, we did not think it advisable to go there, so took the ordinary route to Ningpo via Nyi-gyiao and Shao-hing, stopping short of Hang-chow by 20 miles. After some delay in changing our boat we started for this large city, which had not before been openly visited by foreigners, we left Nyi-gyiao in the evening of Monday 5th of November, and arrived at Shao-hing by noon the following day. We had here of course a re-enactment of the tumultuous scenes described at other places. We took the opportunity of ascending a Pagoda in the city so as a judge of its extent and population. Both

are no doubt very great. If the walls measure 30 *le* in circumference, the city cannot contain a population of much less than half a million. Having distributed here with immense fatigue, owing to the dense crowds about three thousand of smaller and larger books, and preached in many parts of the city: we determined on a visit to the tomb of Yü; who was a contemporary of Abraham. The tomb is situated in a delightful spot to the South-east of the City, about 6 *le* distant.

The first point we visited was a square portico, supported on four light square pillars, open on all sides, the roof like those of the temples curved and highly ornamented. Inside this portico was a large upright slab of granite well the words 大禹陵 "the tomb of the Great Yü." By the side of the square portico, was one in stone of hexagonal shape, built only two years ago by the reigning Emperor of the white stone, dug from the neighbouring quarries of Nyiao-meng. It was said to be built after the pattern of one long since reduced to ruins of the erection of which no one of whom we enquired knew the occasion nor was there anything on the portico itself to proclaim it, but only the four words 亭古若臧, the place had an air of sacredness about it; though the entrance was profaned with the threshing floor, and the noise of winnowing corn, here was all quiet, a stone path fenced on either side by a hedge led up to the Great Yü's toms, and even withered bamboos, and leafless trunks of trees were left as they died, being too sacred it may be for the hand of man to touch. The temple adjoining built by the Emperor Káng-he was next visited: the outer court is large, and has the figure of the fabulous Ke-ling, the beast of good omen in bold relief upon its walls. The second court is very fine, a gloom is thrown over it by twenty large evergreens, a species of fir. Forty three steep steps lead from this court into a third, which is immediately in front of the shrine itself. In this

court is a large black marble tablet with an inscription in the handwriting of the Emperor Keen-lung. On either side in neat buildings were three ancestral tablets. In the chief hall was the figure of the Great Yü himself in a sitting posture, holding in his hand the Cih-kwe a flat piece of fine stone used by ministers in token of their authority received from the Emperor. The figure is about fifteen feet high: on either side five attendants, some of fierce appearance, but less in stature than the figure of Yü. Over the head of the chief figure were the words 成功永賴: the building was highly ornamented in every part and the colours were still very vivid. In one corner of the compound is a building which looks like a summer house, perched on an eminence of rock, this was called 空石亭, in the centre of the open summer house is a curious old piece of marble, the peen-sih, or block of stone underneath which is, or ought to be, the coffin of the deceased, the block of marble is like a rude steel-yard-weight with a hole drilled through the upper part to suspend it by. It is seven feet high, by about one-and-a-half broad, and if put there at the burial of Yü, is a veritable old monument indeed. Before sunset we visited the neighbouring quarries of Nyiao-meng, but did not go the best of them, nor did we care much about this, for the work for which we came out had been accomplished, we had visited thirteen walled cities containing perhaps in all a million and a-half of inhabitants, travelled through a large district where the Gospel had not before been preached, distributed several loads of books which were left as permanent records of our visit, and proved that with a readiness in speaking the language, a willingness to bear provocations, and to put up with inconveniences the whole of the province is open to Missionary labour.

Your truly,

R. H. COBBOLD.

ACCOUNT OF A TOUR TAKEN IN THE MONTH OF OCTOBER AND NOVEMBER LAST YEAR,

By REV. R. H. COBBOLD.

NINGPO, February 26th, 1856.

To the Editor of the

"NORTH-CHINA HERALD."

SIR,—As a sequel to an account of a tour taken in the month of October and November of last year, I now send an account of a less extensive trip, which swept an inner circle of cities, all of them of the third class, two only visited before, and these so casually that it was almost as if nothing had been done in them.

On the morning of December 7th we left the "snowy valley," where we had spent two days enjoying the magnificent scenery of the place. I was in company with Mr. N. of the American Presbyterian Board, and we had a Chinese assistant with us, an elderly man, a fair scholar, and a most pious and faithful Christian. We had intended to take another of higher classical attainments, but on the morning of our departure the chair-bearers struck for higher wages, and we feared if we paid them the exorbitant sum they demanded that our funds would not hold out. As for ourselves we were both good pedestrians, and therefore told the bearers they might go home for we should walk; this rather disconcerted them, but they had maintained so stoutly their right to higher pay that they did not like to yield the point. Our chief concern was for the native assistant, but he was said to be a better walker than most of his countrymen in his position of life, so we trusted he would manage to hold out through the day, and we most probably could hire a chair for him on the morrow at a reasonable rate. We left our wives in charge of a party who had come with us as far as the monastery, and giving a last look at the beautiful view which the crown of the elevated valley commands, began our still higher ascent. After two hours walk we unpacked one of our baskets and took luncheon in a shady grove of trees, just over one of the grandest precipices and loftiest cataracts in all this mountain range. The precipice is broken by no intervening ledge, and on counting the time occupied by a stone in its descent, we found it eight seconds: this gives about 500 feet as the height of the fall, which is very nearly what an actual measurement with string by Dr. M. discovered it to be. The body of water is very small, save after heavy rains, and is of course all dissipated into foam long before it reaches the bottom. We stood for some time admiring the lovely picture, the day was bright with light fleecy clouds, and the light and shade thrown on cascade and rock produced an exquisite effect. The Chinese do not seem so readily affected by scenery as we are, though the quiet old Christian teacher could not forbear expressing his admiration on this occasion. The boy who was with us, either had more sense of the beautiful, or affected it to please us, and ran about both here and elsewhere very energetically to seek the best point of view. Our day's walk lying as it did at

an elevation of three or four thousand feet above the level of the sea, and winding round the mountain sides by a most narrow and difficult path, was most rich in beautiful scenery. Often did we stop to call each other's attention to some laboriously terraced hill side, or some deep and well wooded glen, or some distant opening in the hills to other scenes beyond. It was purely a mountain walk, we passed through no village, and very seldom by a human habitation. Every now and then we waited till we could catch sight of the teacher and the servant who were accompanying the baggage, and then assured that these had not missed their way in the intricacy of the mountain paths, moved on again. It was 5 P.M. before we reached Dōng-din, where we purposed remaining for the night. Where to procure quarters was our difficulty, for the road we had taken over the hills, not being the direct route of commerce, the place had no convenience in point of inns, and our appearance was of course so utterly strange to the simple villagers, that we could not expect them at once to offer us accommodations. There was a small monastery in charge of a priest and a boy; but this we found so dirty and *rickety*, and the priest so ill with fever and ague, that we determined to try our luck elsewhere; after sitting a few minutes in a small bean-paste shop, where we heard that travellers sometimes rested, we were escorted by a person who had had some intercourse with foreigners, to take up our quarters for the night at a house situated just on the outskirts of the village; the place did not look at all tempting, for there was a pond of dirty water in the court yard, over which in part the house was built. The situation of the village being high, I did not think much of the presence of the pond, and we therefore accepted the kind offer made us, and had all our baggage conveyed to the house. The floor of the side of the house intended for us was covered with stalks of Indian corn, but these were soon swept away, the ears of corn gathered into baskets, and when the dust was allayed and a candle brought, (for it was now nearly dark) it displayed a bed in one corner which would raise us a few feet above the mud floor. Some rice straw strewn plentifully on the ground made sufficiently easy beds for our porters and servant; where the teacher stowed himself away we know not. Very little intelligence was manifested by those who came to stare at the foreign barbarians consuming their evening meal; the people seemed heavy and boorish, as their position in the heart of the hills would have led us to expect. On the following morning we went out to see what could be done, and while waiting for the chairs which we had ordered the night before, both Mr. N. and myself endeavoured to interest the people on the subject of our visit. I felt more encouragement afterwards in a few calls I made at some of the principal houses. What of intellect there was in the place was thus met with, but I could find no

particular response to any of the subjects on which they were addressed; it may be that our visit was too sudden, and we had not time to conciliate the prejudices, and gain the confidence of the people. After exercise of patience in waiting for the promised chairs, we were told that only one could be had; therefore we had to foot it again, for the old teacher must at any rate be supplied; we could tell from his manner, as well as from confession extorted from him, that his bones ached with the toilsome and rugged walk of yesterday. The steep ascent of a pass for one hour, and the descent on the other side for another hour, brought us to the village of Hwei-ke, where we ordered what luncheon could be had, and chairs to take us on the remainder of our day's journey; the sun was very hot, and the descent of the pass to the village, where we were exposed to its full power, had raised my pulse so high that I was afraid fever would ensue; I bound my head with a handkerchief and lay down to rest in a grove at the entrance to the village. This revived me a little, though I still felt as if on the verge of severe illness, and dared not exert myself much more during the day. Close by the house where we stayed to take some refreshment, was the temple of the place, and a little higher up, the hall of ancestors, in both of which we had a crowd not inattentive to the good news we brought. Another chair having been with difficulty procured, we proceeded for two hours more, one hour up and the other hour down a mountain side, which brought us in the afternoon of Saturday to a large village of most beautiful situation, called Tung-ling. We were fortunate here in finding quarters at a small Buddhist establishment outside the place. A straw loft was placed at our disposal, which with a table and a few chairs gave us all the accommodations we could desire. The loft was quite extensive, and a part of it partitioned off, served as sleeping room for our porters and bearers. The place at which we had now arrived promised us some work for the morrow, and gave as hope also of that quiet which makes the Sabbath so precious to us. In both these respects our hopes were realized. We found there were in the village about four hundred families of the name of Wang; at the ancestral hall we found the tablets of ninety generations, a very rare and remarkable circumstance. Here I was provided with a chair, which set upon a strong table, gave me a commanding position from which to address the crowds assembled. My companion and the native assistant also spent much time in earnestly inculcating the first principles of divine truth. The head of the Wang family had called upon us last evening, and I went this morning to return his civility.

I found an old, but solidly built, and spacious family residence, the central hall of which was used as a school-room, and here both Mr. Wang, and Mr. Coh the schoolmaster, or tutor rather, smoked their opium pipes in the presence of their pupils. *While I was there, without any sort of shame or apology, Mr. Coh lay down upon the couch, and began to prepare his opium pipe previous to inhaling the baneful narcotic.* He was a wretched looking man of sinister countenance, and both he and his employer had evidently ruined their health, and were shortening their lives by the indulgence in the stimulant. What a tale of misery might

this, and other families unfold, if all were known of the consequences of their self-indulgence. When? (the philanthropist anxiously enquires) when and how shall the progress of this destructive vice be arrested? when shall there be raised up some J. B. Gough among the Chinese, to call public attention to this devastating evil? Outward interference may lop off some of the branches, and do good by cutting off occasion of stumbling to the cause of Christianity, but the vitality of the trunk will still remain, maintained by the rooted claims of a vitiated appetite. Let opium-smoking in China be made as disreputable as drunkenness now is in England, and a great step will have been made in China's advancement, if not in the diminution of the traffic; the national vice of England is no doubt drunkenness, that of China opium-smoking; the removal of either of these is the work, not so much of the statesman and diplomatist, as of the Christian philanthropist and minister. When my call on Mr. Wang was finished, I returned to our rooms; the people had seen sufficient of us to satisfy their curiosity for the time, and we were left quiet to the enjoyment of our books and other Christian privileges. In the afternoon we again went out, and found some families very willing to receive our visits and enter into friendly conversation with us. We thought that the truth took some hold, at least of their understandings; they appeared to be a religious people, worshipping Buddha on the 1st and 15th of each month. As this was the first day of the eleventh moon we saw many, who according to custom came to our monastery to make their offerings, count their beads, and say their prayers. The priest in charge did not come near us all the day, not from any incivility, or unwillingness to entertain us; he was a dull man, not much given to thought, and very little skilled in books.

On the following morning, Monday, December 10th, we made preparations for an early start, being desirous of reaching the city of Sing-chang as soon after noon as possible. The day was bright and warm, more like spring than the depth of winter, and we all of us had chairs, that we might be quite fresh on our arrival. I had before found that a walk of twenty miles unfitted me for coping with the labours and difficulties which always attend the entrance into a populous city. There is a great tendency to look upon the day's labours as over, instead of only just begun, and to seek rest in the evening, when the mind ought to be all awake to the performance of necessary civilities to callers, and ready to answer the enquiries that may, from whatever motive, be put to us as to our country, our profession or our religion. If the body is tired the temper is often soured, and experience has often proved that the largest amount of this good quality is barely sufficient to answer the requirements made of it.

Our bearers did not take us by the principal road, but by a shorter cut, which caused us to miss two large villages, the names of which we enquired and noted down, that they might be taken en route on another occasion. We passed through only one place of any importance, whose inhabitants we gathered together in no inconsiderable numbers in their temple, and as it seemed to us at the time, spoke much to their apprehension. It is not easy to do this, especially if we keep to the formulas of

religion which a succession of many generations has made household words to us. And here it may be a fault among us both in writing and speaking, that we do not sufficiently accommodate ourselves to the state of our readers and hearers. We have not I may say the *courage* to speak to a people's apprehension; we are too much afraid of what others will think of us, unless we utter certain propositions in a methodical way, or we feel a burden upon our conscience if we do not give expression to all the truth, and to satisfy it we violate our better judgment. One, for instance, will hardly ever open his mouth to preach in a discourse of five minutes, without stating in some methodical traditional manner the doctrine of the Trinity; and another will think it necessary to go into the proof that Jesus is God; another will insist upon the Bible as inspired. Now these are very necessary truths to be taught in the school, dilated on and enforced in the lecture room and regular Christian congregation; but, if we may judge from the samples of addresses to heathen given us in the Acts of the Apostles, not generally to be dwelt upon in a first address to a company of men, not one of whom is acquainted properly with the first principles even of natural religion. The relation of man to his Creator, his sin in the sight of Heaven, the insufficiency of his own merit or sufferings for pardon and acceptance, the mission of Jesus Christ to die in man's stead, a future judgment for all of most strict impartiality, the certain punishment of the wicked, and reward of the righteous in a future state;—these and kindred truths, are those which are necessary for the heathen mind, calculated to arrest their attention, and make them yield assent at least in the conviction of their judgment. A small village by the road side which was said to contain the residences of some gentry was visited by us. We entered a large, well-built, and indeed a very handsome house, where we sat some time waiting for the master to make his appearance; I enquired here if they had ever seen any of our books, and they said they had, one was called "the complete Book of the New Covenant;" by their description I knew that it was one of the Ningpo Edition of the million Chinese New Testaments; in answer to a request of mine it was brought out; the book was entire, but the outside cover had been torn off, not improbably to form a receptacle for the silks of one of the daughters of the family. The owner of this fine property was one of the opium victims, and was so long in making his appearance that we could not wait longer for him; we had not however gone many hundred yards from the house before he came running after us, and asked us to go back and take some refreshment; he said he knew me very well, that he had visited me at Ningpo, and that I had given him the book. His habit of opium-smoking, which he evidently indulged in to excess made him so hopeless a subject, that we would not accept his proffered invitation, but pushed on to Sing-chang, which city we entered about 3 P.M. How different the place looked now from what it did on my arrival here in the spring, then a season of constant storms, and a day and night of unintermitted rain had swollen the small shallow stream into a broad river, whose waters then covered what was now a shingle bank, and touched the shore on either side. Now

a small shallow but swift current found its way through the wide extent of sand and pebbles, and was barely sufficient to float the light bamboo rafts which trade between this place and the neighbouring city of Dzing. Outside the East gate we found a neat looking temple, which was presided over by a priest of the Buddhist faith; he received us kindly and gave up his own room to our use. The remainder of the afternoon he spent chiefly at the Ching-wang-meau, where was soon assembled a large and noisy crowd. We had several scholars calling upon us in the course of the evening, among them one whom we had met in the spring at the top of W6-ting mountain, and who wrote for us its ascertained height of 3,600 feet, as mentioned by Dr. Medhurst in his account of that trip. He seemed pleased now to renew his acquaintance, and brought several other friends with him. Owing to the unseasonable heat of the day, we had as might be expected a change in the weather; the howling of the wind from the Northwest made us fear a heavy fall of rain and discomfort on our journey. Anxious to visit the great lion of the place and neighbourhood, the monastery of the gigantic Buddha, we set out early in the morning, and after winding into the hills about a mile from the city walls, found the object of our search in a most romantic rocky glen. A path wound in among the rocks and trees, where squirrels in abundance were squabbling about their morning's breakfast. It led at length into the gateway of the monastery, and we found the enormous figure of the Buddha in a building partly natural and partly artificial. It was a huge cave, the front of which had been built up with blocks of stone to resemble the "bridge of the judgment;" on entering the arch of the bridge into the cave, the appearance was exactly similar to the ordinary Buddhist temples; the chief figure from whence the monastery receives its name (Ta-fuh-sze) is of gigantic dimensions, carved in relief on the face of the solid rock, for which there was probably a natural aptitude in the form of the cave itself. The finer parts of the dress, the lines of the hand, the finger nails, &c., are probably added on in plaster, the rest is all solid stone, and the whole figure is very thickly gilt. It is in a sitting posture, with the hands brought together, the knees widely extended. It is 50 feet high, and the extreme width between the knees also about 50 feet. In the hand there is a gilt figure of Kwan-shoo-ying about half the size of life; the ears according to Chinese ideas of beauty are enormously long, and a person standing on the shoulders of the figure could only just reach at the top of the ear. This remarkable work of art is visited by pilgrims from all parts of the province, and the priests no doubt reap a golden harvest from the offerings of crowds of devotees. It was breakfast time, and we might have accepted the pressing invitation of the monks to join them in their repast, had not our heretical stomachs, still more confirmed in their prejudices by the keen morning air, craved more solid food than the kitchen of the brotherhood would be likely to supply. Mr. N. begged of one of the priests a small figure, but it was one in bronze which had come from the far west, the sacred region of Buddha himself, and was therefore too precious to be deposited in the hands of an unbe-

liever; a smaller figure of native workmanship was however presented as a memento of the visit. After seeing the other remarkable parts of this establishment, we found our way back to the city and to our breakfast, which was enlivened by the presence of our host, and sweetened by some preserved dates of a very large kind, which the surrounding district alone yields.

It was now too late to have our baggage taken on a raft as we intended yesterday, so we hired some men to carry it to the next city, a distance of about 13 miles. Having sent them off with our servant, we went to return the call of last night made by one of the best known gentry of Sing-chang; we found him very agreeable and affable, he too had a copy of the New Testament which he had received from me in the spring. He promised to come and call on me at Ningpo, and asked us when we came that way again to make his house our home. We left him to go to the city temple, having promised the people yesterday that they should have an opportunity of seeing and hearing us in the morning; nothing of any particular interest occurred there, and we took our leave of the place a little before noon.

On our arrival at Dzing we found our servant, who with the luggage was waiting for us at one of the native hong. We then proceeded at once to the large temple, which has the reputation of being the handsomest in the province, and whose presiding spirit is most sure in his awards to the good and evil. We had met a man only this morning who was taking a journey of more than twenty miles to seek the favour of this Deity. On my former visit, which was the first appearance of a foreigner among them, the people were most uproarious, and very little could be done in addressing them. On this occasion they were comparatively quiet, and we stood on the stage erected in the chief court with a most attentive crowd listening beneath. We made known to them that though not physicians, yet we desired to cure them of a disease widely spread among them, and said we should leave books containing prescriptions for the cure of opium-smoking in all the chemists' and druggists' shops in the city. The application for these books is so great, that a large edition had been run through, and we had brought with us the last remaining three or four hundred. As these were rapidly diminishing, from the large demand, we thought of this expedient of placing them in the chemists' shops, and thus giving to every one desirous of testing the prescription, the opportunity of purchasing the medicines. I do not think it probable that one in a thousand ever tests the prescription, and perhaps not one in ten thousand succeeds in curing himself by its means, yet the moral testimony it affords to the motive of our visit, as well as simple statements of Divine truth contained in it, make it an important tract for us to distribute in our visits to strange places.

After some difficulty in fixing upon a lodging for the night, we determined to stay where our boxes were already placed, the owner of the hong kindly allowing us the use of an upper-room. The hong we were in was called a ko-tang hong, being for the transmission of goods, and where the means of conveyance whether by land or water are provided by the establishment, and at the same time lodging given to those under whose care the goods

have been consigned. We found here a person who had the charge of a large cargo of line, which he had transported from Foo-yang to the west of Hang-chow, whence it is exported to all parts of the province. Our unexpected intrusion into his company did not seem otherwise than agreeable to him, and he learnt from us what would enlarge his acquaintance with men and manners, and give him at least something to talk about when he next arrived among his own friends. We had in the evening a few visitors, chiefly I believe friends and acquaintances of the proprietor of the hong.

Our journey on the following day was interesting, not from any particular feature in the scenery, which boasted of nothing remarkable, but from the character of the country through which we passed, which abounded in villages, where we gathered together large crowds of people, so that we felt afterwards that our days journey might easily prove the means of dispelling the clouds of error from thousands of minds. The place we had fixed upon for our night's rest was called Dzing-loh, which may have its parallel in other parts of China, but which we may say without much fear of contradiction has nothing equal to it in any other part of the world. It was mentioned in your *Herald* that a place was found where there were a thousand families of the name of U. In this place there were from four to five thousand families, at least twenty thousand individuals of the name of Dzing. Who will venture to laugh any more at the number of our Walkers, and Smiths and Browns when he hears of twenty thousand persons of the same surname in a single town? Of these families there was one, the head of which had a more than ordinary repute, a kind benevolent and virtuous man (so ran the account of him) "*but he was a leper*;" the leprosy of the opium habit had fastened itself upon its victim, and if not a premature grave, yet certainly a feeble and imbecile old age awaited him.

We had been very fortunate in the city of Dzing in meeting with an old and trusty servant of one of the hong, who obtained leave from his master to accompany us; he carried his burden like the rest of the porters, and we found him all along our road (for he accompanied us the rest of the way) most useful from his knowledge of the country and its inhabitants. We entered this place about 5 P.M., and deposited our boxes and books at a large monastery, having then no time to lose if we would effect anything before dark. We went to the densely inhabited part of the town; at first there seemed to be a shyness of us, but when a little confidence was gained, we were surrounded by a great crowd, about a thousand of whom crowded into an ancestral temple, the keepers of which we had persuaded after some trouble to open for us.

We both spoke here at some length, till darkness reminded us that it was time to go to our quarters. Our arrival was made known to a tea merchant who had had some transactions with foreigners, he came to call upon us, and to ask us to go to his hong, this we refused, as we were already settled, he then said that he should send us our breakfast the next morning which he did, consisting of chicken and ham, country wine and Indian corn cakes, these last were most acceptable as provisions by the way, and they often served us

when it was hard to come at any thing else. There was a marriage in the place which made people very busy, and our chair bearers taking advantage of it, and thinking we must take them on their own terms, struck for higher wages. They only injured themselves by it, for through the influence of our friend of last night we hired others; one of the three afterwards repented and we allowed him to accompany us. The marriage procession we had an opportunity of seeing it was a very gay affair many of the ornaments used were very handsome, being no doubt old heirlooms of richly wrought embroidery, the sedan chair was tastefully decked with festoons of coloured calico, the music loud, but to our ears anything but harmonious. A long line of scholars with their red tasseled hats was concluded by the bride-groom a very plain looking man, we were a long time waiting for our chairs, and when they came they were the oddest things possible, that is to our eyes, the people of the district use hardly any others and of course think them very convenient, as few have probably seen them perhaps a description may not be uninteresting. An oval basket of wickerwork about a foot high placed in a child's four-post bed, without legs would be a very accurate description of it, it is borne by a single pole run through the top of the bed and the weight being thus thrown upon one shoulder, as in the bearing of a burden, a halt is made every two hundred yards, and the pole eased from the shoulder for a moment and caused to rest upon a strong staff called the tau-che, is taken upon the other shoulder and on they joy again, the motion is most unpleasant the seat most cramped, only think of sitting for a whole day in a basket, the size of a baby's cradle, with the legs drawn up or thrown over the sides. To a tall person it was intensely uncomfortable, and after trying the mode of conveyance for some time I persuaded Mr. N. who is much shorter than myself to change with me, and let me take the old chair which had come with us from the Heen city of Dzing. We passed through some villages and at one place called Ky-i-k'eo spoke some time in their ancestral hall. At a village where we dined, we found a person who had hydrophobia, he was bitten by a dog about a fortnight ago, and was thought to be well when the fits broke out again, and now there seemed no hope of his recovery it was frightful to see him knocking himself against the side of the room, the people not holding him down effectually. The women of the village were most busy saying the name of Amida Buddha, I tried to shew them the uselessness of it in a way, which if it does not convince them and make them give it up, yet causes them always to laugh heartily. Having enquired the name of one of the bystanders I repeated it again and again in the chaunting way the women do, and ask if I should be likely to get much from the person whose name I was thus always taking in vain. The common answer is that in the west the frequent repetition of the name is a mode of honouring a person, to this of course there is nothing to reply and it is not worth while battling such ground, I rather deal directly and personally with them as sinners, and tell them that Buddha does not promise to save them, nor can he, Jesus has promised and has power. In speaking to the women, I often find great heed

given to my words, and have wished I could put into their hands some very simple form of prayer suited to their wants but strange as it may sound, such a form is most difficult to draw up, the very first word the name they are to call upon, how shall they learn it without instruction? owing to our repeated stoppages by the way, we did not reach the end of our days' journey before it was nearly dark, the inn which the place boasted looked very dirty and was exceedingly small and smoky, so I made bold to ask for room to lay down our mattresses at a chemists shop immediately opposite. My request was granted, and I think the proffer of a room would have been made by them had they known who we were, for directly I called in at the shop and mentioned that we were graduates from the far west, and had come to their honorable place with books for distribution than they received us most willingly and even provided some supper for us. In order that they might have as little trouble as possible from crouds of villagers anxious to see us, I went out into the street and remained walking about till quite late; at one house I was most graciously received, and sat sometime talking about the object of our visit to them. After our supper in our own room I went down into the shop, where I found a party of young men engaged in reading a book we had given them, they said at once "will you kindly explain this book to us we cannot make it out," where shall I begin? at the beginning I said we do not know who Jesus Christ is. As the book was one which contained all the great elementary truths of the Gospel, I was able to call their attention to the being and unity of God, to His works as shewn in creation, and to the salvation now offered to mankind by Jesus Christ whom He had sent.

The discussion of these subjects occupied us some time, and then they turned to those which were more general, Western countries and their productions and their marvels. Not having had any opportunity last evening of seeing the people save in very limited numbers, we appointed them to meet us at their large ancestral temple this morning, and they were not unwilling to obey the summons, the news of our arrival had spread through the place, and the spacious court gave a good opportunity for indulging their curiosity, and for the delivering our message. We deputed the work of distribution of books to one teacher, for we were anxious not to give away more than a few, and it is not easy for us always to discern a scholar from an illiterate person. The teachers seldom have much trouble in this, there is the same indescribable *something* about the gentleman and the man of letters in China that is found at home, and sometimes under a most shabby exterior, especially in this country places is found great intellectual power. We had sent away our most uncomfortable cradle chairs of yesterday and procured the ordinary mountain chairs, which were as good as any we could have as long as fine weather lasted. My companion went for about four miles of the way by a different road passing through a large village where we met with a more favorable reception even than usual, he was asked repeatedly to stay and felt that on another visit, this village of Me-san must have a day or two given it. He spoke in the ancestral temple till

he was hoarse, and joined me at Bah-t'an. Here I was waiting in a small apothecaries shop, where I had found an interesting old man, who had three sons, all of them literary graduates. He had a copy of the New Testament, one of the Ningpo Edition, which he brought out for me to see. This is the third copy I had found on this trip, and from these instances I feel sure that they are distributed very extensively throughout the Province, especially since I have engaged the services of a Colporteur who will I trust eventually visit not only every walled city, but every village of any considerable size belonging to the various prefectures. Outside this place we found a multitude of people engaged in Buddhist services, which accounted for the comparative quiet of the village itself. All these were at dinner, the men in a room on one side the women and children in a room on the other. They were evidently mad upon their idols, and did not at all like our presence among them, the priest who had the conducting of the ceremonies plainly asked us to walk out, which of course we, did the whole of the temple was gaily ornamented, and at the chief entrance on either hand were frightful pictures of hell with the various torments which mothers were pointing out to their children. On an exclamation of indignant horror from my companion, I could but think of the illustrated hells which I had seen in additions of the Pilgrim's Progress and other books, if these are defensible with the fire and smoke, and dragons claws, and ugly flame vomiting devils and frightened women and men, I do not see how we can object to their figures of cutting, sawing, pounding, boiling, &c., by which the Buddhist represents the torments of the damned. We left them not without pity for their delusions, and a desire that they might become acquainted with Him who his our peace, the present was no time to attempt to bring them over to the Gospel. At another village on the road we had a favourable opportunity for preaching to a multitude, some books we offered to a gentlemanly looking man were refused in not a very courteous manner. How seldom have we to complain of anything of this kind, how different the behaviour of the scholar among this people generally from the contemptuous and haughty demeanour of the self-exalted Brahmin in India. And this admiration of their politeness is still more heightened by the fact that they do not know anything more of us than that we are barbarian rebels who some time since made a disturbance in the country, and forced ourselves upon the people as merchants in opium, grey shirtings, and broad-cloth. By sunset we entered the walls of Tong-yang, a city in the prefecture of King-hwa found a very spacious monastery inside the city by the east gate, and ordered all our things to be left there, while we found out the Ching-wang-meau. In walking through the streets we found at first very little notice was taken of us we were not even followed by the boys, which was quite the reverse of all former experience, when we reached the temple our retinue did not amount to more than 50 or 60 people so I bid my friend go in, and said I would go out and hunt up some more to come and hear. This was no very difficult matter, a beginning once made the crowd came rolling in a sort of geometrical progression and

by the time I stood again at my companion's side we could neither of us complain of any want of numbers in our audience. Want of attention was a more serious charge, probably all who came pouring in had no idea that we could speak intelligible, so they came to give full license to their eyes in observing and to their lips in remarking upon us. We found the people more than usually obedient to orders, they dispersed quietly after our address, which we had never been able to induce them to do elsewhere. Some who wished to see us came in the evening, and we found the reception hall of the monastery a very good place for receiving visitors, if we allowed them to come into our own room our servant was in constant anxiety lest something out of our baskets should be taken away. We were visited by some runners from the mandarins offices, and we were not backward in telling all that was necessary for them to know about us. One of our callers recommended us to visit on the morrow a private tutor of great note in the city of the name of Du, as he said he would introduce us to this gentleman we gladly availed ourselves of his offer; found Mr. Du's school, and after waiting some time he made his appearance, a man of quiet easy behaviour evidently a gentleman and a scholar. When attending the late examination at Hang-chow he had received a book on the evidences of Christianity, of which a large number were then distributed he said he had read it, but we had not of course time to go into the grounds of our faith, we could only make general statements of truth. In his hands we left a large packet of books; he said he had no objection to distribute them among his friends, and we were sure that there was more probability of their finding readers so than by a general distribution in the streets among strangers. After the usual amount of bustle at our rooms haranguing crowds in the courts &c., we set out for Nyi-u, a smaller place than Tong-yang, also in the district of King-hwa, and which we found not surrounded by walls as the majority of the cities of its rank are. The only incident worthy of note during our days' march was the meeting with one of those who at the last examination attained the degree of Keu-jing, he was making a round of calls on his friends and presenting to each a copy of his successful essay. Just elate with the success of his scholarship, he was not likely to appreciate the plain and often unidiomatic style of the doctrinal books he received from us. Having to remain at Nyi-u for a whole day we were anxious to secure good quarters, but this was no easy matter; the inns of the place were open to us, but we feared if we went there we should have no room for the reception of visitors, no moment of quiet and rest for ourselves, the Ching-wang-meau was unsuitable in having no furniture of any kind not even a table or chair, no stair-case (till a ladder was brought) to the upper rooms, and no fire place for cooking our food. After some difficulty rooms were found at a place called "The Garden" which adjoined an Ancestral temple. It might be called without impropriety "a private chapel," its expenses were maintained by the head of a family who owned the Ancestral temple, a stock of merit being thus procured by having "a Buddhist to his priest." Before night-fall I made three addresses in the open air which

the crowd, (whose curiosity had some what evaporated by our walking in and out amongst them) paid more than usual attention, and that important personage the public tutor was present and my address made, (as will afterwards appear) a favorable impression upon him. Some fears having been expressed by the old priest in charge of the establishment where we now were, lest the authorities should extort money from him for allowing us rooms, we determined to go and see the Che-heen and explain the nature and reason of our visit. Consequently after some of our morning work was over, we went to the office, the Che-heen was not at home, but we were received by two deputies who had expressly stiffened themselves up for the occasion, they were determined not to relax a muscle of their features, what impression was made *within* I cannot say, but sallies of conversation were received by them as cannon-balls are received by sand bag batteries. We however effected our object, we told them we were visiting every part of the province, two of us lately had been to King-kwa, here they interrupted us by saying not to King-hwa itself, only into its districts; it was not worth while correcting them or I could have said I was one of those who visited the city; we shall visit I said every part of the province, we come here purposely to see the scholars of the place and provide them with books, to see the people and preach to them as they cannot read, on the return of your superior officer you can mention these circumstances to him. Despairing of making any impression on the imperturbable gravity of these men, we took our leave and went to call on the two public tutors: both received us very cordially and seemed much pleased with our visit, and one of them brought his aged mother to have a peep at us, as she had never set eyes on a foreigner before. A very small peep was sufficient for her, and I asked in vain if she would not like to sit and have a little conversation with the strange guests. There are probably many infirm old ladies in England and elsewhere who would be quite content with the merest glance at some fierce cannibal in his native dress, however good English he might speak. We are in many places hardly different in the eyes of Chinese from renowned cannibals in the eyes of Saxon-ladies. The wife of one of our Christian teachers besought him whatever he did, never to bring the foreigners home with him into the country, for they would be sure (she said) to bring a big blunderbuss with them! We exchanged presents with both of these gentlemen and in the evening one of them came to return our visit. We had had notice of his coming, and prepared our rooms for his reception to the best of our ability. The book on the evidences of Christianity which had been put into his hands this morning he had rapidly glanced over, so as to get a superficial knowledge of its contents, and he took up some of the points touched upon in it. The great stumbling block found by all like both Romanists and Protestants, the "worship of ancestors" as it is commonly called was the subject of conversation this evening. A most elaborate and ingenious defence was made of the custom which required no little skill in answering, our own teacher tried to answer by the second Commandment of the Decalogue, but this seemed

most inconclusive to both our minds as it evidently did to the propounder of the question, for he took no notice of it at all. It *might* satisfy the vulgar who pray before the tablet for the blessing of their Ancestors, much as they pray before an idol for the same purpose, but it could never bring conviction to the mind of one who regarded ancestral offerings much as we do ancestral pictures as a means of calling to remembrance those who are gone before us. The only conclusive ground seems to be that which is taken against the Romanists for their use of images. "The practice may possibly do you no harm, but you see and allow the results to which it leads among the common people. This argument Mr. Pwan could but not feel, for he had been inveighing against the stupidity of the people in their practice, and so exposed himself at once to the question "Is it not better, if not for yourself, yet for others, that the practice should be discontinued as now used, and if necessary some thing else substituted for it?"

The second marriage of widows was then taken up, he did not agree with the teaching that they might marry again, and brought forward, an illustration of his point, which is very amusing to us now in these days of scientific knowledge. You know of course he said our principles of the ying and the yang, now Heaven is yang, the Earth is ying, man is yang the woman is ying, as the *Heaven moves, while the earth remains quiet, so a man may properly marry again, but the woman ought to remain as she is left.* It did not seem to give him much concern when he was told (what indeed he knew before) that the earth really moved, the common idea on the subject seemed sufficient for him. He said he had listened to my address last evening and had agreed with it all, but he feared the people were too stupid to understand or appreciate it, he seemed to feel with his master Confucius, that popular custom was too strong to yield to such teaching. Having occupied some time in the discussion of various points of this kind, I did not wish the company should separate without a simple word of Gospel truth, so having obtained an opportunity, I took up an opium tract; this book I said contains a very good prescription but it is not the only medical book we have with us, we have others better than this, this only tells you how to cure an evil habit which afflicts the body, but our other books treat of the cure of the mind's disease, and tell how to save the soul. These truths were then stated by me briefly. After I had done, our guest took up the discourse; you hear, said he, what this honorable visitor to our vile country says, now mind you follow his words, give up all vice and wickedness, *eat no more dogs meat, no more beef,* and practice all that is right and good." Our room was quite full of visitors, attracted partly by the presence of our guest. The city of Nyi-u is pleasantly situated on the banks of a stream which joins the main river leading to Hang-chow at King-hwa about 40 miles distant, water communication seems never to be quite suspended, though after a season of long drought there is considerable difficulty in the navigation. We took a walk in the afternoon by the banks of this river crossing a bridge of boats a mile below the town. Being desirous of visiting a Pagoda a mile or two off we were glad to step into a boat

which was proceeding down the stream and so save ourselves a considerable part of the walk. In this boat we found a person who was acquainted with something of Christianity through the teaching of the Romanists, the first case of the kind, I have met with in my journeys. He was travelling with a small cargo of goods to King-hwa. The Pagoda was situated on a small hill, it was about 100 feet high, well and solidly built, the inner stair case had either decayed or been burnt, as is often the case. We sat here some time both admiring the prospect, and also glad of a few minutes for quiet reflection and meditation, the only part of the day that had the savour of Sabbath about it, the whole day was so thronged with various active duties. The prospect was extensive, we could follow the silvery course of the river for a long way, and the little boat in which we had taken our passage for a short distance had spread her sail to a favorable breeze, and was soon seen far away down the stream; on our return to the city we entered by the West gate, (for there are gates but no walls) a part we had not before been through, though our books had been scattered pretty plentifully in the main street. Here we found a very large and handsome ancestral temple belonging to the Dzing family, some of whom were presented and seemed very glad of our visit, they were no doubt rather proud of the family honour attached to the possession of so large a temple as this. A very old Pagoda stood not many hundred yards off, at the foot of which a company of Buddhist priests were performing a service for the dead. We took our leave of Nyi-u next morning shortly after eight o'clock, and after walking a few miles met continually burdens of coal; we enquired where it came from, and they said from the coal mines yonder, pointing to the hills before us; hearing the mines were only a short way off our path, we determined to pay them a visit; leaving the main road and winding in among the hills we soon saw the work of the miners in the refuse of the coal which formed a kind of embankment in front of the pit. We visited two shafts which were from 300 to 500 feet deep, the men descended by means of beams fixed in the side of the shaft, the coal was of course drawn out by a windlass in baskets, there were ten different platforms to the bottom, and from each platform galleries were cut into the hill following the veins of coal. About 50 men were employed beneath the surface at each place, and about half that number on the surface engaged in sifting, picking and packing the coal. There were various qualities some as low as \$1.62 and others as high as \$4 per ton. The coal we usually burn at Ningpo comes from a place called Kōng-san more to the west of the province, it seems much the same in quality as this, and further investigation by those acquainted with the subject, may shew both whether it is fitted for consumption by steamers, and whether the cost of transmission to Shanghai can be so lessened as to make it a valuable commodity of the market. This as well as many other things in the country is awaiting the application of foreign energy and scientific skill.

After leaving the coal district, our road lay through a fine hilly country with a light soil. Crowning the summit of a lofty hill was a spacious

temple, the winding path up the ascent was stated at 15 *le*, or about 5 miles. It may shew the power that superstition has over the people of the district, that a temple so difficult of access should be supported by their voluntary contributions. And yet, if asked, not one in a hundred probably could tell who the deity was, to whom the temple was dedicated. Who is *woo kung ta te*? I don't know answers one plainly,—I think the same with *tung yuh ta te* says another. That the temple has been built, that it is considered meritorious to go on pilgrimage there, that many refer to blessings obtained in answer to their prayer and offerings, this is enough for the mass of the people, they follow after in the beaten track like their fathers before them. By about three o'clock in the afternoon we arrived at Poo-keang, and failing to procure rooms at a Buddhist monastery where we applied, we told our trusty servant to look out for some decent inn, stow all our things away there, and when all was arranged to seek for us at the Ching-wang-meau, where we would find employment till night fall. We first took a parcel of books for each of the two public tutors, one was a Ningpo man who was gone to Hang-chow, the other was "not at home," which we interpreted to mean that he was not willing to receive us. On our arrival at the temple we had not gathered much of a crowd, not having traversed any but bye streets. I therefore went to call the inhabitants together, and though not very ready to leave their employments and follow me, or make their way according to my direction to the temple, yet before night fall we had quite as many present as could come within hearing of our voice. While we were speaking a little man elbowed his way in among the crowd, and in a most anxious voice and manner asked us to come into an inner room of the temple and speak with him. The gravity of his little thin face was quite ludicrous, and after entering into conversation with him we found he was the Te paou or district constable, who is more or less responsible for all that takes place in his ward. He was by no means satisfied with our general statements that we were foreign scholars come to propagate our religion, he said we must certainly go to the Ya-mun and make our report to the Che-keen. This we said we would do in the morning, or at least send our cards; it was not convenient for us to go this evening. Seeing that he could not move us from our purpose, he contented himself with remaining to watch our movements. In the temple I remained some hours, there being some mistake made about calling for me, it was nearly dark, and the people nearly all dispersed, the doors were being closed, when the faithful old servant came to say Mr. N. was at the inn and waiting for me. A better arrangement than this could not have been desired, for instead of a rabble with nothing but eyes and mouth gaping at us and talking, we had a quiet evening and received during the course of it several notes requesting for a supply of our books, nearly always mentioning the opium tract. The Ya-mun people still hovered about us, but we persisted in refusing to comply with their wish that we should appear in person at the office that night. On the following morning we were up early with a supply of books for the shops, which were distributed without any disturbance or trouble. We then took our

breakfast, sent off our baggage, telling the bearers to wait a short way outside the city walls for fear we might be detained. The Che-keen was not yet visible, so we apologized for our early call saying that we were anxious to proceed on our journey as soon as possible, having a long walk before us, we then left our cards and a present of books. On leaving the office we met the old Te paou who shewed such an anxious demeanour last night, his face was now bright with smiles, and he asked us to come and take some refreshment with him. Owing to the great difference in the exchange of the dollar amounting to about 25 per cent discount, which was accounted for by their dependence upon Hang-chow we were obliged to give up our chairs for the day and walk, the distance was about 26 miles, and with our morning's work in the city made the day a very fatiguing one to us, add to which, we missed our way, and lengthened our route a mile or two. Having observed frequently by the road side an upright slab with the inscription, "public altar" upon it, I asked the meaning, and learnt that pious and charitable persons erected these by the road side that offerings might be made there, and so the wandering shades of those unfortunates who had no one to sacrifice to them might be fed, and not bring disease and death upon the inhabitants of the district. The people appeared very timid, it required some persuasion to induce them to take a book from us, and we had not much time to stop by the way and create a feeling of confidence towards us. Glad would our porters have been to have found some inn short of the regular day's stage, the way was toilsome to us who travelled with the burden only of an umbrella to defend us from the rays of the sun, and with a burden of a hundred pounds on the back, the sight of the village where the day's journey was to terminate would be intensely welcome. The most bustling and withal the most dirty inn I had ever been in gave us entertainment, the size of the eating room, the number of tables, the calls for dinner, giving and receiving of orders, arrival of fresh guests, gave us the idea of some lowest class travellers house in England. Not a broom or brush had touched the sleeping rooms, apparently for generations, but we were now accustomed to Chinese ways, the proverb "what cant be cured must be endured," had often been tested by us before, so we looked at each other and said nothing. Nearly thirty miles of walk was conducive to sound sleep, and we did not awake till the cries of a pig, evidently in the hands of the executioner aroused us. I remarked to my companion, some of that animal will be served up perhaps for our morning's meal, and the savoury fry that was produced at eight o'clock verified my conjecture. Before breakfast I walked out to view the place, it is frowned upon by a remarkable hill, with a bare and lofty peak, about 2,000 feet high, there was a dragon in or about the hill, who inhaled the noxious vapours and evil blights of the place, dissipated them into the pure air above, and saved the villagers from much mischief, in gratitude they had built him a temple in a deep recess of the mountain, just visible from our point of view, where offerings are from time to time made as recompense for past services and inducement to continue them for the future. There seemed to be but few readers in the place, and the day was

unpropitious for their search, for it was market day, and on leaving the village we found that more than one pig had cried for the last time that morning, people were too busy with their morning's marketing to give much heed to us, so we moved on at once to the neighbouring city of Che-ke a distance of only about ten miles. This place is one of great importance, communicating as it does by water with Shao-hing, Hang-chow, and of course all the cities lying in their locality. We felt it most important to establish a precedent of passing through Che-ke without molestation from the authorities, for it is as it were the back gate by which we can find access to all the province when the front door of Shao-hing may be closed against us. This consideration made us determine to pay a formal visit to the Ya-mun of the Che-keen, that this officer and his subordinates might be aware of our visit and have the opportunity of conferring with us if they thought it desirable. An immense crowd followed us, and were coming even into the inner court so entirely did their curiosity overleap the bounds of propriety. We were shewn into a side room, and while there, the clamours of the people outside increased to such an extent that I begged premission to go out and quiet them. We had had experience of their violence, if opposed, at Nyi-u, where a servant of one of the public tutors in trying to maintain his master's authority and exclude the people, brought down their wrath upon him, and he might have received a good beating, if we had not come to the rescue and pacified the people by our presence. I feared that some doors would be battered down here, so persisted in having my own way, and left Mr. N. to talk with the attendants, while I went into the large open court, which was now filled with people. On looking around for some place from which I might address them I saw a ladder leaning against a side house, I ascended two or three rounds of this, and having obtained a silence such as I could hardly have expected amid such a concourse made them an address for about a quarter of an hour, when my friend made his appearance, and the attention of the people was diverted from me. Although we had been told that the public examinations were being held at the Ching-wang-meaou, and we had better not go there, yet I suspected the truth of the assertion and in the course of the afternoon went, all was as on ordinary occasions, no public business was being transacted, so that there was no obstacle to preaching the word of life to those who had come together. On either side of the court were shrines, containing the statues of men of former times, all eminent in virtue, which reminded me of Westminster Abbey, and I said, the custom of honouring the departed who have excelled in virtue by erecting statues to their memory, prevails among other nations also, but there is one great difference between our custom and yours, you seek to these beings for happiness, riches, children long-life, which it is not in their office or power to bestow, they are only to be obtained from one who is above all, the Creator and Father of all things and all men. This method of introducing the subject had a marked effect, it was conciliatory, while at the same time it gave me an opportunity of introducing the peculiar teachings of the Christian religion in all their distinctness. For preaching this was

perhaps the best day of our tour, there must have been at least two thousand in the court of the Che-keen, a thousand on this occasion at the temple, and smaller assemblies were met with elsewhere. Our journey hence to Ningpo was chiefly by water, we descended the stream to Teo-meng, walked over about 12 miles of country which was very populous, studded with large villages, took boat again on the other side of a pass in the hills, and reached Shao-hing in the evening. We provided ourselves with another boat which took us to Pah-kwan by the morning, whence about eighteen hours took us to Ningpo.

Many reflections might be made on the result of such tours as these, among them the following:—

1st. It is made known throughout a large tract of country that there are scholars residing in the Empire who are employed in teaching religious

truth, a fact not usually known far beyond the precincts of the five ports.

2d. Intercourse with the people removes their strong feelings of prejudice against us, i. e. if we behave ourselves properly and keep a good stock in hand of patience and good temper. It also disposes them to receive well future visitors.

3d. Large numbers hear the principal elements of religious truth, and general, though vague and floating ideas for the most part, of Christian truth become current among the people.

4th. The distribution of a large amount of printed matter at great expense, even if it is not always of the best composition, is likely to stir up the native mind to enquire into the reality of the truths put forward.—Believe me, yours truly,

R. H. COBBOLD.

(From the China Mail.)

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE REBELLION IN CHINA.

AFTER an interval of several weeks, a small number of Imperial Decrees, dating from 1st May to 3d July, has appeared in the Canton reprint of the *Peking Gazette*. Their chief matter is the celebration of a triumph in honor of the suppression of all rebellion north of the Yellow River: precedent being furnished by a similar ceremony performed on the 9th February, of which we had not heard before. An action fought at Fungkwan Tun, a place not named in any statistical work, but believed to be on the north bank of the Yellow River, has given peace to the country between it and Peking, and the Emperor not only rewards all concerned with unusual liberality, but dissolves the vigilance committee of nobles and ministers charged for the last two years with the surveillance of Peking and its vicinity. Farther to mark the occasion, he commutes the sentence of death passed in 1853 on Saishangah, his late prime minister, and on Narkingeh, ex-Governor General of Chih Li, to perpetual exile in the Western Colonies. The troops engaged, now styled the victorious of Fungkwan Tun, are to march under Selingah, a general officer who has been much employed in this war, to the relief of Wu-chang, lately captured by the insurgents for the third time.

The rest are chiefly taken up with rewards to those officials who have been most forward in restoring quiet to Kwangtung, which province the high authorities, Yé and Pih, represent as perfectly freed from its pest. His Majesty however does not consider its quiet so well assured as to admit of the triennial examinations being held there at present, and a special degree will be conferred next year instead. In the remote regions of Yun Nan and Kwei Chau, although these had been somewhat disturbed along their inner frontier in the spring, the schools will be opened as usual, and the high examiners have been nominated.

South of the Yellow River, there is reason to fear that the prospect of peace is as distant as ever. In Kwang Si, Hu Nan, Hu Peh, Kiang Si, and Ngan Hwei, the *Gazette* has apprised us of recaptures from time to time, but almost invariably in rear of successful rebel movements, and the mischief done to the districts afflicted is doubtless the greater, that the insurgent army, preserving to be sure a sort of centre at and about Nan-king, has been roving east and west without any plan of campaign. The northern expedition of 1853 did start with a definite object, but notwithstanding a fair promise of success at its outset, it must now be pronounced a decided failure. The presence of the force engaged in this, in Chih Li, and Shan Tung, at no time seriously interfered with the communications between Peking and Kiang Su.

The extent and progress of the Insurrection as a whole will be best shewn by a review of its action in the different provinces disturbed by it from its commencement.

Kwang Si must have been in a state of frightful disorder as far back as 1847-8; for a memorial from certain gentlemen of six prefectures of this province, presented through the Censurate in December 1850, complained that two-thirds of it were overrun by robbers, natives of it, assisted by men of Hu Nan and Kwang Tung, whose badge was a red turban. They committed all sorts of violence, and, "at the time the petition was written, hundreds and thousands of fields were lying uncultivated; the communications were in the hands of the outlaws, so that the supplies of government could not travel." Such a condition of things was not the work of a few months in China.

The Court had only just taken the matter up. The new Emperor had ascended the throne on the 25th February, 1850, and had commanded, *more ceterum*, all officers having the privilege of addressing the throne to give him counsel in writing: but, though brigandage was a stock topic of the respondents during several months, and though various localities were particularised as infested with banditti bearing in each case a distinctive appellation, Kwang Si was little noticed until the close of the year, when things looked so ill that Commissioner Lin was summoned from his retirement in Fuh Kien to restore tranquillity to the Two Kwang. He died on his way, and Sii, the Governor General, continued to attempt the suppression of disorder in the ever-turbulent districts along the west of Kwang Tung; a task which after some months he reported himself to have accomplished. His subordinate, the Governor of Kwang Si, was meanwhile most deservedly brought to trial, and troops were put in motion against the outlaws of his province and its neighbour, Hu Nan, under sundry high officers, civil and military, detached from other provincial governments and from Peking. But the Kwang Si sedition was assuming form and shape, and in August 1851, Hung Siu-tsiuen, subsequently known as T'ai Ping Wang, seized Yung-ngan, the city of a sub-prefecture in the east of the province, and held it until April 1852. The insurgent force, of which he was chief, advancing slowly at first, then commenced its northern march by moving upon the provincial capital Kwei-lin. This city resisted, and, though since repeatedly invested, does not appear ever to have been lost to the government. The rebels soon left it behind them, and after seizing and abandoning various places in the south of Hu Nan, took Chang-sha, its capital, at the end of November, and in the middle of December, Yoh-

chau, a prefectural city on the Great River, Yang-Tsz'. Before the end of the month they had crossed it and stormed Wu-chang the capital of Hu Peh, and then descending this stream, captured every city of note in or near its banks, both in Kiang Si and Ngan Hwui, until they arrived at Nan-king the capital of Kiang Su, which they stormed in March 1853. This city and Chinkiang have ever since been recognised as the head-quarters of the insurrection, and the movements of the rebel army, so far as we are enabled to follow them, have all had more or less reference to this common centre of operations. It had wanted either the will or the power to retain many places west of Nan-king, but it was now armed at the expense of all the chief Imperial depôts in five provinces; its numbers had doubtless much increased as it traversed Hu Nan, which was already in a very disorganised condition, and had been severely harassed by a banditti known as the Nieh Fi, or Filchers; and, lastly, it had all the prestige that at least two years' united defiance of government and community of interest could give it over the Imperial troops; who according to the official memorialists of the time, were under their establishment, ill-paid, undisciplined, and commonly in league with the lawless persons against whom they are employed. On the Imperial side, again, the conduct of the campaign must have been otherwise seriously prejudiced by the frequent changes among the chiefs in command. Some of them sank under the fatigues of field-service, some were destroyed in the cities captured, and many were degraded. Saishangah, not long raised to the premiership, was cashiered for his ill-success in the autumn of 1852. As the insurrection moved up, through and beyond Hu Nan, Sü, as he declared, pursued and exterminated the enemy. On charges preferred by him, Hiang Yung, who had gained a great name two years before by his success against the Filchers aforesaid, was disgraced. He was, however, soon reinstated in his command, and Sü himself tried and condemned to die for the loss of all the cities taken by the rebels during his victorious pursuit of them. So with others of note. For a few months they shew themselves to be gaining great advantages. Then come charges of corruption, incapacity, falsehood, and cowardice; then trial, disgrace, and severe punishment. In one instance it was prayed that the customary posthumous honors should be denied to a high officer who died at his post; so reprehensible was his previous career found to have been.

The advance from Kwang Si to Nan-king must be regarded as the first act of the insurrection. Thenceforward its operations have to be distinguished as those of the southern and northern army. We may assume the bulk of the whole force to have been at the assault of Nan-king in March 1853, but in June, while there still remained, in and about the valley of the Yang-tsz', a sufficient army to make head against 70,000 Manchu and Chinese troops under Hiang Yung, and a second corps under Kishen composed of contingents from Shen Si, Kan Suh, Peking, and Manchuria, another rebel division passing through Ngan Hwui, appeared on the south bank of the Yellow River, before K'ai-fung, the capital of

Ho Nan. This city they failed to take: Kwan Ti, the Mars of China, was visible in a tempest, according to the Governor of the province, and compelled them to raise the siege. About the end of August they crossed the river, and, for some cause unexplained, wasted sixty days before Hwai-king, which they did not either reduce.

They seem now to have determined on the move which, had it succeeded, might have given the empire to T'ai Ping Wang. Entering Shan Si in September, and marching by way of Ping-yang, they turned eastward, and, driving Nanking-eh, the Governor General, before them, invaded Chih Li, and capturing every town and city as they went, reached the prefecture of Tien-tsin on the 30th October: having accomplished some 700 miles in about six weeks. Their first notion, it would appear from their route, was to march on Peking by way of Pán-ting, the capital of the province; and that the metropolis itself was in no condition to resist them is plain from the memorial of a Censor presented about this time, the accidental publication of which in the *Gazette* provoked the Emperor to great wrath. In their flank movement, they were of course influenced by the prospect of obtaining easy possession of Tien-tsin. This would have given them a station at the head of the Grand Canal, and, its other extremity being always in the hands of their southern army, they would thus have secured a magazine of supply for themselves while they intercepted all intended for Peking, and would have had withal an available position on the seaboard. This was, so far, good strategy, but it is a question whether they had men enough to hold Tien-tsin and, at the same time, to act against the metropolis with a large Imperial force on their left. Politically speaking, their game was, without doubt, to have carried out their original design upon Peking.

As it was, they had miscalculated the temper of the inhabitants of the Tien-tsin prefecture, who have a sort of British repute for pugnacity, and could have felt little or nothing in common with southern rebels. The latter were fairly checked, and as it was now late in the year, and the troops under Shingpáu and the Mongol prince Sangkehlinsin, were closing up, they entrenched themselves at Tuh-liu, on the western edge of the prefecture, and after holding their ground throughout the severe northern winter with sufficient tenacity to cost Shingpáu his command, broke up in the spring and commenced moving southwards. In March 1854, they quitted their lair at Tuh-liu, but, after tracing them to the centre of Chih Li, we are without any details of their having been expelled or destroyed. One *Gazette* mentions the execution of some rebels taken alive, and another the vain attempt of some to cross the Yellow River, southwards, in Ho Nan. The latter were of course a portion of the original northern army, and, very possibly, that force which, in the summer of 1854, disturbed the north of Hu Peh, and finally, in June of the same year, took Wu-chang the second time: another part may have effected a junction with the second northern army, which had moved up in the spring, it was presumed, in support of the first.

This reinforcement had reached Lin-tsing in Shan Tung on the 4th April 1854, but was unable

to pass beyond it. Káu-tang, somewhat east of Liu-tsing, was seized a few weeks later, but the captors were there besieged until the 23d February last, when it was reoccupied by Sangkehlinsin, the same commander-in-chief before whom the rebels had retreated from Tien-tsin. The latter continued to move slowly south till late in March, when they were in the prefecture of Tung-chang, and we have no further account of them, unless the triumph now decreed be in honor of their expulsion from the north. The authorities at Shanghai had news in April or May that there were no rebels north of the Yellow River. It is quite possible; and if so, we are at the end of the second, and as yet the most interesting, act of the great rebellion.

Its course in the provinces south of the Yellow River is far more obscure. Since the capture of Nan-king, the southern rebel army has apparently been detached in large foraging parties, the direction of which we learn, as before observed, by the Imperial recapture of the places abandoned by them. The early troubles in Kwang Si and Hu Nan have been recorded above. Chian-sha, the capital of the latter, was reoccupied by government very soon after its capture in November 1852; the rebels making for Hu Peh, the capital of which, Wu-chang, was first seized in January 1853. This city was reoccupied on the 9th February following, but, in April 1854, many places in its neighbourhood are in the hands of the rebels, and the direction of many more recaptured by the government in the north and centre of Hu Peh, lead us to infer that the enemy is descending the great feeders of the Yang-Tsz' Kiang. On the 26th June he retakes Wu-chang after eight days' siege; the governor of Hu Peh escapes with his life, but, flying to Cang-sha, in Hu Nan, is there decapitated by order of the Emperor. It has been surmised that these were some of the rebels of the first northern expedition, and that their attempt to repass the Yellow River was not so vain as the *Gazette* represented. Whoever they were, they were moving eastwards ere long; so that in October, government was again in possession of Wu-chang and many places north of it, as well as of some across the great river in Hu Nan; from the south of which at the close of the year it could boast of having expelled some roving gangs of Kwang Tung and Kwang Si banditti. The rebels nevertheless still held some positions along the river east of Wu-chang, and on the 26th March last, this unfortunate city was stormed for the third time, and the Governor General killed. It is now to be retaken, as soon as possible, by the victors of Fung-kwan Tun under Selingah.

Kiang Si was traversed rather than invaded in the first instance. Kiu-kiang, on the north bank of the Yang Tsz', was taken by the rebels on the 18th February, 1853, nine days after their evacuation of Wu-chang. The capital, Nan-chang, held out for some months, but fell before the end of the summer, and the disorder of the province at a later period may be best inferred from the fact, that no literary examinations could be held in April 1854, either at Nan-chang or four other of the prefectural cities; in other words, in all the north and centre of the province. The *Gazettes* of May last tell us of two prefectural cities recovered

in the north-east of Kiang Si, but, by a more recent report from Shanghai, we learn that* Yang, the Eastern King, with 60,000 men, is marching southward from Nan-king on that province, by way of Hwui-chau.

It is not improbable that Nan-king has been reinforced by the army said to be expelled from the north, and that in lieu of recommencing operations against Peking the insurgents have decided on first attempting the subjugation of the south. The Chinese of the Sung dynasty were long obliged to content themselves with this moiety of the Middle Kingdom; the rest being meantime held by the Kin Tartars, reputed ancestors of the Manchu race.

In Ngan Hwui, the capital Ngan-king, standing on the north bank of the Great River, was taken on the 25th February, 1853, and we hear little more of it, or of Fung-yang, a prefectural city, captured by the northern army at the end of May of the same year when *en route* for the Yellow River. Lu-chau, in the centre of the province, was attacked in November and taken in January, after what was represented to be an unusually obstinate defence, in which the Governor of Ngan Hwui lost his life. Some recaptures have been reported elsewhere within this jurisdiction, but, in February of this year, the rebels still held Lu-chau and other places taken about the same time, and, as late as May, in the southern division of this province, where they have been always in activity, they had worsted the Imperial troops near Hwui-chau, a large city, chief of a department of great importance to our tea-trade, the appearance west of which of a large force, under the Eastern King, has been mentioned above.

Lastly, in Kiang Su, after the seizure of Nan-king and Chin-kiang in March, 1853, a large body of rebels took possession of Yang-chau, north of the Yang-Tsz', and on the west bank of the Grand Canal, and were there besieged by Kishen, who, with his army of northern contingents, was on his way for Hu Peh when the news of the first reoccupation of Wu-chang reached him. He accordingly countermarched, and, after many months' investment of Yang-chau, re-entered it, pursuing the rebels, as usual, but failing in all his attempts to dislodge them from Kwa-chau, a town below Yang-chau, at the junction of the Canal with the Great River, and directly opposite to Chin-kiang. Here he died some time in 1854.† It is remarkable that Kiang Su, east of the Canal, has been but little molested, although its second

* *North-China Herald*, August 4, 1853. This is the worthy who arrogates to himself the titles of the third person of the Trinity, and is believed to have been the chief authority at Nan-king. His proclamations seen near Hwui-chau had nothing religious about them beyond the employment of the term Shan T'i—the term most in favour for rendering the word *God*.

† Kishen was sent in chains to Peking for his treaty with Captain Elliott in 1841, banished to Ili, and his fortune confiscated. He had worked his way up again as Resident of Yarkand, Commissioner of Thibet, Governor General of Sz' Chuen, Governor General of Shen Si and Kan Suh, and Cabinet Minister, when he was again impeached for corruption and abuse of authority in the last named vice-royalty. But besides a powerful connexion, he had really great ability, and commanded the confidence of the Court.

capital, Su-chau, but 80 miles above Shanghai, might have been supposed a prize sufficiently tempting. On the other hand the continued possession of Nan-king and Chin-kiang is morally of the last importance to the insurgents, nor can the vitality of the rebellion be considered extinct so long as they are established in the chief city of Southern China.

To recapitulate: we shall perhaps not err in admitting that there are now no rebels north of the Yellow River. In Sz' Chuen, a disturbance recently quelled near the capital Chin Tu, was declared not to be of a rebellious character. In Hu Peh, speaking with reference to Peking, we have the left of the insurgent army at Wu-chang, retaken for the third time last March; its right resting on Nan-king and Chin-kiang which it has held since March 1853; its centre thrown far forward into Ngan Hwei; while in its rear Kiang Si, disturbed throughout, is threatened with a visit from the Eastern King, Yang. Kwang Si and Hu Nan are both unquiet, but the west part of Kwang Tung, ordinarily a scene of great trouble, was passed through within the last month by a traveller from Tonquin without any molestation. The valley of the Yang-Tsz' Kiang therefore is still the theatre of war.

The seizures of Amoy and Shanghai in 1853 and the attempt on Canton last winter have been purposely excluded from the above sketch of the insurrection. They are episodes in its history, but we have no ground for believing that the actors in these movements were recognised by the greater body with which they claimed to identify themselves; and the wide difference between the character credibly attributed to the occupants of Nan-king and that of the other rebels in question, of which we have had evidence more direct and convincing, would of itself incline us to dispute the assumption.

As to the status of the former, the visits of foreigners to Nan-king have been too few and too brief to enable us to judge soundly of the politics or religion of the followers of T'ai P'ing Wang. The theory of the first, its form of religion apart, would seem of much the same quality as that which the habit of ages has sanctified in China. That of the second, however much its quasi-Christian features may have, at first and naturally, captivated those sharing or interested in missionary labours, has given slight guarantee, in the publications put forth by its professors in chief, that the casting down of idols and the disuse of opium foreshew a purer rule of social life or a less extravagant superstition.

Their model of an official system appears to be that of the Ming Dynasty. The state strick of divine revelation may have been suggested by the study of versions of Scripture not in the best Chinese, and without teacher or commentary; but in part also by the past history of their own country, in which similar delusions have before answered the purpose of mistifying the multitude. As to the estimation in which their countrymen hold this party, we do not find in most of those Chinese to whom we have access much sympathy with it, or antipathy to the present government. On the contrary, by respectable Chinese the political antecedents of the rebels are regarded as extremely suspicious. The foreigner who is

attracted by their religious profession, is still unable to say whether it was at first, or is yet, equally adopted by even a majority of the insurgents in China; whence it came, or when it began. For caution's sake he may abstain from pronouncing it imposture, or from at once classing the section professing it with the ill-conditioned *canaille* who have been "doing justice in the cause of Heaven" along the coast, by sea and by land. But the troubles that have now grown into revolt are not, in the opinion of many well informed Chinese, of so recent or peculiar an origin as a somewhat precocious belief in our imperfect accounts of Hung Siu-tsiuen would assign to them. The place of its birth is no bad index to the real nature of this outbreak. Many districts in the west of Kwang Tung, in Kwang Si, and in Hu Nan, have been seriously disturbed at different periods ever since 1832; if not longer. Races inhabiting a country difficult of access, and probably never more than nominally brought under Imperial control, have contributed to the disquiet of a region notoriously the cradle of those societies, which, though formed, in the first instance, of men provoked to resistance by the extreme severity of the earlier Manchu sovereigns, have long since degenerated; retaining perhaps the watchword of the old cause, but exerting the powers of their union for little else than the protection of piracy and brigandage, at the expense of such as are not enrolled in their confederacy; and to the best of our information, the latter have much the advantage of them in respectability. It is from such sources, according to their own countrymen, that the rebel ranks are principally recruited. The excessive slackness and corruption of the government have given a new opportunity to such people; and with more danger to itself than on several former occasions, because its slackness and corruption have impaired the dynastic constitution to a point possibly beyond recovery.

Other monarchs of the Ta Teing dynasty have coped successfully with like foes of equal daring and greater pertinacity. In 1665, while Kang Hi was still but a child, there was rebellion in ten provinces of the empire, which cost it one-third of its economies. In the short reign of Yung Ching, 1722-35, some twenty millions sterling were similarly expended. The war of 1776 and the following years cost Kien Lung above twenty-three millions, but there were still twenty millions left in the exchequer: and in 1795, the sixtieth year of Kien Lung, although the taxes of the whole empire had been four times, and those of seven provinces twice, remitted, and notwithstanding six imperial tours to Kiang Nan, which, with the remission of said taxes, stood him in about sixty-seven millions more, the old emperor had still twenty-three millions in his exchequer. These balances have reference to the account of the Board of Revenue, whose receipts, according to the Statutes of 1812-18, should be about fifteen millions, to cover an expenditure of some twelve millions sterling. The foregoing details are from a good native authority, who proceeds to remark, that from the accession of Kia King in 1796 to the date of the war with England, the empire had spent some sixty-seven millions in wars, one of them, early in the century, lasting eight years;

and we hear nothing of a surplus either in this reign or that of Táu Kwang. Throughout the latter and the present, of Hien Fung, the constant cry has been that the income of the state is insufficient. In 1832 the disbursements exceeded the receipts by more than nine millions. The enquiries of 1848 shewed every collection, in coin and kind, to be in arrear, and the memorialists of this reign have uniformly set down these difficulties to official negligence or dishonesty; tendency to both being favoured by the state's dignified practice of forgiving the public debt on certain great occasions, the recurrence of which may be looked for about once in ten years. The demands of the present trouble have been heavy. In 1852, Sü, writing from Hu Nan, gives six millions sterling as the cost of the previous two years' war; and there is reason to believe that, in Kiang Su, Kiang Si, and Ngan Hwui, the expenses since that time have exceeded twenty millions. Money indeed still seems to be forthcoming whenever the wealthy are coaxed or called on to find it, but with such obstruction in the regular channels of supply, the means of restoring quiet must be precarious.

Nor does the personal character of the sovereign appear such as to render him, like his ancestors, superior to the emergency. Succeeding to the throne in extreme youth, he at once discovered a certain hostility to his father's oldest advisers, and a leaning towards an opposition, the chief of which is believed to have been a connexion of his mother's, but who so early committed himself as to render impossible his promotion to the high place for which he was probably intended. His master in the fifth year of his rule had changed his premier oftener than his predecessor in a reign of thirty years; and the homilies addressed to him on his accession in reply to his request for counsel, deferentially but pointedly admonish him in respect of indolence, luxury, caprice, and pe-

tulance. Rumour, not of great authority, has charged him with these faults; but one of his latest Decrees would lead us to infer that the monitions of his servants were not out of place, and have been but of little avail. His palace at Yuen-ming Yuen, a few miles from Peking, is undergoing repairs, and one of the Censors assuming that the court was about to move thither, in the exercise of his office, recommends his Majesty to remain in Peking; for which advice the Board of Civil Office is directed to punish him. Other Censors, whether with or without reference to this memorial does not appear, a few days after also remonstrate, first, against the punishment of their colleague, whose assumption was not unreasonable, and, secondly, against his Majesty's proceeding to Yuen-ming, on the ground that his mind would be certainly distracted from public business, and that, at this most critical time, he should avoid exposure to the temptation to amuse himself, which they think would be irresistible at his palace of pleasure. The emperor, first explaining that the repairs, being only those annually made at the said palace, ought not to have suggested the idea that he was going there at all, declares that his predecessors had resided there in periods of equal anxiety; that he himself had done so for six months in 1852 without neglecting the affairs of the state; that the assertion of the Censors, that it is a matter attracting much attention, is merely made to obtain them a place in history as fearless advisers of the crown, and that it betokens want of depth and narrowness of mind. It is a case, in his opinion, for extreme severity, but in compassion for the natural deficiency of the officer whose name stands at the head of the second memorial, he is only degraded from his Circuit Censorship of Fuh Kien, but retained in the Censorate, and committed to the Board of Civil Office for farther punishment.

T. F. WADE.

In KWANG SI, rebels, probably of the old stock, were repulsed at Yung-ngan in the summer, and the Governor, Láu Tsung-kwang, had announced the extirpation of some members of the Shang Ti* Hwui; but, in August, some of the Kwang Tung insurgents, passing up from Sháu-king Fu by the great stream, which, earlier in its course, nearly intersects Kwang Si, attacked and took the prefectural city of Sin-chau. Local correspondents had already informed us of its fall, and are now much in advance of the Gazettes as to the significance of this last eruption.

It remains only to mention, that, in the far west of the Empire, there is likewise disorder of a grave character.

In the East of KWEI CHAU in July and August, several towns in Chin-yuen Fu were attacked by the Miau Taz' aborigines. Subsequent Gazettes give news of their defeat on various occasions, but later still, of their entrenching themselves in positions; then, of their worsting the Imperial troops in the field. On the 5th September, the Governor, Tsing Wei-yuen, reports their capture of Tui-kiang, a sub-prefectural city close to the Miau Taz' country, and later in the month the appearance of "Wandering Savages" in Ngan-shun, a prefecture in the heart of the province, and in Lang-tai, near its western border. At the end of October, Hangchun, Governor General writes from Yun Nan, that Tan-kiang is also lost, and that he is sending up troops to the assistance of Kwei Chau.

In the west of Sz' CH'UEN, Ma-pien was disturbed in the summer by the Si Fan,† or Western Savages. These, whether driven back, as was represented, or not, probably belonged to the unreclaimed tribes of the west, some of whom lie within the nominal limits of the province. A Gazette of November states that the troops had killed above a thousand, and so relieved the suffering population. We also hear, by way of Shanghai, of an extensive outbreak in some twenty districts of Sz' Ch'uen, caused it is said by the scarcity of grain. Government in China, assuming to himself the function of supply, incurs, as a matter of course, the penalty of discontent in cases of dearth.

The rebel front continues, therefore, nearly as it was, but in some sort insecure at both extremities. The increase of activity in its centre and supports is, on the other hand, so great as to afford no prospect of its immediate suppression. It is clearly more indebted to the imbecility of government for its continuance than to any compactness of plan or essential vigor of its own; and, that it is to

* Shang Ti, "the most honorable among spirits." So far back as 1850, one of the many designations by which the Kwang Si rebels were known was that of the Shang Ti Hwui. It is not impossible that this sect religious, political, or both, existed before the time of Hung Siu-tsuen, either as this, or as the Tien-Ti Hwui, Heaven & Earth confederacy.

† Si Fan is a generic designation of tribes of the old Tangut country, that is of modern Kan Suh, and Koko Nor; and of others occupying part of modern Tibet, and Nipal. It is of course those of Koko Nor, or Tsing-Hai, a desert region bordering on Sz' ch'uen, who have invaded that province. Natives speak of them, down here, as Mahometants. The Mahometan Colonies of China lie north and west of Tsing Hai.

the same cause that its origin is due, is attested by the very outspoken memorial of an ancient statesman (Tsang Wang-Yen) recently published, in which the lawless societies of Kwang Tung are emphatically declared to owe their existence to the faint-heartedness of the authorities, who have for years persisted in ignoring these seditious confederacies, and the crimes committed by members of them.

There is no incident in this wretched history that may enable one to name a term of years within which the struggle shall be concluded. The emperor recovers ground lost in one province, only as it were to see rebellion condense itself in another; and the rebels, though stubborn and formidable, are still, considered as a whole, on the defensive, and have now to recommence, geographically speaking, from a point little in advance of where they were at the beginning of 1854. At Nanking and about it, large imperialist and insurgent armies have been engaged for nearly three years without effecting on either side any material change in the dispositions of each other. Communications throughout the land are embarrassed indeed, but their interruption is so manifestly imperfect, that it is hardly possible to pronounce any tract of the disturbed country positively in the possession of either party. The south of China is dotted like a chessboard with men of both, oftener, it would seem, intent on avoiding than on seeking one another. Government, however, still maintains an official presence, civil and military, in every province, and if, as seems possible, it now recover Chin-kiang, little as that event may be due to the prowess of its arms, it will doubtless avail it something with the wavering and superstitious; that is to say, with the majority of the inhabitants of the empire.

P.S.—Since the above was in types, the *Peking Gazettes* of January have been received from Shanghai.

In Kiang Su these announce farther advantages gained by the troops before Kwa-chau and upon the Yang-tsz' Kiang. The rebel fleet, on one occasion, had been pursued with great loss up the river to within a few miles of Nanking. This is the statement of Tominga, who is levying subscription to build a line of wall that is to enclose Kwa-chau; and his report is endorsed by Hiang Yung and Kirhanga, who give details of continued pursuit and victory, by land and water, up to the 27th December; as also of successful operations on and beyond the command boundary of Kiang Su and the south riding of Ngan Hwui. From Shanghai, however, we learn that a fierce sortie of the Chin-kiang rebels had inflicted a severe blow on the besieging army.

In the north riding of Ngan Hwui, the previous account of the recovery of Ying-shan is confirmed by a Rescript, from which it appears that some of the Ho Nan Nieh Fi, or Filchers, who had found their way into the district, had taken in the Imperialists by feigning to surrender, and that the latter paid dear for their credulity, though they subsequently carried their point.

Westward, in Ho Nan itself, now for some months undisturbed, Ulungebu reports another suppression of the eternal Nieh Fi, and the re-

NOTE OF THE CHINESE REBELLION.

By T. F. WADE, Esq., ACTING CHINESE SECRETARY.

July 1855—February 1856.

In a summary drawn up a few months since, it was attempted to arrange the principal leading events of the Chinese Rebellion in their proper order, and in such form as would give the reader some idea of the progress of the Insurgents since their historical commencement in 1852, and of their actual position in the Empire in the summer of 1855.

Disturbances in Sz'Ch'uen, not recognised by the authorities as rebellion, were excluded from present consideration: so too were the isolated feats of sedition at Amoy, Shanghai, and Canton. Though sufficiently grave in character, and no doubt extrinsically aiding the subversiveness of the larger movement, these supplementary risings, it is still held, must be viewed rather as accretions upon its growth, than as emanations from the great insurrection. Otherwise, the valley of the Yang-tsz' Kiang being looked on as the principal line of operations, the insurgent right was placed in Kiang Su, at Nanking, and Chin-kiang Fu; its centre, well advanced, at Lu-chau in Ngau Hwui; its left at Wu-chang, the capital of Hu Peh, and its rear in Kiang Si. Both Hu Nan and Kwang Si were still unquiet, though apparently in less confusion than the other four provinces specified.

Rebellion in Kwang Si is now to all appearance rekindling in earnest. In Kwang Tung the very successes boasted of by the government are but too certain pledges of its continued presence and activity in the east, north, and west of the province. The centre, Canton and its department, is comparatively quiet. Kiang Si appears, either by accident or design, to have become a point of convergence for insurgents from Kwang Tung, Ngau Hwui, and Hu Nan; and these, if the Imperialist army of Hu Peh continues, as it represents itself to be, closing on Wu-chang from the north and west, will most likely be joined by the rebel force of that prefecture, reaching as it does to the Kiang Si border.

The last are nearly all that are left in Hu Peh, but the advantages claimed by government within that jurisdiction would be more note-worthy, were they not so fearfully counterbalanced by the condition of Kiang Si. As it is, what has been achieved in Hu Peh is of value in so far as it modifies the outline of the Rebellion, which, in the central provinces, were it not far a detached re-appearance in the north of Ngau Hwui, would now be all but bounded by the Yang-tsz' Kiang—a consideration of historical, and consequently, in China, of political, importance. Farther west, even if certain "bread riots" in Sz' Ch'uen go for nothing, the appearance of savage enemies there, and the Miau Tsz' raid into Kwei Chau, form an ugly addition to the difficulties of the government.

It was received in August, as a probability, that there were no longer any rebels north of the Yellow River. In support of the belief that CHIH LI is at all events clear of them, we have a memorial

of Kweiliang, Governor-General, about the end of October, praying the reinstatement of various officers disgraced on the appearance of rebels in the province in 1853. They are not, either, heard of in SHAN TUNG, which detaches troops to act beyond its frontier; but, off its coast, the grain supply intended for Peking was captured by a piratical fleet. HO NAN was disquieted on its eastern border by its own banditti, and by rebels from the adjoining province, but does not, as yet make much of the mischief.

In Kiang Su, the works on what is known to us as Silver Island, situated a little below Chin Kiang, were re-occupied by the troops on the 24th July; the High Commissioners, Hiang Yung and Kirhanga (Kih,) who is also Governor of the province, claiming, up to the 24th November, various other successes on the south bank of the river, on the river itself, and on the north bank, where Kwa-chau is still besieged by Tominga. There is reason to suspect that one of these was scarcely considered a victory by the Emperor, and that some grades were taken from Kirhanga. In one of his despatches, Hiang Yung complains of the bad powder sent him from Ho Nan. On the 28th November, the Kwa-chau rebels, endeavouring to effect a junction with those within the walls of Chin-kiang, were foiled by Tominga. On the following day, they made a second sortie, but were again forced back on Kwa-chau, by the Imperialist army in three divisions. Recent accounts by way of Shanghai inform us that an epidemic had swept off several thousands of the Chin-kiang people, and had so reduced the rebel garrison as to compel it to apply to that of Nanking for reinforcements; that these had been intercepted, and, after severe loss, had desisted from their attempt to relieve Chin-kiang. The two reports have probably some relation to each other, and the Imperialists, who are said to be sanguine about the recapture of the latter city, may, at last, have some reasonable foundation for their hopes. With a force in Kwa-chau and another in Chin-kiang, however, the rebels still hold both sides of the river at this important point. The stream itself is a water debateable of both fleets.

A Rescript of the 12th December contains the Imperial decision in the case of Wu-kien Chang, better known as Samqua; at the time that Shanghai fell, Intendant of the circuit in which it stands, and Superintendent of Maritime Customs. The charges against him having been investigated by Iliang, Governor-General, and Kirhanga, Governor, he is not found, says his Majesty, to have joined the barbarians in supplying the rebels with food; nor to have made away with the duties for which he was responsible; but it is shewn that he being an official, did familiarly consort with members of barbarian firms in his jurisdiction; and that, on the loss of the city, which he had not the

DIARY OF AN OVERLAND TRIP BETWEEN FOO-CHOW-FOO AND NINGPO,

By REV. R. Q. WAY.

NINGPO, March 3rd, 1856.

To the Editor of the

"NORTH-CHINA HERALD."

DEAR SIR,—I herewith send you a short account of an overland trip from Fuh-chau to this place, which may not be wholly devoid of interest to some of the readers of your paper. On the 23rd of January I left Ningpo for Fuh-chau in a foreign vessel intending if possible to return by the overland route to this place. My proposal was favorably received by the Rev. Mr. Baldwin of Fuh-chau who readily consented to be my companion in the trip. We, at once set about making the necessary preparations, which consisted in securing a suitable man as guide, engaging one travelling sedan, and making a proper assortment of Tracts for distribution, as we designed it to be, as far as possible, a Missionary excursion. The 12th of February was the day appointed for setting out, but on account of a heavy rain, we did not leave until noon. The course marked out was that usually travelled by the native postmen which is the most direct though perhaps not the most pleasant on account of the numerous high mountains over which it passes. Traversing the city we passed out of the North-east gate, and as evening drew on we put up for the night in an inn in a small village near the foot of the hills which form the North boundary of the valley of the *Min*,—having walked 35 *le*, or 10½ English miles allowing 3¼ *le* to a mile. As may be supposed, our accommodations for the night were very poor, we must say however that if poor, they were not expensive, as for this night's lodgings, including plenty of rice and tea we paid only 360 cash for both of us; and this was the uniform charge during the whole trip.

13th.—Our guide called us up at day-light this morning, and after a hasty and extremely simple meal we commenced our day's march. Two ranges of mountains lay in our path, which were passed over, and during the latter part of the day, we reached a small river upon which nearer to the sea, is situated the Heen city of Lin-kiang; down this stream we were carried in a boat for about 3 miles, when we again took to the land, and after passing over a beautifully variegated section of country, reached the village of Tan-yang where we spent the night.

14th.—Our travelling sedan was engaged to take us to Wan-chau, and our expectation was to ride alternately for the space of an hour, but we found this day that the bearers were unable to carry us, as one or both of them were opium-smokers, and the chair alone with a (small portion of our baggage) was as great a burden as they were able to bear for the whole day; so finding ourselves well able to walk, we gave up the sedan entirely to the bearers, and made our way on foot. On account of the recent rain, we met with numerous streams of beautiful water, at

one time rushing down the mountain side, at another, flowing gently along in some pebbly brook, and at times these streams were so swollen that it was necessary to pass over them on our guide's back as no bridges existed over some of them. The country travelled over this day was of a decidedly mountainous character with no large plains, and but few villages of any size, till we reached the Heen city of Lo-yuen, the walls of which we found in a very dilapidated state, and the general appearance of the city denoting the poverty of the surrounding region. We passed through one of the principal streets, distributing our Tracts on either side, which were readily received by the people, and after a brisk walk of about 20 minutes passed out of the north gate. This afternoon our path lay over an exceeding high mountain which our guide informs us, is the highest we will encounter in our whole journey; the ascent was very steep and rugged, and while descending it seemed as though we should never reach the bottom; but as the school-boy says, "What goes up, must come down," so in the course of time we found ourselves *down*, and in the village of Fe-loen situated on the coast in sight of the sea; here we partook of our evening meal, and engaged a boat to take us during the night across an arm of the sea. We went on board and as we had walked during the day 25½ miles, we soon forgot the scenes and fatigues of the past in refreshing slumber.

15th.—The tide not suiting in the night we did not leave till near day-break and have spent the whole day sailing among islands. This afternoon landed at the village of Yia-teen for the night, having travelled 54 miles.

16th.—Commenced our day's walk at 6½ o'clock, which was continued amid towering mountains, rushing torrents, pearly streams, and snowy cascades until we reached the Fu city of Fuh-ning which is the most northern Fu city of the province. Passing through the suburbs we observed that the walls, though in good repair were made externally of brick, and not of stone, and the size and general appearance of the city were not indicative of much wealth or active business. Leaving the city we soon crossed the plain in which the city stands, and pressed forward among mountains until some time after the night had closed in upon us, and finally reached the small hamlet of Yan-kea-k'i where we expected to rest our weary limbs having walked this day 110 *le* or 33 miles. It had been our design, as far as possible, to avoid the observations of the officers lest we should be stopped in our progress, and thus far we had succeeded to our satisfaction. But on entering the inn we were much surprised to find ourselves in the midst of the attentions and chair-bearers of a military officer from Wan-chau who had put up here for the night, on his way to Fuh-chau. We considered our situation for a moment, and then decided to make ourselves

known in our true character as Missionaries; so collecting a few of our Tracts together, we sent them in to his excellency by the hands of one of his attendants who soon returned to expressed the thanks of his master.

17th.—Early this morning the above-mentioned functionary left us to pursue his journey; it being the Sabbath, we rested according to the commandment, and felt it a privilege to do so after the anxieties and fatigues of the week.

18th.—Commenced our journey at an early hour this morning, and during the day we noticed a marked change in the language of the people. The dialect spoken differing considerably from that spoken in Fuh-chau, and we were informed that the people spoke the language of Ping-yang, one of the most southern Heen cities of the Cheh-kiang province. The women also in their mode of dress, approximated much nearer to those of Ningpo, than those previously met with; their head-dress was the same, and they all had small feet. In our march we met the chief-officer of Tung-san, the most northern city of the Fuh-kien province on his way to Fuh-ning-fu; as it was impossible to avoid him, we resorted to our Tracts, and as he passed us in his official sedan borne by four bearers, we made the usual salutation and presented the books; they were politely received, and with mutual bowings and other exhibitions of courtesy we separated. In the afternoon we passed through the flourishing and important village of Pah-ling, the depot of a large quantity of the Tea which is shipped at Fuh-chau for foreign countries. We had noticed that the surrounding hills, as also the plains, were devoted exclusively to the cultivation of the Tea plant, and our guide informs us that during the Tea season large quantities were collected here, and that many Cantonese at that time visited the place for the purpose of purchasing Tea for the foreign ships. It is decidedly a growing place with a number of large two story brick houses, a dense population, and streams of delicious water in and around it, and if we are not mistaken Pah-ling is destined to be a place of a large and important trade in a few years. Towards evening we put up for the night in the village of Wang-sang which, being near the sea, furnished us with an abundant supply of delicious oysters.

19th.—This forenoon, reached the walled city of Tung-san where we found that the Fuh-chau dialect again prevailed. This city appeared to be well built, and in a thriving condition; we passed through one of the principal streets distributing our Tracts freely on either side, and found the people kind and well-disposed, though exhibiting great curiosity. Travelling on, we gradually ascended the dividing range of mountains between the two provinces, and at noon, just one week from the time of leaving Fuh-chau, we reached the dividing wall near which stands a stone tablet with the inscription, "*The uniting border tablet of Cheh-kiang and Fuh-kien.*"

Passing the boundary line as has been already described, we continued our march till sun-set when we arrived, and put up for the night, at the village of Ling-k'i which is 15 miles from the border.]

20th.—Before six o'clock this morning our worthy guide, whom we take great pleasure in

recommending to any one wishing to make this excursion, had prepared our simple meal of rice, eggs, and pork, and in a short time we were comfortably seated in a boat which was engaged to take us 9 miles on our way by canal; then another boat, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles by a small river; after which a walk of 8 miles brought us to the far-known city of Ping-yang, which is unquestionably the most important place passed through in the whole route, as it gives a language to a large section of country extending into the Fuh-kien province on the south, and as far north as the Fu city of Wan-chau; the general appearance also of the walls, houses, and streets led us to consider it a city of considerable wealth having an active trade. Here we passed over one of the most even and best paved roads which we have ever seen in China; as regular and smooth as the side walks of one of our own cities, and extending from a village $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the city gate, through, we believe, the whole length of one of the principal streets, thus making the entire length $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 miles. Arriving at the suburbs on the north of the city we succeeded, after much annoyance from the boatmen, in securing a boat to take us 9 miles to Sui-ngan, another Heen city, though apparently of less importance than Ping-yang; this we reached some time after dark, and after taking a meal at one of the inns entered a boat which we had engaged to take us during the night 18 miles to Wan-chau.

21st.—At day-light this morning we found ourselves under the walls of Wan-chau, which might be very properly called the City of Pagodas, as from one view we counted *five*, overlooking the city from different points. The language spoken here, though in some respects peculiar to the place, can be readily understood by any one acquainted with the dialect of Ningpo, and we found no difficulty in being understood by those with whom we conversed. Here we breakfasted, and at ebb tide descended the river 9 miles, and then resumed our march on land, having previously dismissed our unprofitable sedan, and engaged another coolie to carry our baggage. Night overtook us as we came in sight of the City of Ngho-tsing—we slept in an inn outside of the walls, and had no means of judging of the size or comparative importance of the place.

22d.—After leaving the city the distance of $\frac{1}{4}$ a mile we came to another, enclosed by a stone-wall, though inferior in size and appearance to the first, which we were informed bore the same name and was governed by the same officer. We notice the general appearance of the country much changed to-day—steep and rugged mountains have given place to level and well cultivated plains, and rushing mountain streams to pools of stagnant water used in the irrigation of the fields. For a considerable distance this afternoon our course lay in sight of the sea, with an extensive mud flat on our right hand which is covered at high water, and is separated from the cultivated fields by a strong embankment upon which we walked. At twilight we reached the large town of Ta-tsing, which, though not surrounded by a wall, is considered of sufficient importance to be the residence of an inferior officer. Here we found the curiosity of the people and the desire for our Tracts greater than on any previous occa-

sion, and we resolved to make an unusually early start in the morning to avoid the crowd.

23d.—Leaving a few of our Tracts with the host for those who would call this morning, we passed out of the village as a few of the shopmen were opening their doors, and were out of sight before many of the inhabitants received their first glimpse of the morning light. A long and wearisome day's jaunt was before us, through an extensive and fertile plain, in the midst of which we noticed many groves of the orange, which our guide informs us are most excellent in this region. This afternoon we passed through the city of Hwang-yen, which, from what we saw of it, did not leave a very favorable impression of its wealth or beauty. Here again the country assumes a mountainous aspect, and we passed over one, which though perhaps inferior in point of height to the highest in the Fuh-kien province, was nevertheless steeper and more fatiguing. In the plains of this region we noticed fields of the poppy, the plant being three or four inches high—our guide says there is a great deal cultivated here, and that the opium is extracted from it. We were thankful that we possessed something of an antidote, in the form of an opium Tract, which we administered freely, and which we found to be more sought after and more extensively known than any other Christian book. We put up for the night in the miserable little hamlet of Matow-shan which has no other recommendation for us but its quiet, harmonizing with the sacredness of tomorrow's Sabbath.

24th.—The day of rest, in which the wisdom and goodness of our Creator are clearly exhibited. No one ever found himself the loser by the proper observance of the Sabbath; on this excursion we have felt ourselves much the gainers, as we have thereby been able in two instances to throw three days of ordinary post travel into two, thus shortening the length of the journey, and this, we think, we could not have done, if we had not rested one day in seven.

25th.—For many days we have noticed the funeral cypress growing plentifully on the sides of the road, a most graceful and beautiful tree, reaching at times the height of forty and fifty feet; this morning, before setting out, we secured a small specimen which may serve as a memento of the excursion, and refresh our eyes by its ever-green and waving foliage in the more northern clime of Ningpo. Our journey to-day was first by boat on the river, near the banks of which stands the city of Tai-chau; we ascended the river until within $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles distance of the city, then landing on the northern bank, pursued our way amid mountains and plains to the village which is to give us shelter and rest till the morning.

26th.—Nothing of interest in this day's march, except that the funeral cypress has entirely disappeared, and has been supplanted by the cedar so common farther north—rain fell most of the day, and the weather is decidedly colder; we are told that some days ago, snow fell in this region.

27th.—Our last day of travel. We set out this morning in chairs, but as the wind blew fiercely, and the rain was driven in our faces, the bearers declared themselves unable to proceed, so we again set off on foot, and travelled 24 miles in a

strong head wind accompanied with rain, sleet, and snow, while the weather was so cold that the ground was freezing under our feet. Home, and comfort, and friends were, however, too near to allow us to stop, so, wet and cold, and weary and hungry, we reached the city of Fung-hwa at 4 o'clock P.M. Twenty-four miles of water now separate us from the object of our desires, to diminish which distance we have already deposited ourselves in a boat, and are now passing rapidly down the river to Ningpo.

28th.—Found ourselves at the spiritual bridge gate early this morning, and as the cold was intense, and the snow continued to fall, we felt thankful that our journey was at an end, and that the day would be spent in rest and comfort by the cheerful fireside.

Thus ended an excursion, which though, in many respects, very pleasant, was nevertheless very fatiguing, and trying to the flesh. The distance travelled, according to Chinese reckoning, which corresponded very well with our own, allowing three miles to the hour, is 1,400 *le* or 420 miles, of which 160 miles were by water. The time occupied in making the trip was $15\frac{1}{2}$ days of which two were Sabbaths—the average distance of each day's journey, 30 miles. We met with three dialects; first the Fuh-chau, extending to within a short distance of the border; 2d, the Ping-yang, spoken as far north as Wan-chau; and 3d, the Ningpo. In conclusion, Mr. Editor, we would advise any one expecting to undertake the trip, to burden himself with as little baggage, in the form of clothing, as possible, but to furnish himself with a large supply of patience and cooked food, as they are both very important, and can with difficulty be found on the road.—I remain, yours truly,

P. Q. WAY.

To the Editor of the

"NORTH-CHINA HERALD."

MY DEAR SIR,—There are two or three points which it might be well to introduce into Mr. Way's narrative of our trip from Fuh-chau to Ningpo, or in some way append to it, unless those points are brought out clearly in the second part of his communication. They have been suggested to me by some inquiries that persons in this city have made in reference to our journey.

We travelled the whole distance of 400 or 450 miles in our own dress, not making any use whatever of Chinese costume. Had we done this, we should have defeated in great measure one of our main objects in attempting the journey, that of travelling as *foreigners* through the country.

It will be seen that we travelled with much rapidity. This was done in order to avoid, if possible, the disagreeable alternative of being stopped in our course by mandarins and sent back to Fuh-chau, so far as such an alternative might be due to want of diligence. We wished to succeed *certainly*, that a kind of precedent might be established for future undertakings of the same kind. We hope that others may be induced soon to travel in the same direction. When a good precedent is formed, the journey may be made with more leisure and comfort.

Though we travelled rapidly, we did not try to conceal in the least our true character as peaceable men, desiring only the good of those with whom we met. And we very carefully exhibited a friendly and conciliatory spirit toward them, while at the same time we insisted on our claim to kind treatment as strangers in a strange land. I must not however be understood to say that we experienced bad treatment. On the contrary, the people uniformly behaved with much civility toward us. My remark had reference only to the fact that their excessive curiosity, on seeing foreigners, was sometimes rather annoying and needed a check.

My convictions in respect to the importance of such excursions, whether for the sake of Missionary objects or to seek innocent recreation, are becoming stronger and stronger. I believe that such are some of the most effectual means for securing a *right* of free access to all parts of the country, and for promoting the welfare of this people by the introduction of the blessing of civilization and the pure principles of Christianity.

I am, my dear sir, very truly yours,

C. C. BALDWIN.

Shanghai, March 18th, 1856.

REMARKABLE CAVE, SITUATED IN THE WESTERN TUNG-TING-SAN.

WHILST strolling about among the lime-stone quarries on the east side of the western Tung-ting-san, we were asked by an old man why we did not visit the cave at Lung-tung-san, which was several miles in depth, and contained within itself an abundance of natural curiosities. We asked in what direction it laid, and were told that it was within sight, and only a mile or two distant. Our minds were therefore soon made up, and having hired a boy to shew us the way, we started in the direction of Lung-tung-san. On our arrival there we found the hill of a very moderate size, on the western declivity of which we discovered the mouth of the cavern. The entrance was low, not above three or four feet high, at the mouth, but it speedily led the visitors into a spacious cavern. At the mouth of the cave there was about a foot depth of water, and the time when we visited was evening: not being provided with guides and candles, we deferred further search till a more favourable opportunity. A small pavilion stood at the entrance covering a stone on which was an inscription. According to this

inscription the name of the cavern was 林屋

Lin-nh, and it was described as the eighth remarkable cavern in the empire. The bystanders said, that the best time to visit the cave was about the close of the year, when the water which occupies the entrance would be found dry, and when the cavern might be easily penetrated to the extent of 10 miles.

In a Chinese work called the Record of the Troubled Marsh, we are told that according to the writings of the Taoists there are ten celebrated caverns in China, of which the cave in question constitutes the ninth: it is also called the dark region of attendant spirits. The cave has three openings, all of which meet in one large chamber: in the interior of the cavern there are several remarkable places, called the Stone House, the Silvery Room, the Stalactite Hall, the Stone Drum, the Golden Palace, the Pearly Pillar, the Garden of White Flowers, the Floor of Yellow Sand, the Dragon's Bowl, the Milk Fountain, and the Rock Swallow Chamber. There is also a Stone Gateway called the Barrier of Mortality.

Another Chinese work called the Record of Remarkable Places, says that the cave has five outlets, that on the north leading to the Wang-uh hill, in Shan-se, that on the west leading with to Gnome hill, in Sze-chuen, that on the south communicating with the Lo-fow hill in Canton, and that on the east with Tae-yoh Mountain in Shan-tung. In the east part of the cave is a stone gallery underneath which are two rocks, which on being

struck emit a musical sound, hence they are called the spirits jingle. Formerly the King Hoh-leu, (B. C. 506) commanded a philosopher named Ling-mei to enter the cave with candles, when he travelled about there, day and night, for 70 days, without being able to find the end of it. On his return he brought with him a book in three volumes, which he presented to the king: the king being unable to decypher it, asked the opinion of Confucius, who said that it was a compilation of the Great Yu, (B. C. 2200) which had been laid up in a stone case. The king then sent the philosopher in again, who returned after 20 days, saying, That his journey was more difficult than before. That he had heard the noise of waves over his head: there was also a variety of extraordinary animals that flapped in the faces of the intruders, and put out their lights. The rock swallows and bats were of an unusual size, and prevented their proceeding further. Within the cavern he met with several chambers, so high, that the lights they had failed to illumine the top, whilst on the right and left were numerous traces both of men and horses.

In a work called the Record of the Low district, we find the following account of this cavern:—

"In the eastern part of the T'hae-hoo lake is an island called Tung-ting-san, in one part of which, amidst groves and grottoes, there is a hill with three openings; one on the north-eastern side, will not admit of persons entering it. That on the south-west side of the hill, is the same; but it has a pure spring of water issuing from it. A further opening on the north, may be entered by a person stooping low. The rocks outside the cavern consist of rugged stones: on the inside of the opening there is a chamber, about ten feet high, the four walls of which are constantly dripping with moisture. The colour of the stone is of a bluish white. In the southern wall there is an opening inwards, which by walking sideways a person may squeeze himself through; when he will find two dark passage, the northern one leads to Lang-yay, in Shan-tung, and the western one comes out at the Pa-ling lake near Chang-shia, in Hoo-nan. Woo-ta-te (A. D. 220) caused some people to penetrate into this cavern for ten miles, who on returning said, that they heard the noise of waves over their heads; they also saw large bats, as big as birds, that flapped out their candles. In some places the roof of the cave was so high that the light of their candles did not reach to the top: from other parts of the roof stalactites hung as thin as goose quills. The best time for entering was during winter, when the water was frozen, but the spring and summer were not adapted for such expeditions."

In a work on the famous hills of China, we meet with the description of a visit paid to this cavern by Kae-yu of the Ming dynasty, who says that having been sent on official business to this part of the country, he went with a few friends to examine the cave in question. On arriving at the mouth of the cave they found the entrance very low, but after passing through this small opening they came into a wide chamber, the roof of which was lofty, and the air cold, sufficient to make them shiver. On calling for lights, they perceived that the bottom of the cave was lined with briny pools, and the top was adorned with silvery roofs, from which were suspended stalactites in great numbers. There were also large quantities of stalagmites scattered about, which one might assimilate to stone tables, and chemical furnaces : so that the Taoists make out this to be one of nature's laboratories. On entering a little further into the cavern, they met with the jingling

stones, and several lofty chambers all exhibiting different features : again their further entrance seemed to be cut off, when suddenly new passages were discovered, until at length the more advanced of the party cried out that their lights were going out, and they obliged to return.

This remarkable cavern is within 100 miles of Shanghai, and if examined by some enterprising naturalists would certainly present features that would repay the time and trouble expended in its exploration. We have quoted the above statements of the natives, with the hope that intelligent foreigners will by a personal inspection, open up its real state to the scientific world. The accounts given by the natives is of course exaggerated, but from its general tenour we may gather that the cave penetrates very deep into the bowels of the earth, and in some places passes underneath the surrounding lakes. Who can tell but it rivals the Mammoth cave of Kentucky ?

The State and Prospects of the Belligerent Parties in the Chinese Empire, considered in two letters to the Hon. CALEB CUSHING, Attorney General of the United States.

LETTER I.

NINGPO, April 17th, 1856.

SIR,—Holding a high office in the government of a country, which already carries on an extensive commerce with this, and which, when its Pacific Coast becomes as densely peopled as its Atlantic, is destined to traffick as largely with Eastern Asia as it now does with Europe—and especially having had the distinguished honor of negotiating the first American treaty with China, you doubtless, study the present political aspect of this empire with no ordinary interest.

A few years ago, you witnessed a "small cloud like a man's hand" emerging from the mountains at Kwang-se. It soon overcast the horizon, and at this moment hangs red and lowering over a large part of this nation. Whether it is big with blessing, or charged only with the enginery of destruction is a point much disputed. All question relating to it are necessarily involved in some degree of mystery, but the facilities for forming a correct judgment are certainly greater at the present than at any preceding time.

The Insurrection now dates the eighth year from its first incipient movement. For the first four, it affected very slightly, either the hopes or fears of the Chinese, and was wholly unnoticed by other nations.

During that period, the Insurgents, were, according to the *Peking Gazette*, routed in almost every engagement, but (mirabile dictu!) they rose Antæus like, with augmented strength from each succeeding fall; until in the eventful winter of 1852-3, just after the capture of their leader, and the annihilation of their party had been officially announced, they swept down the banks of the Yangtze-kiang, with the resistless rush of an avalanche. The shock was felt in the Northern Capital—the empire quaked to the base of the Great wall; and the eyes of the world were attracted to China as the theatre of great events. The suddenness with which a party, always reported to be on the eve of extinction, had entrenched themselves in the heart of the empire, showed how little confidence was to be placed in official statements of their strength; and the celerity with which they over-ran the central provinces—entering Nanking almost as soon as they appeared before its walls, and forcing the keys of the Grand Canal, and the emporium of Kiang-nan, within twelve days after—gave splendid promise of a speedy conquest.

Success at all times wins the meed of admiration, but when it came to be known, that the influence, which had thus unexpectedly awakened the dormant energies of the Chinese, was no other than the hitherto despised and proscribed religion of the West, the discovery sent a thrill of mingled joy and wonder through the heart of Christendom. Seldom have human ears been greeted with tidings more strange and startling. A chieftain unknown

to any Missionary as a disciple, and only obscurely remembered as an inquirer—unbaptized and uninstructed, with a few sparks of revealed truth, setting in conflagration, one of the most populous, most proud, most exclusive, and most phlegmatic of all the nations of the earth—converting debased idolaters into zealous iconoclasts, fusing together the heterogeneous materials of his camp in the heat of religious enthusiasm, and controlling the flowing mass with the zeal of an apostle, and the prowess of a conqueror—surely such a spectacle is one of the grandest of those rare events, which constitute the sublime of history. And when that chief established in the capital, where Hung-woo began his "illustrious" reign, regarding himself as at once the priest and king of a renovated people, announced the commencement of a new era by publishing a Calendar in which the year was divided into weeks by the recurrence of a hebdomadal Sabbath, or *worship-day*, and the doctrine of an over-ruling Providence, as the Author of prosperity and adversity, inculcated in lieu of the ancient but irrational belief in *luck*: when he laid down the "heavenly ordinances" (the ten commandments) as the basis of his laws, instead of immemorial custom, and when he gave his people the word of God (commencing simultaneously with the Pentateuch and the Gospels) as the rule of faith in place of their own hoary superstitions, who could refrain from viewing him as the instrument of a super-human Power, destined for the achievement of a glorious revolution?

That he regarded himself in this light is certain; but while that belief nerved him with an energy all but irresistible, it betrayed him into an excessive daring, which has well nigh blasted his bright prospects, and caused the Orient luminary to set in a sea of blood vainly spilt. His victories had hitherto been won by the single stratagem of concentration. He had brought his whole force into action in every engagement.

Not venturing to divide his strength so much as to leave a garrison in any of the many cities which he stormed in his triumphal march, he took their spoil to supply the nerves of war, and their inhabitants to swell his armies, and advanced upon Nanking, with a host which in its numbers and multifarious elements, resembled the congregated nations, which Northern Europe formerly poured upon the plains of Italy. Intoxicated with success, confident of his destiny, and thinking that he had little more to do than to accept the submission of a conquered empire, he now abandoned his cautious tactics, and divided his troops in order to take possession.

Besides placing strong garrisons in Chinkiang, Qua-chow and Yang-chow, and retaining a sufficient force to defend his head-quarters against

the main body of the enemy, he sent forth from the gates of Nanking, within three months of its capture, three armies simultaneously.

One of these moving northward contemplated no less an undertaking, than the expulsion of the Tartar emperor from his Northern Capital. Another aimed to arouse the provinces to the south of the Poyang lake. And the third ascending the current of the Yang-tze, was charged with the reoccupation of the lately abandoned fortresses before they should have time to recover from the blow.

From this three-fold enterprise dates the long series of disasters, which marks the subsequent history of the revolution. Its first reverse was the failure of the Northern army to take Kai-tung, the capital of Honan, after a long siege. The assailants were not defeated in battle, but a principal assault having been rendered abortive by the occurrence of a thunderstorm, they grew impatient of delay, and raising the siege, proceeded on their march. Their loss of men was small, but they had sustained a serious loss in prestige; while there, opponents were not only emboldened to resist, but ascribing their timely deliverance to the interposition of Quanti (the Chinese Mars,) who was loaded by imperial decree with fresh honors, they began from this time to borrow the aid of religious fanaticism. Arriving at Hwae-king on the opposite side of the Yellow River, the Insurgents at once experienced the consequence of that untoward event. The place made so stout a resistance, that though they succeeded in breaching the walls, they were unable to force an entrance, and left it after a delay of above two months. This loss of time, together with the loss of reputation attending it, was the ruin of that army. For though they passed with little opposition through a succession of cities, extending to Tientsing in the vicinity of Peking; when they arrived before that famous seaport, winter had already set in with a rigor unknown in the corresponding latitudes of Europe. But terrible as it was for an army from the sunny south, to be thus ice-bound, and surrounded by Tartars who are at home among the snows of their frozen regions; their leaders as if, infatuated, hastened their destruction by repeating in a further subdivision of their troops, the pernicious policy which had already occasioned their ill-success. They went into quarters in three divisions, in Tuh-lew, Ts'ing-hae, and Yang-lew-tsing near the terminus of the Grand Canal. Weakened by separation and exposed to the attack of the choicest troops the Tartar Sovereign had retained for the defence of his throne, one of the divisions was as might have been expected, soon cut off, and the others compelled to fall back from post to post, at every step suffering heavy losses, both of men and the munitions of war. Though they defended themselves through the winter, they were too much reduced to rally in the spring, and when a fourth army, computed at forty thousand issued from the walls of Nanking with the view of succoring the forlorn remnant of their brethren in Pihchihli, their march was intercepted at the borders of Shantung, after sustaining protracted sieges in Zing-tsing and Kao-tung, only a few straggling companies made their way southward, and most of those were on the way cut off by the local militia.

The southern army in the meanwhile expended months in the fruitless attempt to take Nanch'ang the capital of Kiang-se, and at length returned to Nanking laden with the spoils of lesser cities which ill repaid them for the damage done to their cause, by the failure of their chief undertaking.

The only one of those expeditions, which was attended with any considerable degree of success was the army of occupation, which re-entered and garrisoned all the walled cities on the Yang-tze as far up as Han-yang, six hundred miles above Nanking.

But these successes were soon followed by great reverses. The tide which had rolled so prosperously up that "river of the golden sands" began to ebb. The flood which had on both sides spread itself over the broad valley, contracted its volume, and the aggressive waters which had penetrated to the upper provinces, retired before the original current. The garrison of Yangchow reduced in numbers and rendered short of supplies by contributing to the outfit of the Northern expeditions, was compelled to evacuate that important post. The Insurgents were not long after obliged to relinquish all their new acquisitions in Hu-kwang. The fortunes of the party were at the lowest ebb. Its friends trembled, its detractors laughed, and the Imperialists boasted. But the exultation of the latter was of short duration. A change took place in the posture of affairs, which disappointed those who looked for the speedy suppression of the rebellion, and filled the emperor with fresh apprehensions for the safety of his throne. Early in the ensuing spring 1854 the revolutionists reappeared in the Hu-kwang for third time, in great force. Driving before them, their late exultant enemies, they fortified themselves in the most commanding positions, and up to the present time have defied the power of the Manchus to eject them. While I am writing; the news is passing from mouth to mouth, that they have repossessed themselves of Yangchow. In Keang-se they have been strengthened by a strong body from Kwang-tung. In the former of these provinces the Manchu Sovereignty is apparently gasping for existence, Chekiang is threatened and the governor is urging the departure of troops to defend the passes on its south-western boundary.

The Revolutionists at this moment hold with few exceptions, the principal cities of Kiang-su. Anhwy, Kiang-se and Hu-pih, a region exceeding in extent the entire area of Great Britain and Ireland. It is indeed in almost every part a disputed territory, but within those limits, there is no room for doubt, which of the belligerents is now paramount. Over a great part of it, in fact the inhabitants are suffering their hair to grow, and the young dynasty like the Jewish Hercules grows strong, with the lengthening locks of its new adherents.

In this cursory view I have not included the independent and unsuccessful insurrections in other parts of the country, which though undulations occasioned by the precipitation of the burning mountain into this sea of people, agreed with the central movement only, in having for a common object the subversion of the reigning dynasty. They have nevertheless contributed not a little to sap the foundations of the Manchu throne; and the number of local disturbances, either now or

recently in agitation is so great, as to indicate that disorder is rapidly becoming the order of the day throughout the empire.

Kwangtung and Kwangse still heave convulsively under the residuum of blood and ashes left by their late abortive struggle. The Meao-u-tze—those fierce mountaineers of Kwei-chow, who have never received the bald badge of subjection to the Tartar yoke—are now in active hostility. Outbreaks have not long since occurred in parts of Yunnan, and Sze-chuen; and only four months ago, the slaughter of the governor of the latter province in a quarrel between the Chinese and Manchu troops at the provincial capital, indicates that disaffection has reached the heart of that hitherto most loyal region. And by the last news, seven cities in the north of Kiang-soo, were said to have been taken by a party not connected with the rebels of Nanking, though the proximity of the place is such as to leave little doubt that they were the instigators of the movement.

It is thus obvious that disorganization is extensively prevalent through southern China. Nor is it inauspicious for the future, of this country, that while the government is busied with striking down the lesser heads of the Lernean hydra, the greatest one, at Nanking, is still in the ascendant, and if successful in overthrowing the Manchu dynasty is not likely to meet with any very powerful competitor for the dominion of the empire. Other factions have indeed contributed their share to the approaching catastrophe, but none of them has thus far presented an aspirant to the Imperial yellow. It is not therefore by the ephemeral efforts of those unorganized, and too often predatory bands, but by the consolidated strength of the central party, that the progress of the Revolutionists is to be estimated, and by their spirit that its character is to be judged. For this latter subject, I have not space in the present communication, but as to the military status of the contending parties, I trust that the review of the events of the last three years, taken in connexion with their present position has made it apparent that the Revolutionists have been "waxing stronger and stronger," while the conservatives are "waxing weaker and weaker."

The prestige of the former is indeed at a discount; but that of the latter is worthless. Their two disastrous campaigns in the North, tarnished the glory of the Insurgents, without wiping away the disgrace of their antagonists. Had they been vanquished by some display of strategy or exploit of valor, and had the victorious enemy poured down upon their remaining strong-holds without delay, they would probably have been unprepared to sustain the shock. But when the Imperialists unable to rout the Insurgents in any general engagement, only harassed their retreat, and unable to recover a single city by sudden assault, only reduced them by long sieges, and butchered a foe already subdued by the slow agency of cold and famine, their success contributed to defer the subversion of the throne, but did nothing to relieve the unqualified contempt with which the people regard the imbecility of the reigning dynasty. The Insurgents are at length slowly recovering from the effects of that sad reverse; and nothing proves more clearly that they are not a promiscuous horde, but a comparatively well organized

body, animated with an indomitable spirit. Their gallant defence of the transit of the Grand Canal, for three years, against the strongest land and naval force the emperor has in the field, augmented at times by forty sail of Portuguese lorchaes, and five or six square-rigged vessels manned by English and Americans; and especially their success in subjugating so large a portion of the provinces of An-hwuy, Keang-se and Hoo-pih, have in a measure restored their reputation. The large levies of troops, which they have derived from conquered districts, have repaired their losses and they are now in a condition, if unmolested by any foreign power, to advance slowly but surely to the conquest of the empire.

Notwithstanding the boastful menace, three years ago, that "the Imperial armies were assembling like clouds for the re-capture of Nanking," the eye of an observer now scans in vain the whole area of the contested region, for any very large or well appointed force.

The emperor having been obliged by the scarcity of supplies to disband large bodies of troops, has at this moment fewer in the field than he had three years ago; while those of the insurgents have been greatly multiplied.

His resources for sustaining military operations, have also been constantly diminishing, while those of the Insurgents are on the increase.

The regular revenue, he three years ago, declared to be insufficient for that purpose, in edicts calling for contributions from his loyal subjects. The progress of the war has since that time subjected it to a perpetual drain; and large tracts in fifteen out of the eighteen provinces (Kan-suh, Shen-se, and Che-kiang are the only exceptions) over which the rebellion has rolled though transiently its desolating flood, have made extensive blanks in the receipts of the Imperial treasury.

The emperor has accordingly been compelled to resort to a variety of fiscal artifices, such as casting copper coin of less weight, and greater nominal value; coining iron and issuing treasury scrip, all of which have been ill received by the people, and have rather aggravated, than alleviated his necessities. In this exigency, he has opened a treasury, which though scarcely less imaginary than that upon which Leo X. drew for the building of St. Peter's, cannot be entrenched upon without equal peril to his dominion. The sale of offices to which his father resorted, to meet the expenses of the war with England, is generally accounted one of the exciting causes of the rebellion; and now the son, in the straits to which he is reduced, adds oil to the flame, by having recourse to the same fatal expedient to quell the rebellion. Not only has the lavish sale of offices disaffected the literary classes, by shutting against them the ordinary avenues to influence, and rendering nugatory the hard-earned laurels of the literary hall; but the forced contributions levied upon the rich for which they are rewarded by empty titles and hollow buttons, have caused that influential class to despise and dread their own sovereign.

Now if to the constant irritation attending this dangerous, though perhaps necessary policy, we add that the poor and unemployed, at all times a source of much trouble to the magistrates, have by the derangement of trade been greatly multiplied in

all parts of the empire, and we have a body of malcontents, who, impelled by their own destitution or other grievances, provoked by the weakness of the government at present so pitifully manifested, and encouraged by the prospect of aid from the powerful faction now in arms, are ready to embrace the slightest opportunity, to break into open revolt.

All these form a combination of difficulties, which would hasten the subversion of a native government, and it may be safely predicted that the Manchu dynasty which has in addition, to sustain the odium attached to diversity of race, cannot for many years hold out against them.

The awe inspired by the first irruption of the fierce tenants of the northern desert, long deterred the Chinese from attempting to throw off the yoke; but in the reign of Kien-king, revolutionary cabals were formed in the court itself, formidable conspiracies extended themselves through many of the provinces, and insurrections broke out in various parts, which though unsuccessful, served to betray the weakness of the government. In the reign of Taou-king the inhabitants of Luen-chow, successfully resisted the government, until their leaders were bribed into submission. These events led the Chinese to doubt the invincibility of their conquerors—the invasion of the English laid the proud escutcheon of the Bannermen in the dust, and the Insurgents of Kwang-se have trampled it underfoot. The Manchu garrisons distributed through the empire for the purpose of keeping it in subjection, have in the lapse of generations become converted into feeble and impoverished colonies. The strongest, at Nanking, suffered themselves to be butchered like sheep, and through the whole course of the war, the arms of Manchus have not been signalised by a single achievement, worthy the prowess of their ancestors.

At this moment the Insurgents are opposed, not by Tartars, of whom, there is scarcely a battalion in the field, but by myriads of mercenary Chinese, who sell their swords to prolong a struggle that causes their country to bleed at every pore. They are however attached to the interests of the reigning family by neither respect nor love, and just in proportion as the emperor's treasure becomes scarce, and honors cheap (a process now going on with ominous rapidity) he will lose the reins, by which he controls those unprincipled multitudes, and at length tumble helpless from the Dragon chariot.

Of this there are already frequent indications. Soldiers returned from the imperial camps state that desertions to the ranks of the enemy are of almost daily occurrence.

During the siege of Shanghai, large companies of the assailants were seen to march into the city and fraternize with the rebels; while it was notorious that others who still fed upon the imperial commissariat, frequently saluted their brethren within the walls, by the discharge of blank cartridge. At Chin-keang a thousand or more of the besiegers marched in a body through the gates to reinforce the besieged, and their comrades who remained behind the earth-works without the walls, devouring the emperor's supplies and letting their weapons rust in inactivity, were in their own way helping on the same cause. The late

bloody engagement between the Chinese and Manchu troops at the capital of Sze-chuen, in which the governor lost his life, is an exhibition of the prevailing antipathy to the dominant race; and cities captured, and districts pillaged by those appointed to be their defenders, are proofs which have been given once and again, of the little power the emperor exercises, over the forces in his employ.

If there is little enthusiasm for the revolution, there is less devotion to the government. While the people in almost every quarter would like to be spared the infliction of a visit from the insurgents, they would see their young emperor retire to the wilds of his father-land, with little regret.

Indeed public spirit (if there be such a thing in China) is very faintly developed. With a selfishness which leads every man to prefer his individual interest to the common good, an ignorance which renders the masses incapable of comprehending questions of state policy, an habitual servility which makes them the passive tools of their rulers, and, more than all, without those mighty sources of intelligence, sympathy and inter-communication—which bind together the inhabitants of Western countries, and cause them to move and act together on great occasions—the Chinese empire is a mountain of sand—an immense volume whose only power is its *vis inertiae*.

But this feature, while it makes the people slow to unite in any general movement, and secures to the empire long periods of repose, when revolution is once inaugurated, makes it proportionally slow of accomplishment. Indeed there is hardly more disparity between the periodic times of Mercury and Saturn, than in the relative velocity of Chinese and European revolutions. And there is another respect, in which those planets might be imagined to preside over such political changes. In the one case they are usually brought about with comparatively little bloodshed by the power of persuasion; but in the other, the aspirant to the throne must cleave his pathway through a moveless mass of human beings, and light his bloody track by the fires of burning cities—a career fitly symbolized by the sanguinary Saturn.

The history of China, at least for the last two thousand years, records no such speedy revolutions as that, which ensued upon the invasion of William the conqueror, and was decided in a single day by the battle of Hastings; or that of 1688 when William of Orange was hailed as a deliverer, and the whole island of Britain submitted to him without a blow: or, in France, that of 1848, when a sudden explosion blew Louis Philippe across the channel, and left behind him a tranquil, republic; or again that 1852, when a single *coup d'état* placed Louis Napoleon in possession of a peaceful empire. Chinese history records centuries of tranquility undisturbed save by occasional local tremors, but its wars are all Peloponessian wars; and the monotonous annals of long dynasties, are interchanged with the equally monotonous details of centenarian anarchies. Indeed this alternation is stated as a *law of the empire* in the most celebrated of the Chinese historical romances, (and the sentence has become a proverb universally known, and frequently applied by the people to the existing commotions) "When the empire has been

long divided, it will certainly be united, when it has long been united it will as certainly be divided."

Your memory, sir, will doubtless enable you to recall the principal civil commotions, which have agitated this country since the opening of the Christian era, and will thus furnish you with a mirror, in which you may foresee impending years of conflict.

The Han dynasty after occupying the throne for above four centuries, sunk in a strife, which was prolonged until every city was a battle-field and "every turf a soldier's sepulchre." Its duration was thirty-eight years.

The insurrection which terminated the Tsing dynasty was of twenty years duration.

That which overthrew the T'ang dynasty lasted for thirty-five years.

The dissensions amongst which the Sung dynasty expired, were of seventy years continuance.

The Yuen dynasty fell after a struggle of twenty years; and the Ming dynasty succumbed to the Manchus, after a conflict of twenty seven years.

These numbers have no reference to those cutaneous eruptions to which the empire is as subject as its people, but date from the first incurable wound, which issued in the extinction of each imperial house.

The phoenix is among the favorite emblems of the Chinese monarchy; and if the Chinese were acquainted with the Western fiction respecting the death of that fabulous bird, we might almost suspect it to be chosen with reference to a kind of hieroglyphic signification. Each dynasty by its own acts kindles the flames that consume it, and its successor springs from its ashes. The tutelar bird of the Great Pure (or Ta-ts'ing) dynasty, decrepit with age is now fanning the fire of his own funeral pile, and judging by the past long years must elapse before we can expect to see another in the full-fledged vigor of youth arise in his stead.

This is a gloomy prospect for those who have witnessed the horrible carnage of Chinese warfare; and disheartening to those merchants, who are struggling with the fluctuations of a crippled commerce, in hopes that returning peace will indemnify them for their present losses. But while the bloody tragedy may be reduced to its minimum length by the triumph (not likely to be very speedy) of the Nanking insurgents, nothing is more certain than that any attempt on the part of a foreign government to restore peace, by aiding the Manchus to suppress the rebellion, would protract the struggle—aggravate the calamity of the Chinese, and harm the permanent interests of foreigners. For no man who is acquainted with China can doubt that the dominion of the Manchu sovereigns is about to expire. Bankrupt alike of treasure and reputation; without any influence, either of love or fear, by which to control their subjects, powerless to repress the pirates who ravage the coast, and the banditti who infest many parts of the interior, if the empire were even tranquilized, by the powerful intervention of some foreign nation, they would be utterly in potent to maintain it in that condition.

On the coast we see that nothing but the constant vigilance of British cruisers keeps down those formidable squadrons of free-booters, which prey upon the native commerce; and were the

insurgents even expelled from Nanking, nothing but the presence in the interior and perpetual activity of strong bodies of foreign troops could prevent a constant succession of insurrection, which after producing a degree of distraction utterly destructive of the native industry, and ruinous to foreign commerce, would at length put a period to the Manchu domination.

That its destiny is sealed, is a presentiment extensively current among the people. This impression is derived from the following considerations. 1st, It has run the average course of the imperial families. 2nd, The last three reigns, like the closing reigns of most of the preceding dynasties, have been agitated by a series of revolts increasing in violence. 3rd, That now in progress has entrenched itself in the old capital of the Mings, where for three years it has bid defiance to the power of the Manchus, and become widely extended through the heart of the empire. 4th, Not a few have had their impressions on this subject confirmed by the analysis of *Hien-fung* the reigning title of the present monarch. It is altogether so simple and striking that a mind not given to superstition, might almost suspect that the hand, which at an impious feast inscribed in mystic characters the doom of Babylon, had chosen, in bitter mockery of the pride which dictated its selection, to present to the eyes of the Chinese in the very strokes of the imperial title, the impending fall of the imperial power.

Hien-fung signifies Universal plenty. The first of these characters 咸 *Hien* contains the elementary characters for *one mouth*, and *sword*. The second 豐 is composed of two characters which closely resemble that for *lord* in juxtaposition between the divided prongs of the character *hill*, with the phonetic of *head* or *top* underneath. The interpretation is obvious: "With *one mouth*, the people cry to the *sword*, and *two lords* are seated on the *hill tops*." What Daniel unraveled the mystery is unknown, but it is certain that as early as the first year of *Hien-fung*, his name was converted into the following couplet which was in the mouths of nearly all his subject:—

坐頭山至二戈干動口一

The people with *one voice* unsheath their *swords*,
And on the divided hills enthrone *two lords*.

The deciphering of these hieroglyphics may be thought puerile, but no one who is aware of the potent away such puerilities exert over the Chinese mind, and their consequent influence on the fortunes of the empire, will fail to notice them. In this case the general circulation of a couplet manufactured from the imperial title, deepening impressions derived from other sources, and corresponding in a remarkable manner, with the existing state of the country, must be admitted to be a significant omen. And it is a curious fact that in the very year in which the Tartar chief by choosing his pompous title inscribed *perer* on his palace walls, Tai-ping claimed the imperial sceptre, and organized his court, when he had but a handful of followers, at the little town of Yung-ngan in Kwang-se.

The second "lord of the hills and rivers" stepped forth, and he is now rebuilding the palace of Hung-woo within the walls of the southern capital. There he will continue if unmolested by foreign interference, to build up the capital of a great empire; which with millions of inhabitants, near the mouth of the deep and broad Yang-tze, will soon become the metropolis of Eastern Asia, and the centre of a new civilization. This would be a commercial advantage incomparably greater than could be purchased (as it is reported our late commissioner with a spirit which should forever lose him the suffrages of all true hearted Americans, offered to do) by storming the insurgent fortresses, and expelling them from its banks, in return for the free navigation of that noble river.

The treaty powers have thus far wisely maintained neutrality, notwithstanding the conduct of some of their official agents has come near embroiling them; and certain merchants have been clamorous for interference. The aid given to the imperialists in recovering Shanghai, and the succor afforded them in the siege of Canton, in spite of the blockade by the insurgents, have manifestly deferred the result of the revolution, without turning the scale in the favor of the existing government. They have therefore contributed to prolong a state of things extremely unfavorable to trade, and any authorized interference of a more active kind, would have the same effect only in a higher degree.

I am grateful to find that a neutral policy is strongly advocated by Mr. T. T. Meadows "official Chinese interpreter of ten years active service." Intimately acquainted with both the Chinese and Manchu languages, as well as having held personal intercourse with the highest officers of both the contending parties, there is perhaps no person, who is better qualified to express an opinion on this subject.

He says in the *London Times* of Oct. 1st 1855, "Now as to the best policy, whether for the furtherance of trade, import or export; or for the propagation of Christianity, Protestant or Romanist, there is but one sound course for all occidental states, and that is, to instruct their representatives to occupy themselves most seriously with letting the Chinese alone to settle their own affairs. As to the commercial world, I have to say, that no advantages, we can snatch or extort from the weakness or fears of either Chinese political party will prove lasting benefits; while *armed interference in behalf of either side is certain to prolong anarchy*, and to ruin that industrial spirit in the Chinese people, upon which all and every kind of permanent commerce, essentially dependa."

Besides the impolicy of aiding the Tartar, and incurring the present odium of taking advantage of the necessities of the empire, and the lasting resentment of the Chinese hereafter, for having supported a foreign usurpation, there is another consideration which will no doubt lead Western nations to reject with indignation, every proposition to adopt such a course—that is, the degraded posture in which it would exhibit them in the eyes of the Chinese.

For no matter what powers they might display on the occasion, or what privileges they might acquire by it, it is certain that they would be re-

garded by the Chinese, both officers and people, as having yielded in the old feudal sense, an obedient *homage*, to the now feeble but arrogant "son of Heaven." M.M. Callery and Yvan, who after long residence among the Chinese, are well acquainted with the genius of the people, have expressed the same opinion. In case of such interference, say they, the emperor "would at once imagine that the people of the West were among his tributaries Under the influence of their incurable presumption, and of that pride which is with them an organic disease they (the Mandarins) have attempted by the use of ambiguous phrases, to impose upon the bulk of the people, so as to make them believe, that if the nations of the West at their desire marched against the insurgents it would be a mere act of *vassalage*" (chap. XIII.)

That any of the treaty powers will for the purpose of removing a temporary commercial pressure consent to assume such a humiliating posture, I cannot for a moment believe; especially as the impediments in the way of trade will be most readily removed, by suffering the insurgent to possess themselves of the line of coast, and divert the theatre of war to the North. By the last *Peking Gazette* we learn that the emperor has summoned, his assistance, *seven tribes of Mongols*, who are ordered to be ready for the invasion of China by the ensuing autumn. These auxiliaries will not however strengthen the emperor so much by their personal services, as help the cause of his opponents, by arousing more fully the national animosity of the Chinese. Henceforth we may expect the contest to become more than ever a war of races, and I cannot believe that my country will aid one race, to rivet its yoke on the unwilling necks of another. Would that I could be convinced, that none of my countrymen would pursue a course so unworthy of their nationality! But private adventurers will always be found, with moral characters of so low a grade, as to become the hired butchers of those, with whom they have no quarrel.

It is not, sir, without feelings of the most intense mortification, that I learn, that nearly all the foreigners engaged against the insurgents are Americans. Now if government intervention in the present crisis, would be injudicious, is not the unauthorized enlistment of private citizens still more objectionable? They may help the Mandarins to hold the insurgents in check, or even to recover a few cities, but their efforts cannot be followed by permanent success. If they were successful, they would elicit from the emperor just such gratitude, as he has lately expressed for the humane interposition of foreigners in saving the Ex-Taotai of Shanghai—viz his banishment to Tartary, for several offences, the first of which is his having "during his term of office held intercourse with the members of a barbarian mercantile firm, to the excitement of scandal against him."

In the event of their ill-success, they will re-act against us in a way, doubly injurious,—by retarding the return of peace, and by exasperating against our country, the future rulers of this empire. Now, sir, is it reasonable, that persons who descend to the contemptible occupation of *bravos*, and sell their services to the highest bidder, should be suffered to imperil interest of such incalculable magnitude!

I have lately, sir, perused with much interest your lucid opinions respecting the judicial powers of our commissioners and consuls in China. I find however in that document, nothing which has any special reference to the control, which those officers are to exercise over American citizens in cases of civil war. Now, if there be any regulation enjoining on American residents, a strict neutrality in such cases, why is it not enforced?

If there be no such regulation, is not the want of it a desideratum which should be speedily supplied?

In this communication it has been my object to expose the futility of all efforts to prop up the crumbling throne of the Tartars; in my next I purpose to consider some of the weighty interests, which depend on the issue of the present struggle.

—I have the honor to be, Sir, your countryman.

W. A. P. MARTIN.

LETTER II.

NINGPO, May 2nd, 1856.

SIR,—Having in my last briefly considered the Military status, and comparative strength of the Belligerent parties in this empire, I beg leave in the present communication to say something respecting their spirit and policy.

The lively interest with which the Chinese Revolution was regarded by Western nations when it first became generally known, has been greatly modified by subsequent events. Public attention was powerfully diverted from it by the breaking out of the European war. The proximity of that scene of strife, the (to Western nations) paramount interests involved in it, and the terrific energy with which it was carried on, all combined to absorb the attention of Christendom so completely, that the slow and dubious struggle in the opposite hemisphere, seems to have been heeded. . . . “no more

Than we regard a rustling leaf

When rattling thunders round us roar.”

But other causes, connected with the character and circumstances of the revolutionary party itself, such as—the slow progress of the revolution—the bad characters of some of its coadjutors—the fearful waste of life occasioned by it—the blasphemous pretensions of some of its leaders—and their arrogant assumption of universal sovereignty—have inclined many of its former friends to look on it with coolness, if not with positive disfavor.

Politicians, eager to display their diplomatic talents by mending the existing treaties; Merchants, who are contending with commercial embarrassments, and perhaps a few Missionaries, who are impatient to obtain access to the interior, feel annoyed by the tedious prolixity of the pending conflict, and imagine that a little timely aid given to the Manchu government might be the readiest way to attain their several objects. But is it not obvious that the interests of foreigners, in the absence of any injury from either party, furnish no just ground for interfering in the internal affairs of this country; and that those reverses of the Insurgents, which have deferred the hopes inspired by their successes, are the worst of all reasons for withdrawing our sympathy from them? Success is not the criterion of merit. The splendor of Military achievement, should not be suffered to disguise a bad purpose, nor defeat, to awaken prejudice against a good cause.

It is indeed too late for the Insurgents to challenge the glory of a brilliant conquest, but the spirit by which they are animated, and the object for which they are contending, establish for them a more solid claim to our sympathy and admiration. If pride of nationality, indignation for their

country's wrongs, and the patient endurance of privations and dangers to promote their country's good, be sufficient title to the name of patriot, there is no reason for refusing that honorable appellation to those, who are striving to deliver this empire from the double usurpation of a foreign race and false religions. Nor does it detract a jot from their right to that designation, that their attempts have thus far involved their country in miseries incomparably heavier than it would have suffered by yielding an unresisting submission to its Tartar conquerors. The younger Brutus was not less a patriot, flying from Octavius at Philippi, than the elder Brutus expelling the last of the Tarquins. If the Romans already inured to servitude, knew not the time of this visitation, it was not his fault that torrents of blood were shed in vain ablutions to the departed spirit of Roman Freedom. The Chinese Insurgents are not fighting for freedom in the Roman sense; but that they are fighting for what they believe will insure the prosperity of China, no one who has given their publications a candid perusal, will venture to deny. Cromwell was not fighting for liberty in the Roman sense, when he executed the king, turned out the parliament, and subjugated the United Kingdom with a strong hand, yet few who have read the pages of Carlyle will deny that he was a lover of his country, and knew above most men what his country wanted. It is one of the wonders of the present age, that the war now waging in China affords a closer approximation to that of the puritans and cavaliers, than has ever been exhibited in any other country. On the one side we see the dissolute and atheistic, or idolatrous Imperialists;—on the other, the abstemious, devout, and image-breaking followers of Taiping. We see the chief of the latter, enjoining by a special edict, the observance of the seventh commandment under penalty of death, prohibiting the use of wine, opium and tobacco, and enforcing those prohibitions. If this abstemiousness together with the daily hymns and prayers, which every soldier is required to recite, the study of religious books in which they are regularly catechised, and sabbath-meetings in which Military officers mount the pulpit, constitute something more than an imaginary resemblance to the Puritan army, it must also be admitted that their slaughter of the Manchus, and of all others who shut their gates or draw their swords against them, are not without a parallel in the campaigns of Cromwell. “In a few months” says Macaulay “he subjugated Ireland, as Ireland had never been subjugated during the five centuries of slaughter, which had elapsed since the landing of the first Norman settlers.

He resolved to *put an end to that conflict of races and religions*, which had so long distracted the island, by making the English and Protestant population decidedly predominant. For this end he gave the rein to the fierce enthusiasm of his followers, waged war resembling that which Israel waged on the Canaanites and smote the idolaters with the edge of the sword, so that great cities were left without inhabitants. . . . strange to say under that iron rule, the conquered country began to wear an outward face of prosperity. Districts which had recently been as wild as those where the first white settlers of Connecticut were contending with the red-men, were in a few years transformed into the likeness of Kent and Norfolk." Who can assert that the triumph of Tai-ping may not be followed by a still happier transformation in the state of China? We should not allow ourselves to prejudge the results of the war by the manner of conducting it, which with all its savageness, only preserves the analogy of Chinese history. It is upon the triumphal arch which celebrates the return of peace, that the character of a war is to be read, and not on the bloody-field or smoking ruin. These may tell how great the calamity which has befallen a nation, but they can neither explain who caused nor who can best repair the damage. The demolished fortresses and slaughtered legions of the Crimea afford no clue to the origin of the grand European struggle; nor do the sacrifice of life, expenditure of treasure, stagnation of business, and consequent suffering occasioned by it, furnish any adequate measure of the evil it was intended to avert. The guilt of war rests with those who provoke it, and not with those who draw the sword to repel aggression, dethrone usurpers, or apply, it may be, the last remedy to an inefficient and oppressive administration.

In the case before us, it was the usurpation, and more recently, the misrule of the Manchus that drove the Chinese to revolt; and they only should be held responsible, both for the twenty-seven years of blood-shed which followed their invasion, and for the perhaps equal period of civil carnage which must precede their expulsion.

Whether such a consummation be desirable or otherwise, it is now too late to avoid it. The Manchu sovereignty is doomed, and the best that its well-wishers can expect for it, is a lingering death. The issue is no longer between a Tartar and a Chinese dynasty; but between the strong body of Nanking Insurgents, which gives some promise of an energetic and united government, and a hubbub of factions, which would lead to the establishment of rival and belligerent states. The march of the Tai-ping party may indeed be like the crushing progress of the car of the Juggernaut, but there is no doubt that foreigners by aiding the Manchus to suppress the central insurrection, would only be rolling back those murderous wheels over vastly larger hecatombs of human life.

Before passing to other topics, I should perhaps remark here, that nothing has done so much to inspire foreigners with aversion for the Insurgent cause, as the conduct of those lawless hordes which captured Amoy and Shanghai, and overran the province of Canton. But those were distinct and independent movements. They had for their object, not the establishment of the "Celestial kingdom of Tai-ping," but commenced with the

avowed design of restoring the Ming dynasty—they observed none of the regulations of the Tai-ping party, and one of their most considerable bodies was actually led by a Buddhist priest. They should not therefore be confounded with the central party, who, their enemies themselves being judges, practice a strict morality, and observe a more rigid discipline than any other troops in the empire. But even the unprincipled bands which come under the observation of foreigners at the open ports, never in their wildest excesses surpassed the rapine and cruelty of the Imperial braves; nor did the inhabitants of those ill-fated cities ever suffer so much from Insurgent violence, as from the licenced massacre, and judicial butchery which followed their reversion to the legitimate authorities. On the score of humanity therefore, no party has so little claim to sympathy and aid as the existing government.

As the profession of Christianity by the Nanking Insurgents more than anything else won for them the good-will of Christian nations, so, few things have done more to impair that feeling, than the blasphemous extravagance of some of their leaders. The pretensions of the chief, however, savor more of enthusiasm, than of blasphemy. He claims the sceptre by virtue of a divine commission; and asserts a peculiar relation to the Heavenly Father, and the Saviour. The trance in which he was received up into heaven, and authorized to extirpate idols and idolaters, must be classed with Constantine's vision of a cross-embazoned banner; with this in favor of the former, that while political sagacity might have led Constantine to espouse a cause which had proven itself indomitable by sustaining ten general persecutions, nothing but an assurance of its truth could have induced the Chinese reformer to embrace a religion, which was altogether unknown to his people, or known to them only to be detested as the creed of foreigners. That he was sincere in his profession of it, is placed beyond a doubt, both by his own writings, and by the narrative of the "Vision of Hung-siu-tsen" given by one of his early associates, and translated by the late Mr. Hamberg.

From the latter book which affords the most satisfactory explanation yet given of the religious element at work in the insurrection, it appears that there is no good reason for denying to Tai-ping-wang a place among those who "by faith have waxed valiant in fight, and turned to flight the armies of the aliens;" nor is his moral character more defective, than that of some of the worthies commemorated in the eleventh of the Hebrews.

That his claim to be in a peculiar sense, a son of God, refers to a peculiarity of office, and not of nature, is evident from the fact, that there is not a passage in the publications of the Insurgents, which asserts or supposes anything miraculous in the manner of his birth, or speaks of him as having been in heaven prior to 1837, when he was taken up in vision.

That he claims no community in the Divine nature, is further proved by the remarkable decree issued at Yung-ngan in 1851, in which after renouncing the titles *Shang* Supreme, and *Te* Sovereign, on the ground that they belong solely to our Heavenly Father *Shang-te*, he proceeds to make a still more significant change in the cus-

tomary style of the Chinese monarchy, by forbidding his subjects to address him as "*sacred*" or "*holy*," because that designation belongs only to "our Holy Heavenly Father, and our Heavenly Elder Brother the Holy Saviour."

In another decree issued at the same place, he includes himself among the children of God, in language which leaves him no other distinction, than that of being their Heaven sent leader. "We sincerely announce to you," he says "that since we have all had the happiness to become sons and daughters of our Heavenly Father, and brothers and sisters of our Heavenly Elder Brother, we shall enjoy peerless dignity on earth, and boundless bliss in Heaven."

That a prince who shows himself thus scrupulously cautious of offending against the Divine Majesty, in determining his own titles, should commit the horrid blasphemy of conferring on one of his Ministers the name of the "Holy Ghost" is next to unaccountable.

It is probable however, the idea did not originate with the chief, and that nothing but the undue ascendancy of the eastern king extorted his consent to it. That wily Minister, professing to guide the counsels of his master by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, with a bold impiety which the wildest enthusiasm, and the deepest ignorance may extenuate but not excuse, demanded to be invested with that sacred title as expressive of his oracular functions. Another reason for the choice of that singular appellation, and which furnishes some palliation of its wickedness, is that the phrase by which "holy spirit" is expressed in the version of the Scriptures used by the Insurgents, means literally "holy spiritual wind." Soon after their establishment at Nanking certain aerial elements were selected as emblematical of the power of each of the associate kings—thus, the Western king was called "the Rain-master," the Southern king, "Cloud-master," the Northern king, "Thunder-master" and the Assistant king, "Lightning-master."

Now, *wind* falling into this category as chief among the elements of a storm, was naturally chosen by the Eastern king, as the symbol of his paramount agency in driving forward the political tempest; and the entire phrase of Scripture was accordingly appropriated as expressive of both his spiritual and civil influence.

This is the darkest blot on the religious character of the revolution; but it no more proves that the Insurgents of Nanking are not destined to play an important part in the subversion of idolatry, than the appearance of false prophets among the Jews proved that they were not chosen instruments for the evangelization of the world.

And it is a consideration full of encouragement for those who entertain this hope, that Yang the Eastern king is rather a Numa, seeking to give sanctity to the institutions of a new dynasty, by ascribing them to super-human wisdom, than a Mahomet originating a new creed. He has hitherto confined the exercise of his pretended gift to judicial and legislative affairs, and not once set it in opposition to the system of Revealed Truth. He has not expunged a verse of Holy Writ, nor made any supplementary addition to its doctrines. Mr. Meadows, who had an opportunity of communicating personally with some of the con-

federate kings, and who brought from Nanking copies of the Scriptures which they were publishing says of the Insurrection, that "as to its religious features it is based really though erringly on a protestant translation of the Scriptures, which its leaders are publishing *unaltered and sedulously diffusing*."

While they give to China an uncorrupted Bible, may we not regard their fanaticism, as foam on the surface of a mountain torrent, which will soon be dissipated while the stream beneath will roll on growing clearer and broader, and diffusing its fertilizing influence throughout the extent of this empire?

The *London Times* in commenting on the "official account of the descent of the Heavenly Father," which is one of the most disgusting specimens of Yang's hierophantic acting has the following just remarks,

"We think therefore that there is no need for hastily despairing of Chinese Christianity: or concluding that the Divine doctrines of Christianity have been deliberately depraved for any purposes of men. It appears to us rather that there must be good ground for hope in that condition of affairs, which has rendered Christianity even in so strange a guise an important element in social and political life, and has induced a large part of an enormous population to supersede the traditions of an ancient religion, by at least the language of a purer faith. It cannot be said at present that the Chinese have learnt the Gospel; but they have at any rate been taught to abandon a system of idolatry, to profess themselves believers in something better, and to appeal to this new law for the correction of social evil..... It will probably be long before this extraordinary revolution is consummated, but we do not see that the hopes entertained of the eventual conversion of China need be despondingly abandoned."

Latterly it has been hinted that the Insurgents are laying aside, their profession of Christianity. This is however a groundless conjecture, thrown out with a design to disparage the revolution. Such an event is next to impossible in the nature of things. Christianity is so interwoven with the entire constitution of the party, that they cannot exclude it without hazarding its dissolution. The chief claims the throne by virtue of a commission from the Heavenly Father, and publishes to his people that he has achieved his most splendid victories by the help of Jesus. And it is by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost that the Eastern king pretends to guide his counsels. They cannot therefore drop these pretensions without forfeiting the semi-idolatrous reverence, with which they are regarded by their followers—they cannot abjure Christianity without invalidating every decree issued since the commencement of the revolution, and abrogating their whole political system. Indeed so zealous have the Insurgent leaders been in diffusing a knowledge of the rudiments of Christianity among their own followers, and so successful in imparting their own zeal, that I may assert without danger of contradiction, that there is not now on the face of the earth any other military body, which is so fully pervaded with religious enthusiasms.

Here on the borders of the contested region, we have frequent opportunities of meeting with those

who have been among the rebels. One of my Missionary colleagues copied a hymn which contains, a beautiful summary of Christian doctrine from the recitation of a Ningpo man, who had been for a time detained among them; and I have myself obtained the same from two others, one a native of Nanking and the other a refugee from Chin-kiang. The account of the practices of the Insurgents given by the latter, is so interesting that I shall relate a few particulars. Immediately on entering the city, religious tracts were put into his hands, after reading and approving of which he received the rite of baptism, by kneeling (in company with others) repeating the above-mentioned hymn, with a doxology to the Trinity, renouncing his sins, swearing fidelity to the cause, and then washing his bosom with a towel, which they call "cleansing heart." The Sabbath though not strictly observed, owing to the interruptions incidental to a state of war, was still distinguished from other days. On the evening previous, a banner was hoisted bearing the inscription "The morrow is the day for worship, beware of disregarding it." At day-break on Sabbath morning the troops were called together for prayer, and at a later hour they assembled in places called "Worshipping halls," to hear a discourse from some officer, on the righteousness of their course the certainty of success, the wickedness of idolatry, and the oppression of the Tartars; or in lieu of such service, which was always accompanied by prayer, to be examined as to their acquaintance with the religious manuals of the party. Those most esteemed were, the ten commandments with notes, the ode for Youth, commencing with a brief but correct statement of Christian doctrine, and concluding with the duties of the social relations; the Trimetrical classic, which after giving an epitome of the book of Genesis, and a detailed account of the deliverance from Egypt, speaks of the coming of Jesus Christ to save the world and then proceeds to describe the Mission of the "Celestial king" to deliver China from the Tartars. Of these the narrator repeated from memory considerable portions; together with a hymn and prayers, which each soldier was expected to recite daily as a devotional exercise. Those whose hair had grown long in the service were generally the most devout, and were often seen on their knees repeating their morning prayer, while putting on their clothes; but their later adherents, who had learned those forms by constraint, would slip away to their breakfast without prayer, unless they were observed by some officer. They were even required to say a separate grace before meat. In times of peculiar danger they were accustomed to fall down, at any time, and in any place, and implore the Divine assistance. Which he remarked had a wonderful influence in reviving their courage. (This fact I also had from an Imperialist who was engaged against the Insurgents both in Shantung, and at Nanking). T'een-fu Heavenly Father, was the most common appellation used for God; and they seemed to confide in his providence and to rely on his protection. They spoke of it as their purpose when the empire is tranquillized, to divide the inhabitants into wards of twenty-five families each, with a hall for worship attached to each ward, presided over by an officer who shall superintend

the affairs of those families. Wine, opium, and tobacco, were prohibited, and abstinence strictly enforced. Two foreigners had come among them, who were much esteemed for their skill in gunnery; one of whom being fond of liquor, an exception was made in his favor, on the ground that he should be treated as a guest, but having subsequently committed a misdemeanor in a drunken fit, daily ration was withheld. The narrative was not given in the language of unmixed praise, but was on the contrary interspersed with shrewd remarks on the defects of the Insurgents' policy, such as their excessive rigor, which prevented the increase of their adherents; espionage so strict as to prohibit soldiers conversing together in an undertone; want of judgement in the choice of officers, their oldest followers being promoted without respect to other qualifications, to the umbrage of later but more accomplished adherents; It was a graduate of Nanking, displeased at seeing rude mountaineers in high commands, while he could attain no higher post than that of scribe to a division, who instigated and assisted the escape of the narrator. The latter being ordered on a hard, and dangerous expedition made his escape in the spring of 1854, after having been eight months among the Insurgents. He has frequently visited me for further instruction in truths which he first learned among them. The facts obtained from this individual are for the most part not new: but it is not novelty but truth, that we are seeking; and substantially the same statements from numerous sources, foreign and native, rebel and imperialist, prove beyond controversy, that the Insurgents are, considering the perils and confusion of warfare, wonderfully zealous in maintaining religious instruction, and moral discipline. Is there not reason to hope that such a spirit may under more favorable auspices, work a mighty change among the inert masses of corruption, which constitute the population of this empire?

The unfavorable impression made upon foreigners by the religious extravagances of the Insurgents has been deepened by their leader's arrogant assumption of universal sovereignty, and supposed determination to observe an exclusive policy towards foreign nations. But these are nothing more than the hereditary pretensions, and ancient policy of the Chinese monarchs; and while a little knowledge of geography would modify the former, the progressive element, which the chief has adopted in the shape of a foreign religion could not but have a powerful tendency to liberalize the latter. At all events for an advocate of progress to propose aiding the Tartars is such a miserable solecism as to lead us to doubt his sanity. Have we yet to learn the policy of the reigning dynasty? Do not the restriction of Foreign commerce, for two hundred years to the single port of Canton, and of Foreign residence to a single suburb of that city, the restriction of trade to a monopoly of Hong merchants, and of communication to a limited number of linguists, sufficiently indicate it. Such was the old regime, which was abandoned out of respect for British cannon. But has not the young emperor acquired more enlightened principles from the experience of his father? If such expectations were entertained when he ascended the

throne, he has now reigned long enough to disappoint them. The degradation of Keying, expressly because of his liberality to foreigners; the honors at the same time heaped on Seu-kwang-tsing for his obstinate resistance of all attempts to open Canton to foreign residence, the gates of that city still shut against foreigners, notwithstanding it owes to them its preservation from the hands of the Insurgents, the contumelious language of the emperor in reference to the visit of the *Reynard* to the Pei-ho, and the disingenuous subterfuge by which he declined to read or answer the communication of Her British Majesty, his treatment of the visit of the three plenipotentiaries to Tsen-sing in 1854, the fact (not before made public) which I had from one of the shareholders in the Paou-shun, that the emperor was incensed at the Taoutai of Ningpo, for suffering one of the mercantile guilds of this city to purchase a steamer from the English, and that that officer only escaped degradation, by representing it as purchased not from the English but from the Cantonese, with which stupid falsehood His Majesty chose to be satisfied; and last though not least in significance, the banishment of Samqua, not for losing Shanghai, but for saving his own life, by taking refuge with foreigners—this chain of events extending from Keying to Samqua, evinces not only bigoted exclusiveness, but a spiteful animosity towards foreigners, which is restrained by nothing but conscious weakness from breaking into open hostility. A few extracts from official papers, will show better than any words of mine, the animus which pervades the counsels of the Manchu sovereign.

Soon after the accession of Hien-fung, an old cabinet minister Chang-kih-shin, tendered advice as to his future policy, which was received with evident approbation. It related to four topics, the last of which was "The carrying out of the intentions and schemes of his late Majesty."

On this head the Minister goes on to say, "On examination your servant finds that one step has recently been taken, in fulfilment of the late Emperor's intentions as to bringing about the old state of things, by the resolute and stout rejection of the petition of foreigners for admission into the city of Canton." *Might not the same plan be carried out everywhere along the coast?*

The first duty that in such a case devolves on your Majesty is first to secure due order and discipline in your own dominions, *prior to making any display or aggression abroad*. When such arrangements shall have been once matured, your Majesty need only order what may please your Majesty and it shall be done, so that the *restrictions and impediments* along the whole coast may easily be re-established. Under such circumstances it will be for your Majesty to say of foreigners, "they are a perverse and obstinate generation—punish them," and assuredly they shall be punished; or "They are a poor and contemptible race, take pity on them as heretofore," and they shall be let alone."—(*Peking Gazette* in *N.-C. Herald* No. 1, Augt. 3d, 1850.)

In a decree of the 4th July, 1850, the Emperor animadvert in the following strain, on the visit of H. B. M. Str. *Reynard* to the Pei-ho. "Foreigners are under obligation to be grateful for our generosity, and to live in peace and quiet among

us. But their recent proceedings at Tsen-tsing, in *impudently forwarding despatches direct to the Ministers of State*, can be looked upon only as *contumacious, and insulting in the extreme*. We have accordingly given our commands that no reply be handed them, but that those documents (*viz.*, the Queen's letter) be passed over in perfect silence as if they were of no consequence whatever. Now as our code of ceremonies has ordained that the officials of the empire, shall have no intercourse with foreigners, we accordingly require that our Ministers of State return no reply to the said foreigners, lest by so doing they should give the slightest encouragement to their insolent arrogance. But whereas, Seu-kwang-tsing, our viceroy at Canton has hitherto conducted our affairs there in a very trusty manner, and has shown himself thoroughly acquainted with the *diabolical schemes and manoeuvres* of foreigners, and seeing moreover that Canton is the first province reached by foreigners, we appoint that all such matters hereafter be referred to Seu-kwang-tsing. As to the viceroys, and lieut.-governors of the other maritime provinces, we again require of them, that they give no heed to unfounded reports nor encouragement to irregular proceedings. This we publish as the *invariable and unalterable law* of our empire. Respect it!"—(*Peking Gazette* in *N.-C. Herald* No. 3, Augt. 17th, 1850.)

He says of Keying in the edict announcing the degradation of that enlightened statesman "As for Keying, his unpatriotic, and pusillanimous conduct is to us a matter of unmixed astonishment. When he was at Canton, for instance, he seemed only anxious to make our people subserv the interests of foreigners, all the while over-looking the claims of his native country. Is not this evident from his proposal to throw open the gates of that city, whereby he violated the principles of Heaven, outraged the feelings of men, and all but introduced a series of *innovations*, the results of which it is beyond human power to divine. Recently during a private interview Keying spoke to us freely of the English, how they were to be dreaded, and strongly urged upon us the necessity of a mild and conciliating policy—supposing that we were not aware that his *knavish* object was merely to secure rank and emolument for himself. Oh, how fallen and degraded is he! the more he speaks, the more do we discover this, so that at last we have the same contempt for him that we have for a wild yelping cur" (*Peking Gazette*, in *North-China Herald*, January 11, 1851.)

The sentence of exile which His Majesty has lately pronounced on Samqua, chiefly on the ground "That he being an official did familiarly consort with members of *Barbarian firms*" gives us a fresh peep into the camera-obscura of the Imperial mind, by which we perceive that the image of the great world, darkly delineated there, is still a diminutive *inverted* outline.

He has neither been taught wisdom by adversity, nor advanced a step in the knowledge of political science, during the last five years. He has not in all that time acquired an additional grain of partiality for "Barbarians," nor of toleration for "their diabolical schemes" of progress. That foreigners have not in the meanwhile, been molested in the enjoyment of their treaty privileges is obviously owing to the fact, that he has been too

busily engaged with the "preliminary duty of securing order and discipline in his own dominions" to "make any display or aggression abroad."

With the above extracts compare the following from the official documents of the rival dynasty.

"The great God is the universal Father of all men throughout the world. China, which is near to us is governed and regulated by the great God; foreign nations, which are far away are under the same rule. There are many men in the world, but they are all our brothers. There are many women in the world but they are all our sisters. Why then should we retain the selfish feeling of regarding one border and another boundary? and why should we cherish the idea of my swallowing up you, and of you overwhelming me?" (Imperial Declaration of Tai-ping.)

"The Heavenly Father, the Supreme Lord, the Great God, in the beginning created heaven and earth, land and sea, men and things in six days. From that time to this the whole world has been one family, and all within the four seas brethren. How can there exist then any difference between man and man, or any distinction between principal and secondary birth? But from the time that the human race has been influenced by the demoniacal agency which has entered into the heart of man they have ceased to acknowledge the great mercy of God the Heavenly Father, in giving and sustaining life; and ceased to appreciate the infinite merit of the expiatory sacrifice made by Jesus, our Celestial Elder Brother, and have with lumps of clay wood and stone, practiced perversity in the world. Hence it is that the Tartar hordes and impish Huns so fraudulently robbed us of our Celestial territory. Our Heavenly Father, and Heavenly Elder Brother have from an early date displayed their miraculous power amongst you English, and you have long acknowledged the duty of worshipping God the Heavenly Father, and Jesus our Celestial Brother, so that the truth has been preserved entire and the Gospel maintained. We therefore issue this special decree permitting you the English chief to lead your brethren, out or in, backwards or forwards, in full accordance with your own will or wish. and it is our earnest hope that you will with us earn the merit of serving dilligently our Royal Master, and with us recompense the goodness of the Father of Spirits." (Communication of the East-ern and Western kings to Sir George Bonham.)

So much for the policy of the two dynasties. While the pretensions of the rival chiefs are somewhat similar, their circumstances are widely different. The one is entering on a career in which he will be free to mark out his own course; the other is hedged in by a long line of ancestral precedents. The one is eager to erect a new and splendid structure on his native soil; the other is only anxious to keep the old fabric, which his fore-fathers entered as unlawful intruders, from tumbling about his ears. The former will when the tug of war is over, feel comparatively secure in the possession of his own country, the latter being himself a foreign usurper, will naturally be suspicious of designs on the part of other foreigners, to snatch his prey from his grasp. The same reason would dictate different lines of policy with reference to their own subjects. The maxim that "knowledge is power," has not been unknown to the so-

vereigns of China, since the days of Shü-hwang the Book-burner.

The Tartar emperor is willing for learning to flow on in the channel, it has worn for three millenniums, but he would no doubt regard any "*innovation*," with as much dismay as he does a breach in the banks of the Yellow River. His rival is on the contrary, the most daring innovator that ever aspired to the throne of China. The full blaze of Western civilization is indeed, at present, too dazzling for either denizen of this twilight hemisphere; but while the one shuts against it, the decayed sight of age, the other opens to it, the weak eye of infancy; and though for the present he too shrinks back, as if "blasted with excess of light," there is no reason to doubt that he will ere long welcome the flood-tide of splendor, and gaze on it with the full-orbed vision of maturity. Of this we have a gratifying earnest, in the charitable feeling with which he has imbued his followers. While Hien-fung, copies the example of his fathers, and joins his subjects in stigmatizing foreigners, as "Barbarians," and "devils" (mem: *diabolical*, above), under the teachings of Tai-ping, the Chinese have learned to salute us as brethren.

Here we see, that the heat of their religious fervor, has melted down a mountain barrier which lay between us and them, and seemed to be insuperable by any other agency. It has indeed left a slope, on which they imagine that they occupy the upper ground; but increasing light will rectify this misconception, and lead them to recognize the superiority of our social and civil position. From the admission, that they are with ourselves children of one God and Father of us all, and learners in the school of our common Christianity, adoption into the brotherhood of Christian nations would be an easy transition. It is in this respect that the religious features of the Chinese revolution acquire a peculiar interest in relation to questions of international jurisprudence. For no nation which does not acknowledge the fundamental principles of the Christian system, is capable of enjoying with others, the reciprocal privileges of international law. Sir J. Mackintosh speaks of "The Law of Nations" "*as the public code of the Christian commonwealth*." President G. Q. Adams, speaks of it as a great inconvenience, that the people of China not being Christians, "a Christian nation cannot appeal to the principles of a common faith, to settle the question of right and wrong between them," and adds that "The moral obligation of commercial intercourse between nations, is founded entirely and exclusively on the Christian precept to 'love your neighbour as yourself.'"

To the opinions of these eminent men as to the relation of Christianity to the law of nations, allow me, Sir, to add that of the Minister who negotiated the American treaty with China. "I entered China" he says "with the formed general conviction that the United States ought not to concede to any foreign state, under any circumstances, jurisdiction over the life and liberty of a citizen of the United States, unless that foreign state be of our own family of nations, in a word, a Christian state."

"The states of Christendom, are bound together by treaties, which confer mutual rights, and prescribe reciprocal obligations."

They acknowledge the authority of certain maxims and usages received among them by common consent, and called the law of nations; but, which not being fully acknowledged and observed by the Mahomedan or Pagan States, is *in fact only the international law of Christendom*. Above all, the states of Christendom have a common origin, a *common religion*, a common intellectuality, associated by which common ties, each permits the subjects of the other, in time of peace, ample means of access to its dominions for the purposes of trade, full right to reside therein, to transmit letters by its mails, to travel in its interior at pleasure, using the highways, canals, stage-coaches, steam-boats and rail-roads of the country, as freely as the native inhabitants. And they hold a regular and systematic intercourse by means of diplomatic agents of each, residing in the courts of the others respectively. All these facts impart to the states of Christendom many of the qualities of one confederated republic.

"How different is the condition of things out of the limits of Christendom! From the greater part of Asia and Africa, individual Christians are utterly excluded, either by the sanguinary barbarism of the inhabitants, or by their phrenzied bigotry, or by the narrow-minded policy of their governments. To their courts the ministers of Christian Governments have no means of access, except by force, and at the head of fleets and armies. As between them and us, there is no community of ideas, no common law of nations, no interchange of good offices, and it is only during the present generation that, *treaties most of them imposed by force of arms or by terror* have begun to bring down the great Pagan and Mahomedan governments into a state of inchoate peaceful association with Christendom."

I will not conceal the fact, that it was the perusal of the just and weighty remarks last quoted, which decided me to address these letters on the Chinese Revolution to you, Sir, as a statesman, more likely than most others, to appreciate the bearing of its religious element on the subject of international politics.

Now, Sir, when a native and Christian party, for three years in actual possession of the chief cities on the great internal thoroughfare of this empire, are struggling for existence with a foreign pagan dynasty, what, I ask in view of the above principles, would it be, but national fratricide, for any Christian power to conspire with the Manchus to effect their extinction? Some will perhaps assert that the case is materially altered by the religion of the Insurgents being spurious. But when, Sir, has Christianity in its incipient stages not presented the appearance of being spurious? The process both with nations and with individuals is purgative. An artificial tinsel is soon worn off, but the heaven created bullion will at length purge away its grosser elements. Does the history of European nations teach no lesson on this subject? Was not the religion of the middle ages exceedingly crude and imperfect?—and yet light was made to shine out of darkness. To go back to the Apostolic age, the irregularities of the Corinthian church, would have been taken by the astute critics of the present day, as proof of spuriousness, but an apostle did not hesitate to salute them as "saints." Or to go back to the apostles

themselves, the sons of Zebedee, mistaking the nature of the kingdom of God, and begging for seats one on the right, and the other on the left of the Messiah's throne, would no doubt have been condemned by the same squeamish judges, as self-interested and carnal adherents—but after farther illumination, who excelled them in spirituality and true devotion?

But if Christians notwithstanding these considerations, persist in branding the religion of the Insurgents as spurious, who will assert that it may not become a most important auxiliary to the True? Taoism, and Buddhism destitute of any social element, and Confucianism equally devoid of any religious principle, are at deadly antagonism with the Gospel.

Is it not therefore an omen for good, that a seedling from the tree of Life has shot up vigorous and strong, in the very midst of their noxious and entangled bramble? It might indeed if left to itself produce insipid and degenerate fruit, but will it not afford, at least a root, on which to engraft a scion from the parent stock?

Thus the success of the insurrection may be useful to the cause of Christianity, but its suppression cannot be otherwise than pernicious. This sentiment is eloquently expressed by the Bishop of Victoria in a charge to the clergy of his diocese. "If Britain," says his Lordship, "bribed by the promise of extended privileges, which the passing away of their hour of danger would lead the faithless Manchus as heretofore to evade and elude, should hereafter employ the resources of a joint-foreign intervention to restore the sinking fortunes of the Imperialists, then it may be confidently predicted that the civilization of this vast empire will be hopelessly postponed; and the conversion to Christianity of this people, will (to human view) be indefinitely delayed. . . . The pæans of Manchu triumph will be the melancholy dirge of a vast nation, having her liberties entombed among the dead, and sinking into the lowest depths of political annihilation."

Christianity in the eyes of many of this people is already identified with the Insurgent cause; and while it prejudices them against the Revolution, their animosity would in the event of its failure (as they mistake for its cause that which is only a concomitant,) recoil against foreigners, for causing them to "suffer so many things in vain, if it be yet in vain." Missionaries would be treated as political incendiaries, and the Bible be proscribed as a dangerous book. Certain papal Missionaries, might perhaps exult in such a reverse, to what they regard as Protestantism. But that would be the short-sighted folly of those Jewish partizans, who triumphed in the fall of a rival faction, while their city was besieged by a Roman army and their own doom sealed by that very event.

It is not this or that creed, but our common Christianity, that is at stake; and deeply as we may regret the fact—earnestly as we may reprobate, the ambition, or fanaticism, which has imperilled our glorious cause, we cannot deny that the largest body of professed Christians in this empire, are now in arms against the government, and it behoves us to beware, lest we involve all others in ruin, by abetting their defeat. It is vain for Romish propagandists, to flatter themselves that

the Chinese will discriminate between their followers and the Insurgents. The sect of Heaven's Lord, is the only name for the Christian religion generally known throughout the empire; and when, at the Five Ports we are still frequently addressed as its professors, is it to be wondered, that the Insurgents should be taken (as I have been told by a soldier from the Imperial camp they universally are,) for disciples of the Lord of Heaven? The name of Jesus, and their opposition to the vulgar idolatry, are sufficient to establish their identity. Few in this land will inquire whether they receive or deny the dogmas of transubstantiation and the Pope's supremacy. All who possess even a modicum of intelligence will at once perceive that *T'een-choo* is only a synonym for *Shang-te*; and minor differences will not be sufficient to constitute a distinction in a country where all who hold to one God and one Saviour, are regarded as united in opposition to idolatry and atheism. I am sorry therefore that the Bishop of Peking, has, in a memorial to the emperor, endeavored to exculpate his co-religionists from the charge of being concerned in the rebellion, by hinting its probable connexion with the protestantism propagated at the Five Ports. The silence of the Emperor respecting that document, seems to indicate that he is little disposed to distinguish his Roman Catholic subjects by any favorable notice; but even if he had vouchsafed a Gracious reply, that would have afforded no security, that the author of that paper and his fellows, will escape vengeance if ever the power of the revolutionary faction is broken.

In Japan, a civil conflict in which Romish converts were implicated, caused the cross to be trampled on, and all Missionaries, Protestant, as well as Papist to be excluded from those Islands, up to the present day; and is it unlikely that the suppression of this Insurrection, in which not only Protestant books, but the Holy Scriptures, the source of our common Faith, are concerned, may result in excluding Papists, as well as Protestants from China? Besides the fact that they are placed in this dilemma, it would be well for Papal Missionaries, and Papal governments to reflect that the Insurgents, as yet, know nothing of Luther and Reformation, and that, they might, now in their transition state, be moulded into any style of religious belief, with infinitely more facility than the conversion of callous heathen.

And let no man deceive himself into the belief, that though, the visionary projects of religious propagandists should be frustrated by the quelling of the insurrection, the interests of commerce would be unharmed by that catastrophe. Its inevitable effect would be to convince the Manchus, of the incompatibility of the religion of *foreigners*, with the tranquillity of their empire; and so to confirm them in their auspicious and exclusive policy.

On the other hand the success of the Insurgents, would be rich in commercial results. Having imported a foreign religion, they would soon appreciate the value of other imports; and having

imbibed the spirit of their religion, they would fraternize with foreigners practically, as they now do nominally; and would in common with all Christendom allow them "ample means of access to their dominions for purpose of trade; full right to reside therein, and to travel in their interior, as freely as the native inhabitants."

What a magnificent prospect would the Christianization of China, open to Mercantile enterprize? The progress of society would create a demand for the products of Western industry, and repay them by developing the resources of this great country, in a way, and to an extent, impossible under any other system.

Thus while this politico-religious conflagration, by consuming the rubbish, which encumbers the ground, will present clear soil, on which both Papists and Protestants may sow their own seed, its extinction would endanger the exclusion of both—and while a revolution favorable to Christianity, would vastly extend the range of commerce, a re-action could not fail to cramp and impede its prospective growth.

A topic alluded to, in my former letter, I cannot forbear resuming in this place. Every one must perceive at a glance the immense advantages, resulting from having Nanking made the capital of the empire instead of Peking. The latter is several days journey from a shallow, dangerous coast; the former is near the mouth of the Asiatic Amazon where the largest three-deckers may ride in safety. If the imperial residence collects two millions of people at Peking, where they must be fed by grain transported from the south; what an immense population would it not attract to Nanking, in the very heart of the grain-growing region, where the head waters of the Yang-tze pour down the trade of half the nation, and the winds from the ocean would waft in the riches of the sea. That change would make it what Peking can never be, the emporium of Western commerce and the centre of a new civilization. It would be such a felicitous exchange as that of Moscow for St. Petersburg; and of Delhi for Calcutta. What language then is strong enough to characterize the folly which would purchase the navigation of that noble stream, by driving the court of the new dynasty away from its banks? This, I understand is one of the advantages expected from the renewal of our treaty, but it is an advantage, which the Tartar emperor has not the power to confer; and if we must after all take it by force, where is the necessity of asking his leave? And as to other privileges, he has little to grant, that is worth asking for, unless it be access to Peking, and Shinking, which he certainly will not concede, until, they are as much out of his possession, as Nanking now is.

Hoping therefore that all Christian powers will refrain from helping an illiberal, effete, pagan and foreign dynasty, to overcome its worthier rival, and that the first American treaty with China will be the last with its Tartar rulers, I am, Sir, respectfully,
W. A. P. MARTIN.

CHINESE WORSHIP OF THE STARS.

A revolting answer is sometimes given by natives of China to the question, who is the lord of heaven and earth. They will say, the north pole. Men of liberal views, and there are such in China notwithstanding its exclusiveness, will not speak so; but those whose reading has been confined within a narrow circle, and who have studied astrological and Taoist books will make such a reply.

If Taoist priests are performing services for the sick, and the inquiry be made what deity they are worshipping, the interrogator will often be told, the Great Bear (Peh teu). Many of the idols in their temples represent the genii of stars, and some great men are said to have been incarnations of stars. These are instance of the hold that astrology has had on the mind of this people, and of the materialistic character of the Taoist religion. While the northern Buddhists worship the personifications of certain metaphysical and moral

ideas, Taoists on the other hand adore physical nature in the form of essences, vapours and stars.

The stellar mythology of this religion began to be formed in the Han dynasty. Hwai-nan-tsi, a Taoist writer* who lived in the second century B.C., and was the grandson of the first Han emperor, gives in his work a sketch of the astronomy of his time. He says "fire is produced from the hot vapor of the principle Yang (light, masculine) when it collects, and the essence of fire is the sun. Water is produced from the cold vapour of the principle yin (darkness, feminine) when it collects, and the essence of water is the moon." "Heaven has nine regions (corresponding to the states included formerly in the empire of China), five planets, eight winds, and 28 zodiacal signs." The following scheme of the planets is from the same work:—

	<i>Jupiter.</i>	<i>Mars.</i>	<i>Saturn.</i>	<i>Venus.</i>	<i>Mercury.</i>
Quarter	East	South	Centre	West	North
Element	Wood	Fire	Earth	Metal	Water
Emperor	T'ai-hau	Shen-nung	Hwang-ti	Shau-hau	Chwen-beuh
President	Keu-mang	Chu-ming	Heu-t'u	Juh-sheu	Yuen-ming
Instrument	Rule	Balances	Line	Compasses	Sceptre
Season	Spring	Summer	All regions	Autumn.	Winter
Spirit	Sui-sing	Yung-hwoh	Chen-sing	T'ai-peh	C'hen-sing
Animal	Blue dragon	Red bird	Yellow dragon	White tiger	Dark warrior

The five deities called Keu-mang, &c., are personages belonging to the early national mythology and supposed to preside over agriculture. They are here represented as ministers of state.

We are also told that of all the spirits of heaven, the highest in rank is T'ien-yih,† also called T'ing-lung and T'ai-yin.

The five planets are in the table also called spirits (shen). A living activity and personality are thus attributed to them, agreeing with the practice of the people now, who commonly speak of stars as deities or genii. They mean often by

sing, a star, what we should call the spirit or god of the star.

Si-ma-ts'ien, the greatest Chinese historian, who wrote about a century before our Saviour's birth, devotes a section to the mythology of the stars. (T'ien-kwan-shut) He says "In the central palace (kung) are the stars that mark the pole. The brightest of them is T'ai-yih, always remaining in its place. On its side is the San-kung constellation of three stars." One group of three stars are on the west of the body of the Great Bear, says the T'ang dynasty commentator, and another on the east of the tail. Together they constitute the three chief ministers of state, or as others say the em-

* Though classed among Taoist authors Hwai-nan-tsi does not limit himself to the subjects properly embraced in that religion. He was aided in the composition of his work by several learned men, whom he invited to join him. Its prevailing tone is Taoist.

† According to Morrison vol. IV. this star is chi Draco.

‡ The description of the stars with their officers in the imperial court of heaven, in the Shi-ki, is copied into the History of the early Han dynasty by Pan-ku the author of that work, in his section on astronomy. So also the worship of T'ai-yih in his section on sacrifices.

peror's sons. Tai-yih is the lord of heaven. "Of the four stars to the north, the last is the empress, the other three are inferior wives. Around stand 12 stars, which are 12 principal officers of the court in the purple palace."

It should be observed that the Chinese assign to the stars about the ancient north pole, including Ursa Major, the name Tsi-wei-yuen. A second large tract of stars the T'ien-shi-yuen is formed by Hercules, Corona Borealis, &c. The T'ai-wei-yuen consists of the two Leos and Coma Berenices. The word yuen, a low wall, refers to a wall with a moat built round a palace, and forming its outer boundary. The stars near the ecliptic are all classed with the 28 stars, and small clusters of stars, which mark the sun's course, and are commonly known as the 28 constellations, but all the others in the northern hemisphere are included in the three great groups above mentioned. In the Tsi-wei-yuen is the Tsi-wei-kung or palace of the Tsi-wei emperor; and this personage is by some made identical with the star Tai-yih. He is also called Tien-ti, heavenly emperor. The Great bear, called Teu from its resemblance to the Chinese measure of that name (nearly a peck), is stated to be the chariot in which the same emperor rides, when he travels to regulate the seasons and elements.

"Antares and beta Scorpio form the residence of the eastern emperor whose symbol is the blue dragon. Arcturus is the hall of audience." "The southern palace is formed by the Red bird, or the eight stars of Hydra." "The western palace is in Auriga." The northern consists of stars called the black warrior, in Capricornus and Sagittarius. At the star Denebola in Leo the five emperors meet in council. The intermediate stars are named in almost all cases from analogy with the circumstances of a court. Thus a group of four stars is called the imperial chariot, and a star beside it, Wang-liang, so designated from a faithful officer in the Chou dynasty, is described as the charioteer. The constellation Nan-tu is a temple, and that of the K'ien-nieu or Nieu, bull, is the sacrifice. There are also generals and marshals, gates, prisons, and markets.

This characteristic in the names of stars belongs particularly to those which occur first in the Han dynasty. The stars mentioned in the classics are in the zodiac almost exclusively. The names of the 28 constellations are found in the earliest remains of the national literature, but most others can be traced no earlier than the works from which the preceding extracts have been made.

There is a copious account of the stars in the work Sing-king *Star classic*, purporting to be written by Kan and Shih, two authors who lived at the beginning of the Han dynasty or the end of the Chou. The book however is suspected to be of later origin. It is thought highly of by astronomers and is certainly very ancient. To exemplify the use which may be made of it, it states that T'ai-yih is distant from the pole 11 degrees and from T'ien-yih half a degree. We have thus the means of identifying this star, as known when this work was written, with the present star of the same name, by calculating its change of place due to precession. The book consists chiefly of an account of the good and bad influences exercised by particular stars on human affairs.

The first emperor of the Han family erected a temple to Ling-sing, the spirit of the stars Kioh and K'ang in Virgo, and appointed that it should be sacrificed to, as one of the gods of agriculture. There were also before that time sacrifices and temples to Orion (T'san), the Great bear (Peh-teu), the planets, the 28 constellations, and to Sheu-sing the god of old age. About B. C. 167 Wen-ti erected temples to the five heavenly rulers (五帝)

His successor Wu-ti was afterwards informed by the Tauists, then called Fang-si (方士)

"that among all the spirits of heaven T'ai-yih was the highest in rank, that the five emperors were in attendance on his left, and that in accordance with the ancient custom of the empire he should sacrifice to T'ai-yih." With this recommendation the emperor complied.

The star here mentioned was at that time, if its name is correctly given in the present Chinese maps of the stars as there is no good reason to doubt, nearly 12 degrees from the pole, whereas it is now 23. If the star i Draco now identified with it is the right one, it must have been much brighter then than now, to account for its being spoken of as the brightest star in that region.

This star was made an inmate of the Temple of old age. "It was difficult," says the historian, "to obtain a hearing of the words spoken by the spirit in the temple. When he came a violent wind blew. He sometimes spoke by day, but oftener by night. The emperor entered the temple in court attire. The spirit's words were followed, since the livelihood of the priests depended on it."

The assertion of the Tauists at this time, that the star T'ai-yih was worshipped by the ancient emperors as the ruler of heaven, is unsupported by other evidence. There is nothing said of star worship in the classics, excepting one sentence in the Li-ki, and another in the Ri-ya alluding to a sacrifice to the stars generally, along with the other prominent objects of nature. It is a fact however that this star was very near the pole many centuries previously, and almost close to it B. C. 2000. Its name the "great one," seems to imply that it was the pole star when it received the appellation.

However it be this star, the centre of the constellation Tsi-wei-yuen, was worshipped frequently in the time of Han-wu-ti, as the ruler of heaven, and above the five emperors of the five colours already described. The Shang-ti of the classics, was worshipped (as heaven), independently of these star-gods, though they are designated by the same word ti.

Si-ma-t'sien relates, besides what has been just stated, that all the stars (星 shen) are secondary to T'ai-yih, including the Great bear. A white bull, a deer and a swine are offered to him. The emperor worshipped this star for the first time at the Kiau sacrifice on the day of the winter solstice, being the first of the 11th month. When about to make war on the Yue country to the south, he first prayed to T'ai-yih for assistance.

The historian and others of the Ju-kiau were by no means pleased with the influence gained by the Tauists over the emperors Wen and Wu-

ti, and which led to them to these practices. They considered that they had been imposed upon by Li-shau-kiün and such personages, noted in their day for their bold profession of the doctrines of alchemy, and astrology, and the existence of immortal men, among the stars, and in the world below.

T'sin-shi-hwang, the great conqueror and book-burner, just before the Han dynasty, had been laughed at for his unsuccessful attempts to find the islands of the immortals, said to lie in the eastern ocean. Further Si-ma-t'sien does not fail to find fault with the superstitious acts of the prince he served, Han-wu-ti, even while he was living.

The Tauists made the star T'ai-yih play a part in their own religion in the Han dynasty, independently of the imperial sacrifices. When a man became immortal, they held, that he would be called away by T'ai-yih, to the region of the stars, where his name would be written. Thus this star is made the lord of the immortal man's destiny.

Among modern instances of star worship may be mentioned, that of K'wei-sing by the literati. The four stars that form the body of the Great Bear are thus called. Aspirants for literary distinction pray to K'wei-sing for success, and the tower-like building erected in front of Confucian temples on the east side, is termed K'wei-sing-koh. Thus star-worship is not confined to the Tauists in the present day but is also practised by the followers of Confucius.

Chang-chung, who lived in the fourth century and has subsequently been worshipped as Wen-ch'ang-ti-kiün, is said to have been an incarnation of the constellation Wen-ch'ang (stars in the fore leg of the Great-bear),

Among the higher deities now worshipped by the Tauists are several star-gods. The present pole star is honoured as Tien-hwang-ta-ti. Ursa

Minor 句陳 forms his palace. A star which was the pole-star 800 and 1,000 years ago, is worshipped as Peh-kih-ta-ti, *great ruler of the north pole*, of the Tsai-wei 紫微 palace. The

genius of the south pole is honoured under the name Nan-kih-ta-ti. T'ai-yih, of whom so much has already been said, is worshipped as the *honoured one of heaven who saves*. To them should be added the sun and moon.

The palace of Yuh-hwang-ta-ti, Yuh-t'sing-kung, is placed in the T'ai-wei-yuen, which embraces the constellations Leo major, Leo minor, and Coma Berenices.

Above the stars, the Tauists have invented, after the Hindoo fashion, various heavens to the

number of 33 or as some say 36. It is here that they locate Lau-tsi and the two other members of their supreme trinity (San-t'sing).

The resemblance between the attributes of Tauist divinities, and the powers ascribed to stars in astrology is such as to render it necessary to speak of Tauism as astrology in the form of a religion; that is so far as religion means the relation of man to a superior ruling power in heaven. But when religion means self-cultivation, this system may be described as alchemy in a religious form.

To such a miserable result have the Chinese been brought by the prevailing materialistic tendencies of their mode of thinking. Nothing can be conceived of more debasing than a system like this, and its effects are visible in the national character of the present day.

Astrology and alchemy it will be remembered also made an effort in company, to establish themselves among western nations. When the first glory of Christianity was waning, and the feeling of society was in favour of superstition, they took the opportunity of trying their strength, but never attained to the standing of a popular religion. They could not where Christianity existed, even when in its decline.

In China they found a more congenial soil. Even now the people hold to astrological fancies with as much intensity as ever. They are encouraged to do so by the calendar and other publications of the court astronomers and by much of the national literature, and nothing will enlighten them till Christianity does. Science cannot, for the introduction of European astronomy at Peking, does not seem to have produced any effect in lessening the superstitious character of the books just alluded to. But if Christianity were made the court religion, and an almanac annually issued clear of follies like the distinction of lucky and unlucky days, such as that now published at Nanking, we might hope to see the population yielding somewhat to the influence of enlightenment.

The preceding description of popular Tauism, as being a system in which the two false sciences astrology and alchemy constitute the principal elements, will not surprise those who know the superstitions practised by this people in daily life. The medical divinities, the purchase from their shrines of medicines designated elixirs and adapted for the cure of various diseases under the patronage of the god, the inscriptions on doors, walls, and screens containing allusions to the influence of stars, and the prevalence of these ideas in the novels current among the multitude afford sufficient illustration of this fact.

J. E.

ON EARLY TAUIST ALCHEMY.

The curious subject of alchemy has employed many pens. Various have been the conjectures as to where it originated. In Europe it is traced immediately to the Arabs, those zealous cultivators of science in the middle ages. Long before this however alchemy in conjunction with astrology was eagerly practised by the Tauists of China. Adopting the symbols of the Yih king, the mystical *pah kwa*, as the basis of their theory, and the most simple operations of chemistry, for example, the extraction of metal from ore, as their experimental ground-work, they spent their lives in pursuing the same objects for which European alchemists became famed.

The most remarkable work on this subject in China is probably the 參同契 *T'san-t'ung-k'i* by Wei-peh-yang, a Tauist of the eastern Han dynasty A. D. 25 to 221. An examination of this book will shew that nearly the same opinions were held by the Chinese alchemists, as by those of Europe, and from the date of the work it will be seen that they originated in the former country many centuries earlier.

The name *T'san-t'ung-k'i*, which may be rendered "the uniting bond," refers to the union of the Yih king, or book of changes with the art of alchemy. The author takes the doctrines of that classical work and exhibits them in juxtaposition with the views held by the Tauists in his time and by himself as their leader. Hence the words *Cheu yih the book of the changes of the Cheu dynasty*, are prefixed to the title, which read in full is *Cheu yih-t'san-t'ung-k'i*.

Wei-peh-yang 魏伯陽 wished doubtless when he appealed to the Yih king, to give respectability to the system of himself and his fellow-religionists as seekers of the medicine of immortality, and the hidden virtues of stones and metals. In his time Confucianism was in the ascendant, but Tauism also flourished, and it might gain a higher position if it could be shown to be in harmony with the doctrines of the ancient sages.

The eight fundamental symbols (*pah kwa*) of the Yih king are k'ien, tui, li, chen, siuen, k'an, ken, k'wen, which mean respectively, heaven, lakes, fire, thunder, wind, water, mountains, earth. They consist of six parallel lines, some whole, and some broken, arranged in various modes. These symbols represent the phenomena of the universe. According to this book, light and darkness, the male and female principle pervading all nature, are found in them. They exhibit the courses of the sun and moon, the seasons, with day and night in the physical world, and joy and sorrow, charity and uprightness, in the moral. The universe was formed into its present state by the separate and united action of the powers represented by these symbols. Hence, our author observes, Confucius praised the primeval vapour from which all things sprang. The *pah kwa* are

themselves signs of natural objects, and further their transformations represent the production of new existences and new arrangements by the combination of elementary powers.

The whole and broken strokes of *Fuh-hi*, already referred to, taken in a greater number of combinations, amount to 64. Among them in the centre is one named *Fuh*. This is made to correspond to the north pole, and to the 11th month in which the winter solstice occurs. In the duodenary cycle, the 11th month is 子 *tsi*. At the middle

point of that month, the solstice, darkness (yin) ends and (yang) light begins. The 12 tubes placed in the earth to find the amount of solar heat determine the progress of the seasons. The heavens in revolving follow the guidance of *Ursa Major*, (*Peh teu* or the "imperial wagon.")

The wise man looking at heaven and earth marks their changes, and explains by the eight symbols (*Pah kwa*) how the moon goes through her six signs (heu 候) each month; and how

her conjunction with the sun corresponds to the winter solstice, as the point from which light begins.

The eight symbols are further made to represent the cardinal and intermediate points of the horizon, and are also distributed among the seven bright ones (*t'sih yau*) viz. the sun, moon, and five planets.

The internal movements of the symbols, as when stems of a certain grass are used, indicate good or ill fortune. Longitudinally, the 28 constellations according to their place in heaven, and the cities and provinces over which they preside on earth, shadow forth human affairs; and latitudinally, the planets by their complex motions rule the changes of time.

Heaven and man mutually correspond. The heart is to man, what the pole is to heaven, and therefore from observing the movements of bodies in the sky, we may learn whether our actions will result favourably or not so, and whether a certain course of conduct should or should not be pursued.

After proceeding thus far in the regions of astrology, the author refers to the proper mode of self training, which consists in the union of the mind and body, in stillness, vacancy and shutting out the outer world.

He then advances to the subject of alchemy. To know the white (silver) watch the black (lead) and spirits will spontaneously appear (神明

自來). The white is the essence of metal, the black is the basis of water. (This refers to the extrication of silver from the lead ore in which it is found. In the distribution of colours among the five elements, white is appropriated to metal, and black to water.)

Water is the beginning of the five metals, and of the yin and yang principles. Its number is one. It forms with metal the compound from which with the aid of fire the elixir is produced.

What is white when first obtained becomes red after manipulation on being formed into the elixir (tan, red, the elixir). That substance, an inch in diameter, consists of the black and the white (water and metal) combined. It is older than heaven and earth. It is most honourable and excellent. Around it, like a wall, are the sides of the caldron. It is closed up and sealed on every side and carefully watched. The thoughts must be undisturbed, and the temper calm, and the hour of its perfection anxiously waited for.

The false alchemist passes through various and painful operations in vain, but he who is enlightened, expels his evil passions, is diligent morning and night, forgets fame and wealth, comprehends the true objects of life, and gains supernatural powers. He cannot then be scorched by fire nor drowned in water. He leaves the world when he pleases. He is always happy and his virtue is perfect. Still he remains among men till his time comes, when he is called away by T'ai-yih (name of a star in Draco) the ruler of the genii. He then goes to reside in the island of the immortals. When his merit is complete he ascends to heaven, and his name is inscribed among the stars.

The time at which the elixir is perfected by the action of fire is regulated by the symbols of the Yih-king. The sixty-four *kwa* are used in succession day after day till the process is completed.

The caldron is round like the full moon, and the stove beneath is shaped like a half moon. The lead ore is symbolized by the white tiger which, like metal among the elements, belongs to the west. Mercury resembles the sun and forms itself into sparkling globes. It is symbolized by the blue dragon, belonging to the east, and it is assigned to the element wood.

Gold is imperishable. Fire does not injure its lustre. Like the sun and moon, it is unaffected by time. Therefore the elixir is called the golden elixir (*kin tan*).

Life can be lengthened by eating the herb called *hu ma*. How much more by taking the elixir, which is the essence of gold the most imperishable of all things. The influence of the elixir when partaken of, will extend to the four limbs. The countenance will become joyful, white hair will turn black, new teeth will grow in place of old ones, and age at once become youth.

In forming the elixir, metal and water are the principal materials. The quantity of each of the five elements must be carefully determined, with the time of preparation. The five elements, water, fire, wood, metal, earth have numbers appropriated to them respectively. According as their numbers are in proportion or disproportion they produce or destroy each other. In a solar eclipse water destroys fire. When metal unites with wood the elixir is completed. This doctrine is that of the ancient sages. The alchemist only imitates the wise kings of old, such as Hwang-ti and Hwei-nan.*

Lead ore and mercury are the basis of the process by which the elixir is prepared. They are the hinge on which the principles of light and darkness revolve.

Mercury is active and prone to transform itself. In contact with fire it volatilizes, and leaves no trace. Forming into moving globules it eludes man's grasp. Again combining with lead ore, it becomes a white solid amalgam.

The great path to perfection begins in spontaneity. No force must be used. The doctrine of the golden elixir, and of this book agree with the transformations of nature, and the revolutions of the sun and moon. After 10,000 generations this doctrine must continue to shine resplendently as the stars.

The preceding paragraphs will suffice to shew the character of the book. It illustrates how alchemy and astrology spring naturally from a religion which grew up in China two thousand years ago. According to the Tautist system man may by physical and moral means ennoble himself, destroy his passions, and the tendency of his body to sickness and decay, and at last be freed from death and the world and transferred to the region of the stars.

The Tautist knows nothing of the separate existence of all souls after death, and a general award of happiness and misery to all men. Nor does he recognize a personal, unbeginning creator. He sees in the world essences, and transformations, agents of various powers, and bodies in various states of grossness and purity. He classes them together without regard to our western distinction of mind and matter. Wanting this fundamental conception, he looks at all cosmological, moral, and religious questions from a physical point of view. To his mind chemistry can account for creation—he needs only a primary matter; it can also take the place of religion—he requires but an elixir. Mind is a finer matter—a vapour—an essence. Why should not those chemical processes we see operating around us in nature, be applied to the purpose of bringing man to perfection? Medicines can cure the diseases of the body. Why should not some material be found that should check decay, and conquer death? Thus by certain moral rules, and wisely conforming himself to nature, man may make himself immortal, by reaching bodily, mental and moral perfection.

The stars are the essences of the forms of matter we see in the world. What is pure ascends. The gross remains below. The five planets are the essences of the five elements, metal, wood, water, fire and earth.† Men when they become sublimated into a pure ethereal matter, will also ascend to the upper celestial spaces, and have

† The names of the elements, kin, muh, shul, ho, t'u applied to the planets, originated in the Chinese philosophical materialism. The true ancient names of the planets are sui sing year star for Jupiter, because he goes through one sign in a year, Yung-hwei for Mars, t'ai peh for Venus, chen for Saturn and ch'en for Mercury. There is an advantage to us in using these names, because they do not foster the Chinese theory of the elements. Yet in Reeve's list of the stars appended to Morr. Diet. Vol. IV, only the names of the elements are assigned to the planets. The older and better names are perfectly common and well known in Chinese books.

* Hwei-nan, a royal author of the Han imperial family, whose works are still extant.

places assigned them among the stars. It was from some such reflections as these that the Taoist opinions of the heavens and their inhabitants arose. When inventing their mythology, the Taoists took the astronomical nomenclature they found existing, and used it as the ground-work of their new imaginary creation of gods and their residences. Over all is the region of the *san t'sing*, the three pure ones, to which *Lau tai* the purest of all souls ascended. Below this are various heavens and palaces of gods, whose designations and boundaries, are taken from old Chinese names of stars and constellations. Hence the terms

北斗 *peh teu, Great Bear*, **天皇大帝** *tien hwang ta ti, the pole star, Wen c'hang, a star in Ursa Major, Tsi wei kung, name of a large tract of stars, &c., common in the indigenous idolatry of this country.*

The book, of which an account is now given, is interesting as shewing the beginnings of this astronomical mythology.

That mythology as well as alchemy were developed much more fully in later writers. Here they are found in the oldest form accessible to us. On alchemy particularly, *Ko hung* a little more than 100 years later, writes more fully in the work called *Pau-p'oh-tsi-p'ien*. *Koh hung* also wrote a series of biographies, still extant, of eminent Taoists. In his notice of *Wei-peh-yang*, our author, he relates that after preparing the elixir he took it with his disciples into a wood. He then said that to make trial of it, he would first give it to a dog. If the dog could fly, it would prove the efficacy of the elixir for men. The dog on taking it died immediately. *Wei-peh-yang* said, "I have left the world and come to live in the mountains. If I fail, it would be too great a disgrace to return. Whether I live or die I will take it." On doing so he at once fell down dead. One of the pupils followed his master's example, and also became a corpse. The other two determined to go back to the world, and in the first places procure coffins for their master and fellow disciple. When they were gone, the alchemist returned to life, and inserted the elixir in the mouths of his pupil and the dog. They at once came again to life, and then went together on their immortal journey. Meeting a woodman on the way they gave him a letter to bid farewell to the timid disciples who had refused to taste the elixir. They bitterly repented on receiving the letter, but it was too late.

It will be remembered that alchemy was introduced in Europe by the Mahomedans, who were

at the same time in full intercourse with China. That they were sufficiently well acquainted with this country, to convey the practice of Chinese alchemy to the west, is highly probable. Mahomedan ambassadors visited China about A. D. 650, again about 720, and frequently afterwards. Their religion was established there at the same time. Gunpowder also, known to the Chinese certainly from the year 1000, was first used in Europe, in the 13th century.

The conclusion seems then to follow that the Chinese are the true originators of that alchemy which led the way to modern chemistry in the west.

The prevalence of alchemy in China while the Arabs were in intercourse with it will be manifest from the fact that two emperors of the T'ang family died from partaking of the elixir, viz., *Wu-tsung* and *Hien-tsung*. These circumstances indicate what notoriety it enjoyed at that time, and perhaps also explain why its influence after this died away. The Chinese now are perhaps as strongly convinced of its folly as we ourselves are. The deaths of these emperors may have helped them to arrive at this conviction.

Chinese alchemy was probably very beneficial to medicine and the arts as has been often remarked of European alchemy. The worship of medical deities is Taoist, and they are very numerous. The names of the parts of the human body are also in great part Taoist. The search after herbs that should confer immortality, and the preparation of mineral compounds having the same power, would very much promote, the knowledge of medical remedies.

Chu-fu-tsi praises the style of the book now under review as pure and classical. It is sufficiently difficult, but many explainers Confucian and Taoist have smoothed the pathway for the cursory reader.

Other Chinese alchemists have not made the same use of the *Yih king* that this author has done. But the system he gives must be taken as one of the applications, not the least important, of that much praised and deeply studied book. The profound wisdom hidden in its diagrams, can never be admitted by a foreign reader. They are manifestly nothing but strokes, which can be supposed to represent any thing. They are hieroglyphics of which we do not know the primary meaning. But in the history of Chinese learning several schools of philosophy have sprung from them, and on this ground they become important.

J. EDKINS.

ACCOUNT OF KWAN-TI, THE GOD OF WAR.

This deity has always been a favorite with the Manchu reigning family. He has recently received new honours, which have been duly chronicled in the *Peking Gazette*. On more than one occasion, the young emperor now on the throne, has been led by the dangers of his position, to a superstitious appeal to the guardian deities supposed to watch over his country. He has also been induced to the bestowal of new titles on this hero, in the hope of producing a beneficial influence on his army and the nation generally. Kwan-ti is eminently the soldiers' deity. They speak of him reverentially as Sheng ti, *the holy ruler*. It must be for popular effect only, that the governors of provinces after any successes gained by them in the present struggle, recommend in their memorials to the court, rewards to be given to the gods. They do not themselves, being zealous Confucianists, believe that there is any benefit in worshipping them, but they consider that it is a good thing for the common people to do so. Virtuous examples of loyalty to princes and piety to parents are kept before their minds; and they are taught to look upon the existing government as being under the especial care of heaven. Such is the object of those recognitions of assistance from various deities which occur in the published despatches of high mandarins.

Within the last five hundred years, the titles of Kwan-ti had been gradually increasing in length and number, till he had nearly reached the position occupied by Confucius. By the new decree of last year, his three ancestors being dignified with the name of Wang, *king*, he is now placed on a footing of equality with the great sage.

In history our hero is known by his own names Kwan-ü, Kwan-meu or Kwan-yün-chang, but in recent biographical compilations, made since his deification in modern times, he is spoken of by his title 關聖帝君 Kwan-sheng-ti-kiün, or simply ti.

He was not at first by any means so conspicuous as he afterwards became, so that the day and year of his birth are uncertain, and a short biography of him in the national annals, as one among many of the well known personages of the time, does not record any title as given him at his death, by the prince whom he faithfully served. Forty years after indeed, he was styled by the prince next in succession, "the faithful and honest," but it was not till 900 years later that he had a place given him among the deceased heroes worshipped in China.

The reason of this long silence in respect to the claims of Kwan-ü to universal veneration, is found in the fact that the prince whom he served, Lieu-pei or Lieu-hiuen-teh, was not recognized as the rightful sovereign of China till the 12th century of our era, i.e. till after an interval of nearly 1000 years. At this time Chu-fu-tsai, the philosopher and historian, prepared the T'ung-kien-kang-muh, or general mirror of history. In this work he reconstructed the succession for the

period known as the Three kingdoms, A.D. 221 to 263. Refusing to Ts'au-ts'au prince of North China (Wei) the title of emperor, which had hitherto been ascribed to him by general consent, he gave it to Lieu-pei, a distant descendant of the Han family, who reigned in western China (Shuh). Kwan-ü had been known only as the brave general and faithful friend of the prince of one of the three kingdoms. But by this historical criticism he became the champion of legitimacy, the pillar of the house of Han, and consequently a suitable person to be apotheosized, and become the divinity most admired by imperial families and loyal historians ever since.

Kwan-ü or Kwan-meu was born at Kiai-cheu, in the province of Hotung (Shansi) about the middle of the second century. He is represented with a red face, very long eyelids and a long black beard. He was fond of reading the commentary of Tso on the Ch'un-ts'ieu, the history written by Confucius. He was obliged to fly for his life from his native place, for some unknown reason. A report says for having killed some man. At Choh-kiün, to which place he fled, he met with Chang-fei and Lieu-pei, and took an oath with them in a peach garden. They resolved to stand by each other as sworn brothers till death. The popular romance San-kwob-chi represents them as expressing in their prayer the wish, not that they had been born on the same day, but that they might die on the same day. Lieu-pei as the oldest, and as a descendant of the Han family, was recognized by the other two as their chief. Ultimately they both died in his service, and, both by violent hands, but on different occasions. Lieu-pei's ancestor King-ti had reigned from B.C. 156 to 141, dying 360 years before his own assumption of the imperial title. Thus his claim did not strike the men of that time as sufficiently strong to lead them to make any extraordinary effort in his favour, when the last emperor in the direct succession came to his end.

Lieu-pei and his two followers began their career by chastising a band of rebels, who disturbed the country during the time of Ling-ti. When the emperor Ling-ti died, his son succeeded him, but was soon displaced by Tung-choh, a powerful minister, who soon after put him to death. In the time of Hien-ti, appointed to reign by Tung-choh, that minister was attacked and killed. At this time (192) the three friends, defeated by rebels whose force was overpowering, took refuge with the prefect of the city of Ki-cheu. By him Lieu-pei was made assistant magistrate at P'ing-yuen a small city under his charge. After this various generals established themselves in the principal cities, and the emperor's authority was at an end. The most powerful among them was Ts'au-ts'au. We now find the three friends under the patronage of Tau-kien, opposing themselves to Ts'au-ts'au, by whom they were defeated. Taking charge of Sü-cheu, on the banks of the Yellow River, they were unable to cope with Lü-pu, and fled therefore to the camp of Ts'au-ts'au, who received them kindly, and when urged to kill the descendant of

the Han family now in his power, refused. All the three after this time served under Ts'au-ts'au, who had now seized the emperor and was keeping him in confinement. While the three friends were hunting with Ts'au-ts'au, Kwan-ü proposed to Lieu-peï to kill that powerful chief, but was dissuaded from it by his friend. Ts'au-ts'au now sent Lieu-peï to attack Yuen-shuh. A conspiracy against Ts'au-ts'au was brought to light, and Lieu-peï was charged with a share in it. On this ground Ts'au-ts'au attacked him, and took Kwan-ü prisoner in Hia-peï, the city of which he was in charge. Our hero was conveyed to Hüchou in Honan. Here he was shut up all night, by order of Ts'au-ts'au, in the same room with the wife of Lieu-peï also a captive. Kwan-ti held a candle in his hand, and read till morning the Ch'un-t'ieu his favorite book. His fame now rapidly spread, and he was honourably treated by Ts'au-ts'au, in whose service he fought. In battle he would single out an adversary attired as a general, rush into the midst of the army and return with his head. For such feats of courage he received from Ts'au-ts'au the title *Han-sheu-t'ing-heu the heu* (noble of second rank) of *Han-sheu*, a city in Hukwang.

Kwan-ü now wished to leave Ts'au-ts'au, contrary to the desire of that chief. He said that he had been well-treated by Ts'au-ts'au, and wished to pay the debt of gratitude he had incurred, but after that he must return to his chosen leader Lieu-peï. After he had killed two of Ts'au-ts'au's enemies in battle, he prepared to leave his employer, who respected his character and allowed him to do so unimpeded. Ts'au-ts'au now attacked Lieu-peï who took refuge at King-cheu.

The three friends spent at this city six uneventful years, till A. D. 207 when Chu-koh-liang was invited by Lieu-peï to join him. This celebrated scholar and statesman consented, and proposed a plan to give peace to the country and restore the Han family to power. He recommended that an alliance should be entered into with Sun-k'ien, the ruler of the Wu country (Suchen) against Ts'au-ts'au who was all-powerful in the north. Ts'au-ts'au now came to attack King-cheu, which submitted. Lieu-peï fled, sending Kwan-ü in command of several hundred boats to meet him at Kiang-ling. This was prevented by the vigour of Ts'au-ts'au, who coming on by forced marches of 100 miles a day, arrived much sooner than was expected, crossed the Han river, and compelled Lieu-peï to take flight with his new counsellor and a few horsemen. Fortunately he met his faithful general Kwan-ü at Han-tsin. Here they crossed the Yang-tsi-kiang, and as they were borne on its broad stream, Kwan-ü is said to have regretted that formerly while hunting, he had not killed Ts'au-ts'au. This would have prevented their present misfortunes. His chief replied,—If heaven aids the right, how do we know that our present situation may not result well?

Chu-koh-liang was now sent on a mission to Sun-k'ien, and persuaded him to furnish 30,000 soldiers to assist in overcoming Ts'au-ts'au. That powerful chief was severely defeated, and Kwan-ü was sent with a considerable force to cut off his retreat. Many cities in Hukwang and part of Kiangnan now submitted to Lieu-peï, who held them under permission from Sun-k'ien. In the year 214 he succeeded in an expedition to Yih-cheu

in Sich'wen and took up his residence there, leaving Kwan-ü in charge of King-cheu. At this time our hero's left shoulder was painful from an arrow-wound, which was prevented from healing by the cold wet weather. The physician said there was poison on the arrow, which had entered to the bone; the arm should be opened, and the bone carefully cleansed. He held out his arm and underwent the operation. He was entertaining guests at the time, and while the blood flowed from the wound, continued to laugh and converse, and to eat and drink.

After this Sun-k'ien became aggrieved because Lieu-peï held new territory in Sic'hwen without acknowledging his supremacy.

He sent an army which seized on parts of Hukwang, but was opposed by Lieu-peï and Kwan-ü with 50,000 men. The scene of war was the region near Chang-sha in Hunan. In an interview between the generals on both sides it was demanded of Kwan-ü why his master did not restore the cities which had been lent to him by Sun-k'ien. He replied that their many years' toil, their fighting by day and sleeping in armour by night, ought not to be unrewarded. Lieu-peï pressed by Ts'au-ts'au was obliged to yield somewhat to Sun-k'ien's wish and to restore the cities he had borrowed.

In 218 Lieu-peï proceeded to Han-chung in Shensi and soon assumed the title "King of Han-chung." Many of Ts'au-ts'au's dependents at this time went over to Kwan-ü. Lieu-peï now appointed four generals, placing Ma-chau and Hwang-chung on an equality with his two old followers. Kwan-ü was naturally offended but persuaded by friends he accepted the position, and proceeded to attack Ts'au-ts'au. The latter sent against him 30,000 men who were lost in a storm, in attempting to cross the Han river. The remainder submitted to Kwan-ü or were put to death. After this accident many cities submitted to Kwan-ü, and such was the influence of his name, that Ts'au-ts'au himself thought of retiring to a safer position.

Sun-k'ien the prince of the Wu kingdom (Kiangnan) sent to ask Kwan-ü's daughter in marriage for his son. This being scornfully refused, Sun-k'ien invaded his territory. At the same time Sü-kiang led against him a large army from the north. When Kwan-ü appeared with his small force of 5,000 men, he was obliged to retire. Sü-kiang followed him into his encampment, killed two of his officers and compelled him to fly. Meantime Sun-k'ien's forces came up, and changing their soldier's dress for that of traders, surprised Kwan-ü's pickets who were posted on the river side to give intelligence. By this artifice he was prevented from becoming aware of their approach. At this juncture some of his own officers, conscious that they were despised by him, made no effort to save him. When a fire broke out in the armoury of Han-kiün, Kwan-ü blamed one of these officers, who felt alarmed and gave up the city to Sun-k'ien. This was the signal for the defection of many more. Sun-k'ien's messengers now persuaded Kwan-ü to make a shew of submission. Almost all his soldiers then left him. He was captured with his son Kwan-p'ing in the 12th month of the year 219, by two of Sun-k'ien's officers, and refusing to

yield was put to death. The next month his powerful adversary Ts'au-ts'au, died at Lo-yang.

The son of Ts'au-ts'au, named Ts'au-pei, on becoming supreme head of the Wei country (north China) took away from the last Han emperor the empty imperial title which he had for many years possessed, and made him Shan-yang-kung. He then assumed himself the imperial name A. D. 220 and was recognized by the King of the Wu country. The San-kwoh-ch'ü, *History of the Three Kingdoms* by C'heu-sheu, forming one of the Twenty one histories, recognizes the claim of the Ts'au family to the imperial title. Lieu-pei took the title of emperor more than a year after its assumption by the ruler of the Wei country, but it was not acknowledged in history till the eleventh century. A petition indeed was made in favour of it some years after C'heu-sheu's work was written, by a mandarin who lived about A. D. 350, but his appeal was not listened to. After this the voice of criticism was for a long period clearly against the recognition of Lieu-pei as the legitimate heir to the throne. Thus Si-ma-kwang who preceded Chu-fu-ts'ü by a very short interval, says in his mirror of history that Lieu-pei's descent from the imperial family was so far removed that his claim could not stand. There were also blanks in his pedigree. He therefore represented him as an usurper. When a historian of such high reputation as he, regards Lieu-pei as an usurper, and the Ts'au family as the legitimate rulers of China, it is evident that Kwan-ti's title to veneration as the loyal supporter of the legitimate heir, rests on a very slight foundation.

If may be said however that he fought, not to raise Lieu-pei to the throne, but for the last direct emperor, retained by Ts'au-ts'au in an honourable captivity. In reply it may be observed that the tenor of his biography shows that the motive which influenced him was a strong personal attachment for his friend and chosen chief Lieu-pei. Faithfulness to his friend was his guiding principle, and not so much loyalty to the sinking house of Han.

The still greater reputation of Chu-fu-ts'ü produced a revolution in public opinion as to the respective claimants of the imperial title in the time of the Three kingdoms. It was therefore felt necessary to write a new history of that period in accordance with the new view. This work was called Shuh-Heu-Han-shu, *Appendix to the history of the after Han family*. It was written by Hoh-king under the Mongolian dynasty.

Kwan-ü received the posthumous title chung faithful, hwei good, kung (highest grade of nobility). The word kung was changed for wang king, the Sung, Yuen, and Ming dynasties sometimes increasing and at other times diminishing the honours he had already received, till in 1582 he had bestowed on him, in the reign of Wan-lih, the appellation Hieh-t'ien-ta-ti, *the great ruler combined with heaven*. In 1624 near the close of the Ming dynasty he was first styled ta-ti in sacrificing, by command of the emperor.

He received honours from the first of the Tartar line of sovereigns, but no further attention was paid to him in the time of K'ang-hi. K'ien-lung on several occasions issued regulations respecting him. In the time of Kia-k'ing, 1814, and of Tau-kwang, 1828, new titles were granted him.

Shun-ch'ü, 1644, appointed that he should be sacrificed to under the name Kwan-sheng-ta-ti on 5th month 13th day. Yung-cheng in 1725, directed that Kwan-ti's ancestors for three generations should be styled Kung and have tablets placed to their honour in temples in the hall behind that where the figure of the god himself is worshipped. He also directed that sacrifices should be offered at the spring and autumn equinoxes to Kwan-ti and his three ancestors, with kneeling and knocking of the head, as in the temples to Confucius, with some slight variations.

The descendants of Kwan-ti at Loh-yang (Honnafu), Kiai-chieu (in Shansi) and Tang-yang (in Hukwang) received titles from Yung-cheng, and were directed to officiate at the annual sacrifices to their ancestor at those places.

A temple under the superintendence of the mandarins is erected to Kwan-ti in every city, which is regularly visited by the mandarins, with the temples to Confucius and the protector of the city (Ch'eng-hwang-miau). The inscriptions in Kwan-ti's temple are panegyrics on his loyalty and eminent bravery. Before him on each side stand two figures or some times four. Two of them are his sons, Kwan-p'ing who holds a seal, and Kwan-hing; another is a faithful officer, Cheu-ts'ang, who is painted black, and stands on the right in full armour.

The emperor having made Kwan-ti a god, the Buddhists adopted him into their mythology, and gave him a place in their temples. He there figures as a Kia-lan (Gharama), or protector of the monastery. Far beneath the dignity of Fo and Pusa, he occupies with the Hindoo deities the humble position of a guardian spirit. This is complained of by his biographer (vide Kwan-ti-t'ien-shu) as an insult to so great a god, and it has been subsequently decreed by the emperor, that another hero should take his place as Kia-lan to the monastery.

When Kwan-ti was made a god of the highest class (ti), it was necessary to give him a retinue. His two sons therefore, P'ing who was killed with him by Sun-k'ien's officers, and Hing who succeeded to his title, were raised to the rank of wang, king, the second grade among divinities according to Taoist nomenclature. His wife received the rank of empress, hwang-heu. The officers or generals Chau-lui and Cheu-ts'ang received titles one or two steps lower in rank, (kun, heu). Two faithful mandarins of the Sung dynasty were appointed to attend him as ministers of state.

With them are placed often in temples dedicated to Kwan-ti, other of his generals less distinguished; but very frequently only four figures stand before him, corresponding to some of the persons above-mentioned.

In arguing against the worship of such deities, there is an advantage in appealing to the fact that that worship is so recent. For many centuries after the time of Confucius, images were unknown in China. After their introduction by the Buddhists early in the Christian era, it was several centuries more before the Taoists adopted them. Emperors did not begin to deify heroes and appoint regulations for their worship, till about 800 years ago—a short period in Chinese history. This practice of the emperors has

given origin to those numerous edifices known as Ch'eng-hwang-miau, T'u-ti-miau, and Kwan-ti-miau now met with in every town and city. There is no ancient tradition to support all this. There is no classical authority for it. It is the growth of the modern political system of China. Originated by the government, this worship has become popular among all classes. The real ancient worship of China is that of the ancestral temples, and those to heaven and earth; and the spirits of the mountains, rivers, land, and grain. Against this older worship a different line of argument is necessary. With respect to the mixed Taoist and state worship of Kwan-ti, and such personages, it can be shewn at once, that it has nothing to rest upon, but an assumed prerogative of recent emperors, to confer ranks on deceased persons of meritorious character, in the invisible world; and that its wide-spread extension among the people, can only be accounted for by the tendency to imitation in such matters natural to man.

In the titles given by the emperors to these personages, the Taoist nomenclature with that of old Chinese nobility are usually followed. As in *ti-kiun emperor*, and *chief*, *chen-kiün*, *the true chief*, *t'ien-tsun*, *the honoured one of heaven*, *hieh-t'ien-ta-ti* *the great ruler combined with heaven*, (a Ming dynasty title, not used by the present dynasty) *kwan-sheng-ti-kiun*, *the second emperor and chief Kwan*. *Fuh-mo*, *subjugator of the maras*, (*demons*) is a Buddhist title. The emperors willingly patronize all three of the national religions by thus adopting their nomenclature. They elevate persons in the celestial peerage, at their own discretion, and in doing so use, as ap-

pears convenient, any parts of the established religious phrasology. So confident are they in their power to appoint to seats among the gods, and in the perpetual validity of such appointments, that when any person is elevated a step in the invisible peerage, his former title is often given to another. Thus Yo-fei, a faithful subject and brave hero under the Sung family, and Wei-c'hü-kung of the T'ang dynasty succeeded to two of Kwan-ti's earlier titles when he was promoted to that of ti.

In this system of apotheosizing, the emperor for the time being, is the fountain of honour. He even gives his own title ti, *the chief ruler* to persons sufficiently meritorious. In the Chinese Herald's Office there is just double duty to be performed. The visible and invisible worlds are both under their cognizance. There is so manifest of fallacy involved in this assumption of power over the condition of the dead, that no enlightened man can believe it, and hence the readiness with which the majority of the Chinese profess their unbelief in these easily-made divinities. To that unbelief T'ai-ping-wang the revolutionary chief, adds indignant protests, when in one of his tracts he alludes to the recent rise of this worship in the Sung dynasty, and declaims against Yuh-hwang-ta-ti the highest of these man-made deities, and the wide-spread reverence for these among sovereign and people.

The temple to Kwan-ti at Shanghai, was as is well known, formerly a Roman Catholic chapel, forcibly alienated from its original use in times of persecution. It is still called popularly T'ien-chu-t'ang, *church of the Lord of heaven*.

J. E.

DOMINION OF THE TAIPING DYNASTY IN NGANHUI AND KEANGSE.

NINGPO, September 12th, 1856.

MR. EDITOR,—Believing that your readers are not yet suffering a satiety of reliable information respecting the progress of the Revolution in the midland provinces, I beg leave to contribute to the common fund a few statements, which I have recently obtained from trust-worthy sources.

On the 19th ultimo I was visited by a young man, with whom I have been acquainted for several years, who is a native of Ngankhing, the capital of Nanghai, and now employed as secretary to an officer in a distant part of this province. The conversation that ensued was, so far as it related to the Insurgents substantially as follows:—

"I have absented myself from your instructions, Sir, a long time," he said on entering.

"Yes," I replied, "I have not seen you for three years, perhaps in the meantime you have revisited your paternal mansion?"

"No!" he replied, "I dare not,—my native place is occupied by the *Ch'angmaou*, (or long-haired Insurgents)."

"Are your kindred in safety?"

"Yes! They reside among the hills at a distance from the provincial capital."

"Have you had letters from them?"

"No! But I have received verbal intelligence, through a druggist, a neighbor of ours, who came for purposes of trade to the city where I now reside."

"Did you learn anything from him concerning the Insurgents? Do they collect the revenues?"

"Yes. They are in receipt of all the customary duties and taxes."

"Have they appointed local officers?"

"Yes! But their titles and official ceremonial are different from those of Tatsing (or Tartar) Dynasty. They have a *Footae* or provincial governor at Ngankhing, who is called *Kientaou*; and their *Chehiens* or city mayors are styled *Kienkeun*. When their officers go abroad, they are preceded by lictors, who announce their approach by the beating of drums instead of gongs. They do not occupy the old *Yamuns*, but either erect new ones, or make temporary use of other edifices."

"Have the Insurgents established literary examinations at Nanking, and Ngankhing?"

"With regard to the former I cannot speak with confidence; but as to Ngankhing, I was told, that when they took the city, they obtained the old rolls, and compelled all the scholars they could find to attend their examinations. Even mechanics, and traders were permitted to enter the lists, and a case was mentioned of a fruit-seller suddenly attaining the degree of *Keu-jin* and being rewarded with an office. The Insurgents are *Teenchookeaou* (i. e. Christians); and when they celebrate public worship, the person officiating occupies a platform elevated seven steps, while the other worshippers kneel below. The themes for discussion in their literary examinations, are selected from the

sacred books of their own religion. They are strict and even severe in their administration, the smoking of opium and tobacco, being reckoned among them as penal offences. The prohibition of those articles would not however affect me were I to return home, as I am not addicted to the use of either. I am in fact desirous of returning, but am deterred by the fear that the Insurgents would be suspicious of me and put me to death."

As my visitor was unable to speak from personal observation, I desisted from further interrogatories; but as it is hardly likely that he would be misinformed as to the more prominent facts relating to the condition of his native place, his testimony is so far worthy of credit. He states, you perceive, as a *fact*, what Mr. Meadows (whose book I had not then seen) gives us as a law of the new dynasty; and shows us in actual operation that regulation respecting the Christian Scriptures, which, Mr. M. points to as an important item in the programme of the Revolution. As some of your readers may not have seen the new and interesting work on "the Chinese and their Rebellions," you will excuse me for quoting the passage in which this topic is referred to. It is as follows:—

"THE EASTERN PRINCE HAS STATED IN WRITING, THAT UNDER THE RULE OF THE TAIPINGS, THE BIBLE WILL BE SUBSTITUTED FOR THE SACRED BOOKS OF CONFUCIANISM AS THE TEXT-BOOK IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE EXAMINATIONS."

In spite of my capitals, and in spite of my having dwelt with so much emphasis on the influence of these examinations as the free avenue to thousands of posts in the empire, from district Magistracies up to premierships, I fairly despair of imparting an adequate idea of the importance of that resolve of the Taipings, or of the immense significance it gives to the piece of yellow shading in the middle of the accompanying map of China. Upon the increase or diminution of that piece of shading during the next ensuing years, it depends whether or not in a prosperous population of three hundred and sixty millions of heathens, all the males from boyhood to twenty-five or thirty years of age, who can devote their time to study will be assiduously engaged in getting the Bible by heart from beginning to end. *Should this take place it will effect a revolution as unparalleled in the world, for rapidity, completeness and extent, as is the Chinese people itself for its antiquity, unity and numbers.*" (p. 446.)

I avail myself of this opportunity to commend to your readers the view which Mr. M. presents of the religion of the Insurgents. He rightly recognizes in it the grand element of social progress, and the most hopeful feature of the revolutionary movement. Taking this view from the standpoint of a philosophical historian, he is not obnoxious to the charge of religious partizanship, which some are too ready to bring against the clerical advocates of the revolutionary cause; and his re-

marks on the "best policy of Western nations," in the existing crisis, and particularly on the duty of France, England, and America, to withstand the encroachments or interference of Russia in this part of the continent, are deserving of the most serious consideration. His book is replete with original observations deduced from personal experience and extensive reading.

Resuming my subject I beg to introduce to you, a witness whose statements are more copious, direct and novel than those of the preceding. About a fortnight since, hearing a bookseller of this city say something of the affairs of Kiangse on the authority of a native of that province, who had lately arrived here by way of Suchau, and being desirous of tracing the alleged facts to their original source I requested him to invite the stranger to my house. Curiosity to see a foreign dwelling proved a sufficient attraction, and the latter made his appearance on the 10th instant. Through fear of awakening his suspicions, I concealed my object in wishing to see him, and for some time engaged him on topics connected with his business, which was likewise that of a bookseller. At length however, I inquired "if his honorable province was enjoying tranquillity?" This question turned the conversation to the successes of the Insurgents in that quarter, and elicited statements which, if correct (and I have no reason for doubting their truth) are of no trifling import.

He was a native of Fuchau in Kiangse, and his native city, which he left in May last had then been several months in the possession of the Insurgents. Three thousand Imperialists by whom it had been garrisoned fled at the approach of danger leaving their cannon and even their small arms a spoil for the enemy. The Insurgents halted before the walls, and the gates being thrown open by the inhabitants, despatched eight men on horse-back through the streets, to quiet the apprehensions of the people before introducing their soldiery. They afterwards sent recruiting parties through the towns and villages with banners bearing the inscription "*Fung ming chaou ping*" "By Imperial decree we invite enlistment." A volunteer corps of near ten thousand was speedily raised, who besides food and clothing received each a hundred *cash* per diem. Civil officers were appointed in the departmental and district cities; the *Chiehien*, whom they call *Kinkenn* (as the person above quoted correctly stated) being assisted by four subordinate officers, who have charge respectively of the four quarters of the subjacent rural district. The local gentry were invited to co-operate, and some of them promoted to offices of trust, while many of the scholars were furnished with employment as literary auxiliaries. He mentioned the case of a young man who had been long in the service of the Insurgents in Kiangnan, and who on the taking of Fuchau was desirous of returning home to comfort his widowed mother. The Insurgent chiefs dismissed him with a handsome present of silver and silks for her "venerable ladyship" (*taoutai-tai*), and the consideration which in this instance they manifested for helpless age and filial duty created a strong impression in their favor. A large body of Imperialists was stationed on the opposite bank of a river towards Nanchang; but they were satisfied with guarding the approach to the capital

and left the Insurgents in undisputed possession of the prefectural city and its environs. The latter had gained the good will of the people by reducing the rate of taxation one half, by prohibiting their adherents killing cattle employed in agriculture, and by inflicting summary punishment on such as were guilty of acts of violence. The Imperialists on the contrary indulged in the most unbridled license, killing the cattle of the country people, carrying off their wives and daughters, and extorting contributions from the monied gentry. The administration of the Insurgents was rigid and energetic; and their official proclamations, which on their first invasion in 1853, were the reverse of ornate, were now both excellent in style and conciliatory in spirit, altogether savoring of the scholarship of Kiangnan. The consumption of intoxicating drinks was limited to one cup at a time; and opium was prohibited, though it was impossible to prevent its secret indulgence.

"Are the Insurgents of Kiangse connected with those of Nanking?" I proceeded to inquire.

"Yes!" he replied, "They come from Kiangnan."

"By whom were they led?"

"By an officer of the family of *Shih* (or stone), who held the rank of *Woo-tsen-shung*, or Five thousand years. He is thirty years of age, not tall, but of an athletic build and commanding presence. He treats his soldiers like brethren, is remarkably skilled in military tactics, and (in Kiangse) was never known to suffer a defeat. He took several cities on successive days, and pushed his victories as far south as Keilungan, which he entered however by a subterranean passage, not until after a siege of seventy days. The Kiangse people think him equal if not superior in abilities to the Eastern Prince. He has now returned to Kiangnan."

I of course recognized in this youthful hero the veritable *Shih-ta-kai*, who was invested with the dignity of Assistant Prince, simultaneously with the appointment of the princes of the four quarters. The statement of my informant therefore shows that the person at present bearing that title is an original member of the graduate Hexarchy, and not a *Cæsus* subsequently promoted on account of his wealth. It confirms however the information lately given by one of your correspondents, that the Assistant Prince is the acting war-chief of the Revolutionary party. He doubtless returned to Kiangnan for the very purpose of conducting those brilliant assaults a Chingkiang and Nanking, which resulted in the storming of the Imperialist camps, the *beheading* of two grand divisions of the Imperialist army and the accession of several districts to the territories of the new government. I may here remark, as a striking proof of the military skill of the Insurgents as compared with their opponents that Changkwohliang the acting leader of the Imperialist grand-division at Tanyang, is generally reputed to be a renegade from the Taiping ranks. But to return to my informant. "As the leader of the Kiangse invasion was *Wootsienshung*, as you tell me," I asked, "Who is *Wan-shung*?" (The Celestial Prince or Emperor, being called by the latter title, which implies a wish that he may live forever, and the Assistant Prince, who stands

lowest on the scale of royalty being distinguished by the former as expressive of a wish that he may live half as long!)

"The present *Wan-shuwuy*," he replied, "is the son of Hung-siu-taueu, who died two years ago. He is now ten years of age and the Eastern prince is Regent during his minority."

This information, I deem reliable as emanating from an intelligent subject of the new dynasty, who would hardly be uncertain as to the person of his titular sovereign. It solves a mystery. *Hung* was not, as some supposed, a *faineant*, who resigned himself to luxury and committed the reins of government to the hands of a more energetic subordinate, nor was *Yang* an usurping Mayor of the palace, the keeper and master of an imbecile sovereign. No! None but a great mind could have originated and conducted for so many years the gigantic movement of which *Hung* was the acknowledged leader. Before his death, it was checked but not suppressed; and though he left it incomplete, he lived to see it auspiciously inaugurated, and died not a pretender but an emperor on the throne of the southern capital. He has left a name, not indeed immaculate, but one, whose splendor even if the future failure of his party cause it to be blotted from his country's annals, Occidental historians will still record as that of the brightest meteor that ever flashed athwart the firmament of China.

His successor is that little Prince, at whose birth, in 1849, in a rustic hamlet of Kwangtung, *Hung-jia* tells us in his narrative of the "Visions of Hung-siu-taueu," that "thousands of birds as large as ravens and as small as magpies made their appearance, and remained hovering in the air near the house so long, that the astonished villagers declared they had come to do homage to the newborn king." He is according to this account but seven years old; and this fact suggests a parallel between him and the founder of the Tartar dynasty, which the Chinese, if it occurred to them, would regard as ominous. The last conquerors of the empire were Manchus from its Northern borders; their present antagonists are Chinese from its Southern verge.

The Manchus made the Northern capital the basis of their operations; the Taipings have chosen the Southern capital for the centre of theirs. The Manchus in the first year after their establishment in the former, placed on the Imperial throne the son of their deceased king, then a child of six years; the Taipings within two years after their occupation of the latter place proclaimed the infant son of their idolized chief, now but seven years of age. The young Tartar was happy in having an uncle under whose efficient regency, his throne was confirmed and the conquest completed. Will the youthful heir of the Celestial Prince, find in the Eastern King, whom, according to the bond of brotherhood subsisting between the confederate kings, he is bound to consider as his uncle, — a faithful and efficient protector by whose aid he will succeed in turning the tables on the degenerate progeny of Shunche? On this question so momentous to himself and his country, the views of foreigners are not likely to be uniform; but for myself, I do not hesitate to say that I believe he will.

Theologically considered, the Eastern Prince may be a fanatic or in the estimation of some even a heresiarch, but viewed in his political character, there is proof enough that he is (for China) a wise and able statesman. He enjoyed to the last, the unlimited confidence of his Imperial Master, who showed by the titles which he conferred on him, that he regarded his wisdom as the immediate effect of Divine inspiration; and his popularity with the Revolutionists, affords a strong presumption in favor of his administrative ability. He is the boast of the Taipings and the terror of the Tartars; and in the view of both Chinese and foreigners he seems to have spread himself over the whole horizon of his party, and to have completely eclipsed the Princes of the West, North, and South. That they are not deposed and their offices abolished, is sufficiently indicated by the fact that the Eastern and Assistant princes still retain their original positions, for though the head and tail be the more conspicuous parts, we may be sure that the intermediate vertebrae are not wanting. Now as to the qualifications of the Eastern prince to be (in Chinese phrase) the "head and eyes" of the Revolutionary movement, we have besides the implied opinion of his deceased Master, and the general verdict of his party, a considerable amount of documentary evidence in the Taiping publications.

That he is eloquent is shown by the fact, that in the ecstatic state into which he sometimes falls, he is capable of improvising long passages, which are received as the oracles of a super-human power. That he is bold is proven by the fact that under the impulse of his oracular afflatus, he did not hesitate to rebuke the derelictions of his chief, and to impose upon him a humiliating penance, though on returning to himself, he yielded him the scrupulous reverence due to his superior dignity. That he is humane is evident from his attempts to mitigate the draconian severity, and check the fierce ebullitions of the Taiping chief. And having given an earnest of his fidelity in the judicious hints, which he gave the Celestial Prince regarding the education of the heir apparent, it is not likely, now that his "Young Lord" is committed to his tutelage that he will be found either incompetent or disloyal. Indeed no one is better aware than *Yang* that the revolution sprung into life from the superstitious reverence, which his party entertained for the character of Hungsiutsuen as their Heaven-sent sovereign, and that its ultimate success depends on the preservation of that sentiment. Any attempt on his part to wrest the sceptre from his family, by taking advantage of the young prince's tender years, would dissolve the spell to which he is indebted for his own influence, and introduce a struggle for the ascendancy into a party, which deference to the will of Heaven has hitherto maintained in harmonious unity. He moreover wields all the power and enjoys *nineteen*ths of the Imperial dignity, having among his many titles *nine* of the ten thousand years ascribed to His Celestial Majesty. Having therefore so much to lose, and so little to gain by any rash attempt at usurpation, his own interest, if no higher principle is a guarantee that he will continue faithful to his trust. Had he ever harbored treacherous designs, the moment of the chief's decease was the opportunity for

their execution; but as he has continued up to the present time to wear the title of Eastern Prince, he has given proof that he is content to remain a *Cæsar*, and to administer the realm in the name of the infant *Augustus*.

But bidding a truce to speculation, I return to facts. To the inquiry "how many departments of Kiangse are in the possession of the Insurgents;" my informant replied, "Nine—viz., *Kinkiang*, *Nankiang*, *Jauchau*, *Suichau*, *Zingkiang*, *Fuchau*, *Kienchang*, *Keihngan*, and *Yuenchau*." These all lie contiguous to each other, and embracing on a fair estimate an area of 50,000 square miles with a population of fifteen millions, would of themselves constitute a kingdom of no mean dimensions. Nanch'ang the capital lies in the midst of them. It had not yet fallen when my informant left home, but its inhabitants had deserted it betimes in order to escape the privations of a siege, and it was tenanted only by a garrison of soldiers. He farther informed me that the Insurgents are *T'eenchaokeaou* (Christians); and that they worship *T'eenfoo*, the Heavenly Father. They were publishing a book in many volumes, which contains a continuous history from the beginning of the world. He had heard it spoken of but not having seen it was unable to recollect its title. They were also issuing at Nanking a new edition of Kanghe's dictionary, in which, and in all their new editions of other works those

characters, which according to custom have been avoided or altered as occurring in the proper names of the Manchu emperors, will be restored to their proper places and correct orthography. This accumulated tribute of two hundred years, to a dynasty, which they regard as legally defunct, the Insurgents have resolved to discontinue; and are thus declaring themselves a government *de jure*, not only by levying taxes, appointing civil officers, establishing examinations, and restoring the national costume, but by carrying their reformation consistently into all the minute punctilios of the literary tribunals.

W. A. P. MARTIN.

P.S.—Since the above was written we have heard of a fresh irruption of the Insurgents into *Kwang-singfoo*, in which department the rich mart of Hok'ow 河口 near the confines of this province, fell into their hands on the 5th or 6th Inst. My Keangse friend has gone home, and before winter his now naked pate will be hidden by a warm covering of jetty locks. I forgot to say that he made no reference to any other faction as existing in Keangse; and represented all the Insurgents of his province as belonging to the Taiping *T'een-kwoh*.

September 19th.

W. A. P. M.

CORRIGENDA.

For *Cresus* read *Crassus*—*Kinkiang* read *Kiukiang*—*Nankiang* read *Nank'ang*.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF THE INSURRECTION IN CHINA.

By D. J. MACGOWAN, M.D.

XV.

*Peking: Newsmongering: Lama Prince: Mongols:
Fall of Nanking: Panic: Liberty of the
press: Mandarins punished: Attack on Tien-
tsing: Mahomedans: Anti-opium measures.*

We are in possession of some notes drawn up by a *ci-devant* clerk to the Criminal Board, from which we select facts illustrative of the insurrection as it appeared to residents of the Capital in 1852-3. The progress of the rebels from Kwangsi to the Capital of Hunan though well known to the people of Peking did not attract special attention; but when the siege of Changsha was raised and the insurgents descended to the Yangtze the movement became a general topic of conversation. To meet demands for information a newsmonger published an account of the "brigands" representing them as triads who had organized a new body—the Shangti society. The writer seems not to have been aware that they were preachers of a new doctrine, he simply narrates their progress, making no comments on their proceedings or purposes. The pamphlet met with a rapid sale, being hawked through Peking by beggars.

About this period a mysterious character appears on the stage, concerning whom we would fain know more,—the Lama king or prince (*Sang Wang*) commonly called Sang-kih-lin-sin—the first syllable signifying lama or priest. (In the translations from the *Peking Gazette* in the *N.-China Herald* the name or title begins with *Tsang*, probably a misprint). He has been represented to us as a hereditary prince of Khortchin—the Kalkas, (a mongol tribe), constituted by imperial appointment secular head of the lamaic hierarchy, a distinction conferred on the prince of any tribe whom the emperor may select. From that time till the present the name of Sang-kih-lin-sin figures frequently in public papers, and judging from the *Acta Diurna—Peking Gazette* (since Metropolitan Reporter) he is often indulged with personal interviews with Hienfung. He proffered the gratuitous services of two hundred thousand Mongolian soldiers, to aid in suppressing the revolt. The offer was declined, the reasons though not assigned were so palpable as to be a subject of popular comment in the Capital. The descendants of Genghis it is well known long to be reinstated as rulers of China and consequently, the feeble but sagacious Manchus employ such auxiliaries warily.

It was universally believed that the Kwangsi rebels having had the temerity to venture into the centre of the empire, would be easily and speedily annihilated; when therefore, intelligence reached

the Capital of the fall of Nanking and the massacre of its Manchu military colony, there was a wide-spread panic. "We shall be starved out!" was a common exclamation. The more timid quitted the city removing their valuables, shops were closed, and extreme vigilance exercised at the gates. A timely proclamation served in part to allay apprehension: it stated—"We have heard of the entrance of the stinking thieves into Nanking, but as the great army is assembling near that city, the vagabonds will soon be destroyed or brought hither as prisoners. Peace will then prevail. There is no occasion to quit the city, nor to be alarmed. If traitors here get up alarming reports, they shall be apprehended and severely dealt with," &c., &c.

News-mongering would have been profitable at that juncture but no one dared venture on such a speculation. *It was not long before confidence was restored, shops were opened and all again quiet. It was deemed proper however to allow Sang-kih-lin-sin to bring about sixty thousand nomads towards the Capital in detachments of 2 or 3,000, they encamped at Haitz', whence they were despatched chiefly to Horan, but not before a vast number of their horses perished for want of forage.

Our informant had a clanlike connection with the district magistrate of Hungtung in Shansi, which city fell into the hands of the rebels in September, that officer fled from his unprotected district, whereupon the emperor issued orders for his apprehension and immediate death. His family and friends (all of them Ningpo people) secreted him and employed themselves in raising money to procure a pardon when time should have aided to obliterate the enormity of his offence. Other Shansi mandarins whose cities were captured, were less fortunate and suffered death for not preserving their defenceless posts. Neither the successes of the insurgents in Shansi, nor their irruption into Chihl occasioned great alarm at Peking, the Capital being protected by an army of 80,000 men, while it was believed, that the invading force did not exceed three thousand.

* Mr. Huc's very amusing tomes—*L'Empire Chinois*, are marred unfortunately, by numerous errors and misstatements—sometimes he seems to be jesting. When, for example, he states that "Liberty of the press is an ancient institution in China, which we in Europe fancy we have invented" and when he represents Chinamen as saying "we print whatever we please," one cannot believe that he is in earnest. The most charitable construction which such writing admits of, is, that the writer meant to indite a quiet satire on the order that reigns in Paris, Naples and Rome.

Intelligence of the expedition against Tientsin reached Peking the same hour that its repulse was reported. The importance of this success of the imperialists was fully appreciated by the government as is evident from the *Gazettes* of the day, but only a general acknowledgement was made where a special one was due. It was not the people of Tientsin, but the Mahommedan residents of that port who repulsed the van of the patriot army, and thus saved the capital. Accustomed to take cities by surprise, and with little opposition, the insurgents entrusted the capture of that city to an inadequate force: yet so sudden was their appearance that they found the place wholly unprepared for defence, and it seemed to be within their grasp. The mandarins despaired of doing anything with the force at their command and summoning the principal Mahommedan inhabitants to the Yamun, placed the treasury at their disposal and committed to them the defence of the city. The funds were declined by these patriots of the loyal party: a few moments sufficed for the assembling of their train-bands by whom the gates were defended with such valor (seconded by the regulars) as to repel the successive attacks of the enemy, who being unprovided with requisite implements of war were obliged to fall back upon the village of Tuh-liu, 70 *li* distant of which they had taken possession the day previous—(Nov. 29, 1853). Before quitting the suburbs of Tientsin they replenished their commissariat from the large pawnbroking establishments, and during their retreat found time to destroy all temples, shrines and idols met with on the road, as well also to make a selection of useful clothing from the packages taken from pawnbrokers. For several miles the road was strewn with old clothes and the dresses of women and children, affording a rare harvest to gaping countrymen. At Peking the rebels are not charged with the crimes so common to soldiers, and it is believed that families in Shansi, Chihli and Shantung were invariably respected by the pseudo-Christian army.

Tuhlin was captured so suddenly that scarcely any of its inhabitants escaped: they were all compelled to aid in throwing up earthworks around their villages, by which, Chinese, Manchu and Mongol troops were kept at bay for more than three months, it was then evacuated for want of provisions, the insurgents making an orderly retreat from city to city, until they reached Lintsing which was captured in April 1854 by reinforcements from Nanking. During these five months numerous victories were reported to the emperor, that they were all pure fabrications was well known to the people of Peking. Our informant quitted the capital about that time and returned to Chihkiang, via Shantung and Kiangsu. The journey afforded no opportunity for making observations on the insurrection; he narrates two incidents however, which pertain to the subject before us. He met with a friend whose recollections of the attack on Tientsin were still very vivid. "I was attending to my duty as a Custom-house clerk," said he, "when some one in the street cried out 'the brigands are upon us' I stepped out to learn what it meant and was suddenly seized by a fierce strapping Kwangsi man and dragged to rice shop from which people under compulsion of the robbers were carrying bags of rice. A bag was laid

on my shoulders so heavy that I staggered under it. Soon, another of those gigantic fellows came up, took the load from me, pushed me aside, saying I was a 'lazy crooked dwarf' and ran on with the bag as if it contained feathers: then another seeing me empty handed called me a lazy lout and thrust a spear into my shoulder. I fell down and thought it was all over with me, but discovering that I was not killed I kept that matter secret and held fast to the ground, and so passed for a dead man. To keep up the feint I had to endure an amount of bruising under foot that well nigh made an end of me. At last hearing that the Mahommedan braves had driven off the miscreants I limped back to the Custom-house."

We may here remark that upon subsequent occasions when victories were obtained by Imperialist soldiers, there is reason to believe that the Mahommedans of Chihli and Shantung bore a conspicuous part. They are certainly a brave and intelligent class, and are sufficiently numerous to prove formidable antagonists to a government which should not extend perfect toleration to their religion.

When crossing the Yellow River our *ci-devant* clerk met with a mule dealer whose lacerated back was being dressed by a surgeon, the patient meanwhile solacing himself with an opium pipe. On inquiry it appeared that the wounds were inflicted at Nanking for opium-smoking. When first detected he was simply admonished, on the second occasion he was mercilessly flogged, and as death was the penalty of a third offence the mule-merchant effected his escape without loss of time. He seemed rather proud of the prayers and hymns which he was compelled to learn when at Nanking, as he reported them whenever desired: the account he gave of the discipline maintained there, corresponds with the most favorable reports that have appeared respecting the Taiping party.

XVI.

Foreign aid to the Manchus, official and private: Clinical communications: Canton: Chingkiang: Rebel daring: Foreign flotilla: Triang Koliang's Stratagems: Cruelties: Aid of foreign steamers damaging to every foreign interest—French: English: Americans: Commerce: Roman Catholicism: Mahomedanism.

Prominent among the causes which led to the subversion of the Ming dynasty was its inability to repress piracy. The whole coast for a long period lay at the mercy of desperadoes whose characters are reproduced in the pirates of our own times. What the condition of the reigning dynasty would have been had not successive fleets of pirates been destroyed by foreign ships-of-war, it is useless to conjecture. No one can regret that that danger to the government of Peking has been averted. Pirates are the enemies of all men, and may not be safely spared. Foreign commerce required their extirpation. Beside this, no other advantage accrued to foreign interests from these operations, nor was any expected by persons conversant with Chinese affairs. Lay a proud and unfriendly man under obligations,—cause him to feel his dependence upon you, and you make him a covert or an avowed enemy. We are not prepared to prove that the haughty Manchus will, in consequence of this humiliation treat our diplo-

matists with increased contumely, but we know, that an official acknowledgement of any of the deliverances effected from Canton to Manchuria, would cost a mandarin his button, and jeopard his head.

While our ships-of-war have failed to propitiate the government of Peking, our sailors and adventurers of every kind have been permitted to pursue a course which affords to thinking natives of every rank, conclusive arguments against further removal of restrictions on foreign intercourse.

Foreign aid has been sought by all parties; least of all however, by those intrepid men who aim at the establishment of a Christian dynasty. The patriot chiefs have not been in a position to negotiate with runaway seamen, and the inducements they held out to recruits were not of a character to tempt the mercenary. A bare supply of the necessities of life during the war, and a post under the reformed government, are all they offer. On the other hand, deserters from ships, and unlucky gold diggers from California, were offered skippers wages by imperialists, while pirates and brigands such as held Shanghai were able to outbid the mandarins. It is no marvel therefore that Europeans and Americans of a certain class should be found in the employ of the two parties last named. At first, Portuguese and Manila men were employed, but these did not stand fire, and were superseded by Englishmen and Americans. The wholesome inquisitorial proceedings of English naval and consular officers served to convert into American citizens a body whom the Republic will never delight to honor; "subjects" became "citizens" as rapidly as on the eve of a contested election. Indeed Englishmen as such disappeared from the stage altogether.

With some phases of the existing strife these sailors are perfectly acquainted; could their yarns and logs be procured they would afford much information at once interesting and painful. Having had a couple of these adventurers under professional care we jotted down such of their statements as seemed of sufficient importance and here subjoin them verbally or in substance. One of our informants was a genuine celt—a "son of the mist" though born not far from Mount Vernon, we shall call him Sandy Virginia; the other from his aboriginal relations may be considered a real native American, and would not object to the soubriquet of Jonathan Hiawatha.

Sandy Virginia noiselessly shifted his berth from the fore-castle of a states ship to the quarter deck of a Chinese lorch— from \$16 monthly wages, to a salary of \$100 per mensem—Hien-fung money. In the autumn of 1853 he was sent with many others in the same condition up the Pearl (Canton) river beyond Fuhshan, within a few miles of a city in possession of brigands and besieged by imperialists. The only duty that devolved on the fleet was to avert from Canton an anticipated river attack.

Sandy Virginia states—"Soon after coming to anchor I saw some officers and sailors, walking towards the river, says I to a chap from York state named George 'them's Britishers.' 'No,' says he, 'that can't be, where could so many come from?' But when he put up his

glass he said 'true enough; but may be they are our folks—I'll go below.' About fifty foreign looking sailors came to the side of the river; the chief officer dismounted from a splendid horse, and came on board with a number of followers, when I found out that they were all Chinamen: our interpreters afterwards told me all about the leader. His name was Koo, a Fohkien-man. He had been servant to an English naval officer during the war, and went to England with his master, where he learnt English and all sorts of things: he smoked opium, and was a regular, built Christian like us. On his return to China he purchased the rank of a blue-buttoned military mandarin. This was the first time after seven months' service that he was entrusted with a separate command: he had succeeded in scaling the walls of the besieged place several times, but had been as often repulsed with the loss in one fight of 500 men, owing to the cowardice of the Cantonese part of his force. He had come to receive a reinforcement we brought from Canton. He was richly dressed, his blue frock-coat was covered with gold lace, he had a sword and a brace of pistols at his side, his tail was clewed about his head on which was stuck a commodore's cocked hat. He bowed politely, and we all went together to the cabin. 'No, kashun make fight this place,' he said, 'that rebel man savey too muchee white face here. He make fear, no can come. To-morrow morning 4 o'clock that city I can catchee. Rebel man think me English—Merican, all same. On that wall, I number one man.' True to his word, Koo took the city on the next morning and was the first to mount the walls. This he managed by causing a false attack to be made on one side, while on the other, he fired over the walls several grappling irons with chains attached. On the chains he laid boards and over this bridge he crossed the ditch and got on the walls. There was not much fighting that time. Fifteen hundred rebels escaped; the remainder, five hundred in number were sent to Canton and beheaded. Individual cases were brought many times a day before Koo, who used to say 'Oh! how I love rebel man,—see!' and then he would take his sword and slash the poor fellow until there was nothing left but a pile of flesh and bone. It was known that the rebels had secreted money before evacuating the place. Koo issued orders that every place of deposit should, when found out, be shown to him; any sums less than a thousand taels were promised as a reward to the discoverers. One day a party of 20 Cantonese found a lot of silver, and killed a Fuhkien man who was privy to it, lest he should disclose the secret.

The corpse being discovered, General Koo, made a threat that a whole division of the Cantonese would be put to death unless the murderers were given up. That night the Canton men rose in rebellion, but Koo and his four thousand Fuhkien men were wide awake, balked their design and sent 100 to Canton to be beheaded.

"After being there a month we returned fighting our way through Fuhshan. I bought a lorch which the pirates soon after took from me. Koo went down the coast to fight pirates. I came then to the north, and served under the mandarins in the Yangtz.

"There was not much real fighting there, it was nearly all make believe. Sometimes a lot of rebels would come out of Chingkiang and then some imperialists would go towards them. The two sides would then stand jawing one another for half a day and return to their respective quarters. Our folks were capital at foraging. [This "*jawing*" was the preaching of one side and the *reasoning* of the other.] The rebels always had pluck enough to fight but the mandarins would not give them a chance, we always kept so far away. It was funny to see how little they cared about our shot: they used to come down and make mouths at us; and beckon us to fight. The mandarins used to tell us—"We can take that place easily enough, but that would spoil our business,"—we should then have nothing to do, and no more money to handle.

"One day a Manila man came to us from the rebel city, and said he was tired of rebel life. No liquor, no tobacco, and only the promise of pay. His countrymen there, were allowed two wives each, hut Chinamen only one, and then were allowed to see them just once a week. He said there were several Englishmen at Nanking who were sent far into the country whenever a steamer came in sight."

Poor Sandy Virginia was subsequently engaged in an attack on some pirates. He fought so well as to make his escape, but his Chinese gunner having loaded a six-pounder to the muzzle, caused an explosion which severely wounded all on board. The unfortunate commander thus came under our surgical care.

After the excision of several of his bones our hero engaged in convoying, and soon after falling in with a piratical junk, boarded her "to give the pirates a blowing up" whereupon one of them applied a match to the magazine and they all went up together, which was the last of poor Sandy.

Jonathan Hiawatha was a more lucky adventurer. His observations and exploits extend from August 1853 to December 1855. He commenced as boatswain and soon got command of one of the foreign ships employed by the imperialists in their warlike operations on the Yangtze. When he joined the fleet it was composed of a ship, a bark, 2 brigs, 2 schooners, 11 lorchas and above 20 junks having in all about 400 guns. The fleet had been recently compelled to return to Shanghai on account of deserters from English men of war supposed to be connected with it. In the early part of these operations, when none but Portuguese were engaged, the rebels often sent earnest expostulations, urging them to desist from fighting on the grounds of a common faith. "We are co-religionists—why should we be foes? We war against these Chinese soldiers and feel as friendly towards you as brethren. Chingkiang cost the rebels more fighting than any other place before it was permanently captured, having been driven from it three times, and ever since they have been harassed by land and sea forces, the former having never been less than 80,000 men. At no period have the besieged numbered more than 30,000. Until the Autumn of 1853, when the city had been seven months in possession of the "Long-haired" army there had been no serious encounters. Jonathan Hiawatha had been there several weeks before any action took place.

The fleet approached the city and demolished an old stakade killing about 70 of its defenders. This feat was performed by one of the square rigged vessels, some were unable to come up—the lorchas and junks expended their shot against the green paddy. Rebel shot took effect on some of the vessels, but no one was wounded. The imperialists now allowed themselves several weeks repose, meanwhile the long-haired men worked day and night at batteries throwing up strong earthworks and stone batteries, within hail of the redoubtable fleet. "Just as the mandarins thought of letting fly at them again" says Hiawatha "We were recalled to Shanghai to aid in recovering that place from the red cap rebels I was in four fights before that city.

"In February 1854, I was again sent up to Chingkiang, having command of a bark of 17 guns. The flotilla foreign and native mustered 300 guns. Two or three times a month sometimes oftener we were ordered to proceed from our anchorage at Silver Island to attack the batteries in front of Kwachau or Chingkiang. We used to bang away for a few hours and then go back to our anchorage. The fighting did the rebels no harm and they never hurt us." There seems to have been but one effective battle. It occurred in September 1854, when a new flotilla of 52 Canton boats, of nine guns each, fought its way through towards Nanking, completely silencing the batteries on and about Golden Island. On that occasion the old Foreign and Chinese fleet attacked the Chingkiang and Kwachau batteries, simultaneously with a bombardment from the imperial land-forces. The main object, that of the passage of the Nanking fleet, having been successful, the imperialists withdrew from the attack. Those vessels were sent up to replace a former flotilla of Canton vessels which having succeeded in passing Nanking was destroyed to prevent its falling into the possession of the rebels who constructed eleven strong floating batteries for its capture."

The batteries of the generals Hiang-yung and Kih command the city; yet the rebels made such vigorous sorties as often rendered the position of the imperialists hardly tenable; it was chiefly on such occasion that signals were given to the fleet to attack the river batteries fronting the city, which always served to bring the rebels back to their citadel. Of the innumerable attacks made on the beleaguered city by land, only one gave promise of success. It was conducted by Tsiang Kwoliang without intermission for three days and nights; he relinquished the attack after possessing himself of the western suburbs, in consequence of a summons requiring his presence at Nanking, whence he had come with his band a few days previously. His absence having been discovered by the rebels of that city, they rushed out and committed such havoc in the imperial lines as to jeopard the existence of the whole besieging force. Readers of the *Peking Gazette* must be familiar with the name of that daring officer. From authentic native authorities we have received the following account of him. He was formerly the pride of the Kwangsi insurgents, and the terror of their enemies. Necessity, not choice, it is said, made him traitor. Not long after the capture of Nanking in which he bore a distinguished part,

he led forth 500 men to the imperial lines proffering submission; his object being strategic. Hiangyung regarded him as a spy and would have put him to death at once, but for the remonstrances of Má, a Mahomedan officer who suggested a counter stratagem. Conformably with Má's counsel, the followers of Tsiang Kwoliang were distributed in the different parts of the camp where they might be made generally useful. Their clothes were taken and put on the same number of imperial soldiers, who were sent to make a night attack on the city. They carried rebels lanterns, and as their uniform corresponded, they, as soon as seen were regarded as Tsiang Kwoliang's force. On reaching the gates of Nanking they unmasked themselves and slew a large number of the unguarded rebels; had the surprise been well followed up by the whole army an entrance into the city might have been effected. As it was, however, the attack only served to exasperate the Eastern king who avenged himself *à la Chinoise* for this supposed treachery, by putting to death every member of Tsiang Kwoliang's family consisting of his mother, two concubines and some children. From that time the sole aim of that young hero, (he was then in his 24th year) has been revenge. His numerous acts of daring, in subsequent attacks, convinced Hiangyung not only that his new protestations of submission were sincere, but also that he was an officer of remarkable ability and courage. He selected from the distressed fugitives two maidens whom he presented to the bereaved chief; he made him his lieutenant, looked to him for counsel and entrusted him with the direction of every enterprise. Many honors were subsequently conferred on Tsiang, the latest that we have observed was his appointment by the emperor as a *tituh* or general, to have command of the Fuhkien troops announced in the *Gazette* of 13th of last August.

To return to the narrative of Hiamatha whose observations on the belligerent parties seem to be as truthful as they are graphic. He says that the imperialists "were very savage;—talk of the American Indians, why they are better men every way! Kih's army was bad enough, but Hiangyung's was worse in oppressing the poor villagers, who suffered from the foraging parties of rebel and imperialist. When the imperialists captured a rebel they put him to death as if he were a dog. I saw them dragging an aged man from a small boat to the shore to behead him; he was talking loudly. I asked the butler what it was about. 'He is telling them not to drag him, that he is willing and ready to die, that an old man can be easily spared, that there are myriads of young men to take his place and that his party will surely conquer.' The imperialists were sometimes very sharp upon their own men. They put our comrade to death by starving him in a cage, which was not so bad either, as the fellow had been supplying our fleet with horseflesh instead of beef. In fighting they had nothing like the pluck of the rebels. There was a great difference in the behavior of the same mandarins at Chingkiang and Shanghai. At the latter place, they were always glad to see a body, they treated all foreigners in their employ with great respect, but up the river they became dreadfully stuck—up people, keeping us all at a distance. We never

saw any but petty officers. One day an Englishman who was very intimate with general Kih at Shanghai undertook to pay him a visit at head quarters. He was soon stopped, and when he said he was going to see the general, was stared at as curio, and in spite of all his threats was sent back in custody of some dirty soldiers. He then wrote a letter, but found that it had to be sent through so many officers, up from to another before his old friend could get it, that he was disgusted and would not favor him with it.

"The rebels seemed to love fighting. They often came down in parties of half a dozen, sometimes only one man, to the beach and bid us defiance, waving flags and beckoning us ashore. When a shot would tear up the ground and spatter them with mud, they would wipe their faces with one hand, and coolly beckon us ashore with the other; sometimes we would see a couple of fellows lugging a six pound gun down to the beach, plant it in the mud and deliberately fire at us just on their own account. Little boys also often came down waving flags and making signs of defiance. One day, one of our Captains took up his musquet and shot some of them." [This feat was performed by an American citizen of six weeks standing.] "On many occasions when their supply of provisions from Nanking fell short, they dashed out of the city, drove all before them and made a general clearance for many miles. Sometimes when they called out to me, I asked what they were saying; the interpreter would state that it was to the effect—'go away white man, we do not want to fight you.' I only once had a brush with them. When ashore one day, several fellows fired at me. For awhile I allowed them to go on, but as some shot came rather near, I took aim and hit my man, on seeing which they scampered off. It was a grand sight to see the rebels of Chingkiang by night. Numerous covered furnaces on the wall tended by women all night threw a glare over the whole country, rendering a surprise impossible. The covered floating batteries constructed by the rebels seemed strong and well built. They were divisible into two parts, 12 feet high with look out towers 25 feet in height, each battery mounted from 30 to 50 guns, to these guns it is said they lashed their prisoners. The number of fighting men were variously estimated. The common belief was, that there were 11,000 at Kwachau, 20,000 at Chingkiang, and 100,000 at Nanking. Just before I left, a body of rebels numbering about 25,000 fought their way through the Manchu and Mongol camp entrenched north of Kwachau, and reinforced the garrisons of the besieged cities. Communication between Nanking and Chingkiang is cut off by the Canton flotilla."

It is generally believed by the Chinese that their foreign hirelings make money by supplying the rebels with munitions of war. It is probable that this charge is owing to the brisk traffic carried on by the Cantonese portion of the imperial fleet with adventurers from Chingkiang. No one will be surprised to learn that foreigners who sell their services to the imperialists are held in supreme contempt by all parties. It ought to be known also that these foreigners are doing irreparable damage to every foreign interest, a fact that will become palpable, let the conflict terminate as it may. All who are inimical to the objects of the Insur-

gents will rejoice to learn that a formidable armament is being fitted out at Shanghai by foreigners to aid in the extermination of the gallant defenders of Chingkiang. Steam vessels bristling with murderous engines of war directed by so called Christian men will soon supersede the impotent fleet so long stationed on the Yangtze*. May God protect the right. We are convinced that no one possessing any claims to statesmanship can be found sanctioning adventures which partake of the worst features of filibustering. Purblind indeed must he be who supposes that a handful of degenerating and decreasing Manchus can permanently govern the ever growing, improving, and aggressive millions of China. Ethnology alone precludes the possibility of such an anomaly.

In affirming that foreign officials will not lend their influence to warlike expeditions against the COURT OF NANKING, we are guided by facts patent to all. The party whose hands are reeking with the fresh blood of Frenchmen surely can meet with no support from any co-religionists of the martyred men.

Englishmen, whose government promptly recognized a few revolting colonists in Mexico as an independent power, cannot despise the new but firmly consolidated state on the Yangtze which has vindicated its claims to respect in a hundred well fought battles, by the capture of numerous cities, and by the organization of a strong government, — the suburbs of whose capital contain a population not less than that of Texas when she took her place temporarily among nations. As regards the third Treaty power, we know full well that Americans are too firmly attached to the principles on which their government was founded and has flourished, to refuse sympathy for a heroic people battling against foreign thralldom.

We plead not for an acknowledgement of the independence of this Chinese power, the men who founded it ask no such favor, — what they have seen of the van of Christian civilization has not won their regard; yet we importunately entreat foreign representatives to prevent further armed interference in this revolutionary war. Regarded simply in a mercantile point of view, foreigners have everything to hope from the success of the progressive party and much to lose by its discomfiture. Suppress the revolutionary movement, which with all its imperfections manifestly contains, *in semine*, principles fitted for the political and social regeneration of all Eastern Asia, and you sow broadcast the seeds of desolating anarchy. Overthrow that semi-Christian government, and you shall see in every province an almost endless succession of insurrections differing from the general one only in being destitute of any principle which a rational man can approve; and peace, when it does return, will find an impoverished land in a degrading superstition and fired with a hostility to foreigners which ages cannot appease.

Under no Manchu or Mongol dynasty shall we witness the enlightened proceedings of a Yunglo, the third emperor of the late Chinese dynasty. That emperor in 1410 projected and ordered an exploring expedition to the Western seas, inviting foreign nations to trade at Nanking.* We infer from our authority that great impulse was thereby given to trade with many of the "forty-four states" then commercially known to China. But for the blockade which foreign vessels have kept upon the Great River, the successors of Yunglo would at least have had command of its embouchure; and, consequently would have been in a position to enter into relations with maritime states. Is it not incumbent on those interested in commerce to require the removal of these unwarranted ligatures from the main artery of China?

If English and American merchants have no interest in blasting the hopes of the Taiping party, still less have Missionaries from the continent of Europe.

A misapprehension seems to exist in France and other Roman Catholic countries as to the precise character of this extraordinary movement, otherwise it would enjoy, as it certainly merits, the sympathy of Christendom. In a sectarian point of view Roman Catholics have most reason to desire the success of the revolutionists, with whom, for weal or woe, they are almost everywhere identified. With her hundreds of priests and myriads of neophytes, Rome cannot but exercise great interest in giving form to this plastic body; while its destruction would expose her suspected faith to bitter persecutions. In watching the course of current events in China, we have been struck with surprise at the animosity of Mahomedans to the new faith; in fact, but for their opposition the revolution would have been completed ere this. On the other hand, we have heard with lively interest that many native Roman Catholics have fraternised with the new enemies of the prevailing superstition. It is a fact pregnant with suggestions to thoughtful men, particularly to members of the Latin Church, that the old conflict between the Cross and the Crescent has been renewed in the farthest east.

We deplore our inability to discuss this momentous question in a manner commensurate with its importance. If instead of collating a few facts, accompanied with some desultory reflections, we could unfold the subject in all its far reaching relations, and adequately present its claims on humanity, public opinion would be roused to the reprobation of further warlike interference on the part of foreigners, and those who represent Christian states would rigorously repress such impolitic adventures.

Ningpo, October 1.

* *Fine* statistics of Kiating, a part superseded through fluviatile changes, by the adjacent city of Shanghai.

THE FATE OF THE MANCHUS FORESHADOWED IN THE EXPULSION OF THE MONGOLS FROM CHINA IN THE REVOLUTION OF 1388.

By W. A. P. MARTIN.

History is valuable only in relation to the present and the future. In the words of the founder of the modern experimental school, it is "Philosophy teaching by example." Were it indeed a complete and faithful record of the past, it were also an infallible index of the future. Not that the world is a mere rotary press, which at each revolution only gives a fresh impression from a stereotyped original; but what we can learn from history of the operation of certain causes enables us to predict their results, when acting in new combinations and in different degrees.

Owing to the variety and subtlety of its constituent elements, the formation of such a judgment, is sometimes a question of extreme complexity:—as different from the tracing of a simple parallel, as the solution of a difficult problem in mathematics is from the application of a well known formula. Yet events not unfrequently occur in combinations so strikingly analogous to others on record, that the eye instinctively turns to the pages of history for the mirror of the present.

It is in fact the frequency of such analogies, that has led the Chinese to introduce the word *kien*, mirror into *kang-kien*, *t'ung-kien* and *sze-kien*, the compounds by which they express the term history.

One of those analogous passages is now being enacted before their eyes; and we may venture to say that there are few intelligent minds among them, who do not read in the story of the Mongols the impending doom of the reigning dynasty. Then, as now, the Chinese were struggling to throw off the yoke of a Tartar tribe; but the effort was not united. Their elective affinity is exceedingly feeble, and they were then, as now, equally slow to separate from an alien race, and to form a patriotic coalition of their own. But I forbear to anticipate the facts. My statement of them may be verified by reference to the *kang-kien-ye-che-luk*. They are *there*; but in a *rudis indigestaque moles*, as diverse from the proper form of history, as the minutes of parliament would be from the history of England, were the journal of the Royal Observatory, the court *tom*, and the casualties of the public prints, promiscuously intercalated. In endeavouring to evolve a connected narrative from these heterogeneous materials, I may not have succeeded in imparting to it any high degree of interest; but I shall be satisfied if only I have made its lesson patent to the minds of my readers.

Shunte, the last emperor of the Mongol dynasty, ascended the throne of China in A.D. 1353.

The disasters of his reign were betokened by the usual omens, such as earthquakes, comets, meteors, showers of flesh and blood, and (in the estimation of a superstitious people), more significant than any of these, the theft of the spirit tablets from the emperor's ancestral temple.

In the year following the loss of this palladium, and the fifteenth of his reign, the annalist makes this laconic record, *Yien-kiang-ping-k'e*, *War began on the banks of the River*. We have no further notice of either events or actors, which proved to be the precursors of a momentous revolution. The first name, which figures among the opposers of the Mongol power is that of Fungkwohchin, who originated in Taichaufu, and in the next year invested the coast of Chehkiang with a piratical fleet.

As yet however these were only such indications of discontent, as no dynasty has been long exempt from, and gave the Mongols so little uneasiness that they projected a work, which for its magnitude and utility long remained a monument of their enlightened policy. This was no other than the restoration of the Yellow River to its ancient channel.

When the measure was under discussion, a Chinese member of the Imperial cabinet, well knowing the aversion of his countrymen to a foreign yoke, and the eagerness with which they would embrace the first opportunity to throw it off, warned the prime minister of the danger of assembling a vast multitude of laborers in a region already suffering from scarcity, "lest it should issue in a calamity more serious than the inundation," it was meant to remedy. "Do you mean to say, the people will rebel!" exclaimed the indignant minister, scouting the idea that it would even be possible to goad them into resistance.

One hundred and seventy thousand men were accordingly set to work. In five months the cuts and embankments were completed for ninety miles, and the unruly stream was again rolling its turbid waters through its long forgotten channel. The enterprising minister was rewarded with a patent of nobility; but unhappily for the repose of the empire, the workmen in making their excavations, had disturbed a petrified cyclop, which lay imbedded in the delta. Prophecy had foretold that the exhuming of this talisman would be the signal for rebellion; and both that idle prediction and the wiser warnings of the sagacious councillor were speedily fulfilled.

Before the end of the year Lewfuhtung took up arms at Yingchow in Nganhwui, professing to restore the Sung dynasty; and proclaimed a scion

of that ancient house. His forces swelling to a hundred thousand he stormed several cities on the borders of Honan and Nganhwui; and Le-ur, another adventurer, about the same time made insurrection in Seuchow in the North of Kiangsu.

But of all the adventurers, who disturbed the peace of the empire, none achieved such rapid and important conquests as Seuchowhwei. Starting in Hwangchow in the S.E. of Hoopih, he assumed the imperial title, and professed to commence an era of "Celestial Perfection." In two months, he overran Hangyang and Wochang in Hoopih, Kinkiang, Yuenchow, Suichow, Jauchow and Kwangsing in Kiangsi, and Hwuichow in Nganhwui; and five months later he possessed himself of Hangchow, the capital of Chehkiang.

In the meantime Kubtzehing taking advantage of disturbances in the vicinity had established himself at Fungyungfu. He made little progress however; and as his career was short, he would hardly deserve a place in history, but for the fact, that under his auspices, the future master of the empire was even then receiving his military training.

Early in the next year Changzeching another aspirant to the Yellow appeared in Kaonyin near Yangchow, styling himself the "Prince of Sincerity."

With such a winning title, no wonder he gained credit, when in order to gain time, he professed penitence, and affected to sue for pardon!

The emperor delighted with so easy a way of disposing of an enemy, at once granted his petition; but that paragon of "Sincerity" now affected to distrust the imperial commissioner, and declared that he would only consent to receive the edict, when it should be presented by Letse, the prefect of Yangchow, a man in whom he could repose the fullest confidence. By this disingenuous stratagem, he inveigled that able officer into his power, and instead of receiving the "Sacred Will," as in duty bound, on bended knee, and with burning incense, he on the contrary required Letse to betray his master and kneel before himself in token of submission. Le finding it impossible longer to preserve both life and honor, nobly resolved which of the two to sacrifice.

"My knees, he cried are made of steel,

And to a rebel ne'er shall kneel," is the distich which perpetuates the memory of his invincible resolution. The historian adds, that "Letse, Lefuh, and Taipuh-hwa were the most distinguished of those who in that day adhered to their principles" i.e. to serve but one master. Two of these were Chinese.

All this time, not a suspicion, that his throne was in danger, seems to have crossed the mind of Shunte. Love and music winged his happy hours. A Thibetan lama gave him lessons *de arte amandi*; and a band of sixteen damsels skilled on as many various instruments were ever ready to regale the imperial ear. He called them, not inaptly, "the sixteen Celestial tempters," a designation which approaches pretty nearly to the Greek idea of the Syrens. At intervals, when wearied with voluptuous pleasures, this descendant of Zingiskhan occasionally exercised his august genius in the mechanic arts. He constructed a dragon barge, which in motion represented the gliding folds of the sea-serpent; and also invented a clefts-sydra,

on the face of which were a "gemmy nymph" to point out the minutes, a god in golden armor to strike the hour.

To what extent his officers imitated their master's idleness, we are not told; but one of them who had been sent to recover Fungyangfu, was too cowardly to engage the enemy, and beheaded large numbers of innocent subjects in order to make up his tale of slaughtered rebels.

Others however were more honest and successful. The Chehkiang rebel Fung was obliged to leave his strongholds and put to sea. The forces of the prince of Perfection were expelled from Tanshui, his earliest acquisition, and soon after, from the great cities of Hangchow and Hwuichow. The Kiangsu rebel Leurl was also driven from Seuchow, and the inhabitants of the disloyal city consigned to indiscriminate slaughter.

The chronicler, who does not fail to notice the falling of hair and beans in divers places, might also have mentioned, had it not been too well understood to require notice, that each of these victories was followed by a shower of feathers and buttons. The emperor no doubt exhausted both promises and threats in urging his gallant captains to complete their work, and they loyal souls! no doubt assured His Majesty that the thieves were well nigh exterminated. But no! The prospect was fallacious. In spite of temporary advantages, the process of disorganization still went on. All its elements seemed to be affected with a mutual repulsion, and the empire was on the eve of exploding into atoms. Just at this juncture a character appeared who was destined to reunite the jarring fragments.

This was Choo Yuenchang, better known by the imperial title of Hungwoo, which he subsequently bore. He was a native of Fung Yongfu and a child of poverty. Early deprived of both parents, and without the means of earning a livelihood, he like many of his countrymen in similar circumstances, betook himself to a religious life. At the age of seventeen, he entered the convent of 皇覺寺, *The Great Awakening*,

or (as it may be rendered with equal accuracy, and more in accordance with its distinguished fortune) *The convent of the Imperial Awakening*. But his hands were better fitted for wielding the sword than for telling beads; and his ears disgusted with matin and vespers chants were charmed only with the sound of war. "This," he exclaimed, like Peter the Great, when he first heard the whizzing of bullets at Copenhagen, "this shall henceforth be my music." At length in the nineteenth year of Shunte, the standard of rebellion was raised in his neighborhood, and Hungwoo casting aside his cowl commenced the pursuit of a crown.

He at first enlisted as a private soldier under Kubtzehing; but that chief struck with his fine person, first admitted him to a place in his body-guard, and afterwards having made proof of his abilities, allowed him to command a battalion which he collected by his own exertions. Kubtzehing dying two years later, Hungwoo, who while winning laurels in the field, had also won the heart and hand of his chief's adopted daughter now succeeded to his command.

His possessions were as yet limited to the immediate environs of a third rate town; but the insignificance of his party could not conceal the lustre of his talents. The New Sung dynasty, anxious to attach him to their interests offered him a command with the title of Lieutenant General. Hungwoo however either conscious of his high destiny, or distrusting the stability of existing parties, declined the flattering distinction, and commenced, as an independent leader, a career, which gradually led him to the summit of human power.

At this period he seemed of all the combatants the least likely to win the prize. On the North were the New Sunga, next to Fungkwohchin, the earliest party in the field; bearing an ancient and cherished name, and that too with no inconsiderable prestige. On the West the Prince of Perfection had brought whole provinces under his sway. On the East the Prince of Sincerity had possessed himself of Suchau, and several of the adjacent departments;—He seemed indeed, next to the Prince of Perfection, to be the favorite of fortune, and likely to divide with him the dilapidated empire; while Hungwoo had scarcely a chance of maintaining his independence. But the latter owed both safety and success to his peculiar situation, in the midst of more powerful factions, which moved outward from a common centre against a common foe, and at all points shielded him from the heavier shocks of the imperial forces. Hungwoo perceived the advantages of his position, and failed not to improve them. Within that fiery circle stood a few cities near the banks of the Yangtze, which still persevered in their allegiance to the Tartars, but were so isolated as to tempt assault. The principal of these was Kingling (now Nanking), and there Hungwoo resolved to lay the foundation of a principality or it might be of an empire. With a view to this he took in succession Chuchow, Heyong and Taiping; and advancing upon Nanking, entered it after a brief siege, in the eighth year of the rebellion and the fourth of his own active warfare. He signalized this event by changing the name of the city to Ingteen, *Heaven Obeying*; and taking up permanent quarters there, despatched one division of his now augmented army to capture Chinkiang, and another to take possession of Kwangthi, both of which enterprizes were successfully accomplished.

The rebellion had raged for eight years, yet there were not wanting those who regarded the Mongols as stronger than any of the contending factions, and not unlikely to effect the destruction of them all. So thought Fungkwohchin, who had been the first to raise the standard of revolt. For after having made himself master of a region in the S.E. of Chelkiang, more extensive and populous, than all the territory then held by Hungwoo, he tendered his submission to the emperor, and deigned to accept an office under the government. In thus returning to his allegiance, he was doubtless influenced, by seeing several sturdy aspirants succumb to the recuperative energy of the old dynasty, as well as by the fact that the central portions of the empire were already preoccupied by more powerful parties so as to preclude the hope of his establishing more than a limited principality.

In the following year, Hungwoo for the first time came into collision with one of his many rivals. The Prince of Sincerity having given some provocation, he avenged himself by depriving him of the city of Changchow; but without pursuing the contest farther prudently turned his forces against their great national enemy. An army which he sent against Ningkwohfu, besieged it for a long time but without success until Hungwoo appeared in person to stimulate the valor of his troops. There is no reason to question the prowess of Hungwoo, but as he had able and experienced captains, there is as little reason to doubt that he took care to be present on this and several subsequent occasions mainly for the purpose of appropriating the glory of their achievements. Indeed were this history, as impartial as the scripture records we might perhaps have here a dispatch from Senta to Hungwoo, similar to that which Joab once addressed to David: "I have fought against Rabbah, and have taken the city of waters; therefore gather the rest of the people together, and encamp against the city and take it, *lest I take the city and it be called after my name.*"

The capture of Ningkwoh was speedily followed by that of Hwuychow and Chichow in the same vicinity, all of which were wrested from the Mongols. Still their cause was not altogether desperate, if we may judge from the policy of the Prince of Sincerity. They held quiet possession of three-fourths of the empire, and he still esteemed it a greater honor to be a slave (*wootsai*) of the Tartars, than to be a Prince among his own people. He was accordingly induced to surrender his kingship in consideration of a high office under the emperor; and the Mongol power was by this stroke of diplomacy, re-established, in the fair regions to the East and South of the Taihoo or Great Lake.

This great advantage, so easily gained, doubtless furnished plausible grounds for the newsmongers of that day to report that the Rebellion was "dying out." But in the Tartar government "the whole head was sick, and the whole heart faint." Its wounds defied the skill of either generals or statesmen; and it almost immediately lost in the field far more than it had gained by diplomacy. Hungwoo got possession of Yangchow, and the Prince of Perfection at the same time, made the more important conquest of the capitals of Szechuen and Nganhwui.

The latter place made a stout resistance; and the Chinese officer who held command under the Mongols, displayed in its defence, a rare example of fidelity and courage. With a mere handful of militia, he had maintained his position for six years in the very heart of a region, rife with rebellion. At length closely besieged, he headed his little band of braves on the city walls, everywhere seeking the thickest of the fight, and fighting with the fury of despair. But numbers prevailed; and covered with wounds, he Cato-like sought death by his own hand rather than submit to the conqueror. His wife and family, with thousands of his people followed his example. "Yukuž," says the historian, "died for his prince; his wife died for her husband, and his son for his father, thus exhibiting in one family a beautiful combination of loyalty, filial piety and conjugal devotion. This

example surpasses the virtue of the ancients. He died; but the pure essence of his loyalty still survives."

I may here remark, that the Chinese have scarcely any other idea of patriotism than that of fidelity to a prince; and wherever history furnishes a case of the virtue in this form, even though it be exhibited in defence of a foreign domination, it rarely lacks its meed of praise.

The Prince of Perfection now took the capital of Kiangsi, and the New Sung, after an interval of comparative inactivity, achieved several considerable triumphs, gaining possession of Kaifung the chief city of Honan, and thence crossing the Yellow River and burning one of the imperial residences.

Hungwoo in the meantime made a successful descent upon Cheli-kiang, and Fung Kwob-chin knowing his own inability to resist, had recourse, as a measure of temporary expediency to a feigned alliance, offering to bring over with him the extensive departments of Wenchu, Taichau, and Ningpo. Hungwoo however chose to regard him as sincere, accepted his proposals, and sent back his hostages, saying that "such pledges were uncalled for where both parties entertained a mutual confidence." A jewelled saddle and bridle too, which Fung had sent as a propitiatory gift, he also returned, with the truly military answer, "I want no gilded baubles, but able men and corn to feed them." Though himself uneducated Hungwoo was a patron of letters. In this expedition, he met with several eminent scholars, whom he invited to his capital; and gave such encouragement to learning in Cheli-kiang, that, as the annalist remarks, "the hum of school-boys at the lessons now succeeded to the clash of arms."

Hungwoo had hitherto systematically avoided any hostile contact with those who like himself, were engaged in opposition to their common enemy. Now however he was compelled, in self-defence to join battle with the powerful party of the West. But fortunately for him, that party had been weakened by internal discord. The commander-in-chief, had only a short time before, assassinated the Prince of Perfection, usurped the throne, changed his title to Prince of Han, and removed his capital to Kinkiang. As his party was the most considerable in the empire, he desired the other factions, aimed at nothing less than the sovereignty of all China, and made a descent upon Nanking with a view to opening a pathway to the North. In this however he was foiled by the watchfulness of Hungwoo, who in turn vowed the destruction of the insolent aggressor. For this purpose, he made vast preparations; and combining his forces, stormed in succession the chief cities of Kiangsi. The rest surrendered, and the Prince of Han fled to Woochang. His second in command, who was previously in charge of Szechuen, had just at that juncture, made the conquest of Yunnan. Elated by his own success, he took advantage of his masters adversity, and profiting by his perfidious example, revolted and assumed the Yellow with the title of Emperor of Hea.

In the meantime the Mongols had rallied their forces in the North, suppressed a rising in Shantung, expelled the New Sung from beyond the Yellow River, recovered the capital of Honan, and seemed to be in good earnest straining every nerve

to destroy those monster factions, which were gnawing at the vitals of the empire. But alas! like the liver of Prometheus, those wounds were healed only that the recovered parts might be again devoured.

Besides the remnant of the Sungs, the Insurgents were, by this time divided into three great bodies, which intersected the empire like a belt, extending from West to East. The Emperor of Hea commanded the two great provinces in the S.E.; the Prince of Han, the *two Hoo* in the centre, and Hungwoo the *two Kiang* in the East.

A furious conflict raged between the two latter chieftains; and the issue of it was to determine the future master of the Middle Kingdom. The Prince of Han having laid siege to Nanchang, Hungwoo flew to its relief. The two armies met in a grand naval engagement on the waters of the Poyang Lake *Diu et acriter pugnatum est*. Victory hung in an even scale until the contest was decided by one of those events, which the atheist regards as fortuitous, but which the serious of all countries take as proof, that the balance which weighs the destiny of nations, is held by an Almighty Arbiter. In the heat of the battle, some vessels of the Prince of Han took fire, and a gale suddenly springing up from the north-east extended the conflagration to a great part of his navy. Many of his best officers and troops perished in the flames. After fighting for several days, he attempted to retreat, when some one "drew a bow at a venture," and a "random arrow" as the annalist calls it, piercing his eyeball closed the conflict. A few of his followers escaped to Hoochang, where they proclaimed his son: but the power of the party was broken, and Hungwoo soon after obtained the undisputed mastery of Hookwang.

The Prince of Sincerity had, while this contest was pending, revolted afresh; and being ashamed of the fair title, which he had so often belied, exchanged it for that of Prince of Woo.

As another specimen of the tergiversation frequent at that period, I may mention, that Fung-kwochchin almost at the same time renounced the alliance with Hungwoo, and resuming his fealty to the Mongols was rewarded with a still higher office than he had received on his first submission.

The Prince of Woo signalled his new style by extirpating the last remnant of the Sungs. His title however gave umbrage to Hungwoo, as implying a claim to the ancient kingdom which comprehended his earliest conquests. The latter therefore felt compelled to assume the same title in self-defence; and prepared to assert his right to it by force of arms. Chasing the rival Prince of Woo into his principal fortress Suchau, he stormed the city, took him prisoner; and the fallen chief despairing of mercy hanged himself.

Having removed this rival, Hungwoo immediately sought for another of greater magnitude, by assuming the full imperial style, and preparing to vindicate his claim in a direct contest with the occupant of the Dragon Throne.

He had now been in arms for fifteen years, and as yet possessed only five provinces, or less than one-third of the empire; but he was so well satisfied with his own achievements, that he adopted the name *Hungwoo*, or *Great Warrior* as his reigning style.

His arduous enterprize, though it apparently wanted so much of completion, was in reality drawing very near to its accomplishment, for the strength of the Tartar dynasty was not to be measured by the extent of its remaining territory. Its resources had been exhausted by long warfare with many enemies, and it was unable to offer any effective resistance to the army of 250,000, led by the veteran officers, whom Hungwoo had charged with the reduction of the northern provinces.

In less than a year from this time, and exactly twenty years from the commencement of the rebellion, the pusillanimous tinker, who then swayed the sceptre, deemed it prudent to retire to the North. The head of the Tartar dragon was now dead, but like other reptiles of its genus, its tail still gave signs of vitality. Several officers and rebels in different parts of the empire refused to submit; and it was not until four years later, or twenty years from the time when he first took up arms, that Hungwoo was permitted to enjoy undisturbed possession of the Eighteen Provinces.

His successes though, by no means rapid, won him a name among the brightest on the catalogue of Chinese conquerors; and laid a foundation for the long and prosperous dynasty of the Mings.

The analogy of the present revolutionary struggle to that sketched in the preceding narrative, is too obvious to require demonstration.

Indeed with the Taipings and Manchus occupying the arena, instead of the Mings and Mongols, the parties and their relative positions are so similar, that were some hoary sleeper of the age of Hungwoo to awake, he might readily imagine that he witnessed only a continuation of that bye-gone contest. The valley of the Yangtze is now, as then, the chief theatre of war; and Peking and Nanking are again the residences of rival courts. A Tartar sovereign in the former again fulminates edicts for the extermination of the rebels, and again they are answered in tones of grim defiance by a native prince enthroned in the latter city.

In Peking such an imaginary visitor would find the temples with their gilded gods looking as gay, and the worshippers as numerous and heartless as in his boyhoods prime. There too are the same tonsured priests with their rosaries, their tapers, and their sanscrit prayers. Indeed, all the old superstitions still cling to both government and people, like ivy to a crumbling tower, which only strikes its roots deeper, as the dilapidated structure hastens to decay. But here ends the parallel. In Nanking both princes and people have flung those childish absurdities to the winds. There no sunbeam glistens on the sleek cranium of Buddhist Bonze, nor sportive zephyr plays with the dangling cue of Tartar subject. For Budha and Kwante are heard the strange names of Jehovah and Jesus. The preacher has succeeded the priest, and the altar given place to the pulpit.

These are almost the only marks of social improvement discoverable since the close of the fourteenth century. The Chinese are but just now awaking from the sleep of ages; and the influence, which has aroused them is one which if not thwarted in its operation by the very nations, from whom it was derived, will yet unite the antipodes, and break down the barriers between the orient and the occident.

Nor are the new-fangled enthusiasts who are actuated by this influence, the weak men they are sometimes represented to be. They are not to be judged by the advanced state of political and military science in the West. The portion of history which we have just reviewed supplies us with a fairer standard of comparison.

From this it is apparent at a glance, that starting in circumstances of greater difficulty, they have thus far surpassed Hungwoo in the boldness of their enterprizes, and the rapidity of their execution.

Hungwoo commenced his career within a hundred miles of Nanking at a time when the power of the Mongols was distracted by three great factions in the North, East, and West; yet it required four years to acquire strength enough to possess himself of that fortress; nor was it until eight years later that he felt sufficiently secure in his position to assume the title of Prince of Woo. The Taipings on the contrary, professing to receive the empire by Divine decree, were from the first confident of success.

Organizing both court and camp while yet in a small town of Kwangsi, they burst from their mountain fastnesses, like Pallas full-armed from the brain of Jupiter. Unaided by any other party, they confronted the whole force of the empire, and after a victorious progress of more than a thousand miles, took possession of their future capital in less than four years from the commencement of the rebellion.

Though disaster betided their northern expeditions, as well as the efforts of their allies in the south, they have still been more expeditious than Hungwoo in consolidating their power in the central provinces.

With a fast hold on Kiangsu, Kiangsi, Nganhwui and Hoopih, they have already well-nigh attained the position, from which Hungwoo made his successful assault on the Monarch of the North. And, as the resources of the Manchus are becoming exhausted to the last degree, we may safely augur that if the Taipings are still favored with as able leaders, as those who have hitherto conducted them, two or three years at most from the present date will be sufficient to make them masters of the empire.

Ningpo, November 26, 1856.

NOTES AND QUERIES ON THE DRYING UP OF THE YELLOW RIVER.

By D. J. MACGOWAN, M.D.

We are accustomed to attach more importance to records of physical phenomena contained in the annals of this land than most students of Chinese; yet we have never been able to give full credence to accounts of the temporary drying up of large rivers. The recent disappearance however, of a great part of the Hwang, must be regarded as explanatory, if not confirmatory of those fluvial vicissitudes.

From beyond Süchau to its embouchure a distance of more than 200 miles, the Yellow River has been dry for several years!

On referring to records of similar phenomena we find the following:—

In the year 1766 B.C. the *Í* and Loh (tributaries of the Hwang) became dry. At or about the same time the Tai mountain, 200 miles distant in Shantung fell: a seven years drought occurred soon after.

About the year 1154 the Hwang, or Yellow River itself became dry.

In 778 B.C. an earthquake affected the basins of the King Loh and Wei (affluents of the Hwang) when these rivers dried up. The fall of a mountain, or a landslip accompanied this convulsion also.

In the year 310 of our era, the Yellow River was fordable at Honan, as were also the Loh and adjacent streams.

At the close of the Sung dynasty 1278 A.D. the Tsientang was so nearly dry at Hangchau as to be fordable. The opportunity it presented of crossing was embraced by the Mongols who were in pursuit of the last of the Sung emperors. The absence of tides for three days is assigned as the cause of this remarkable state of that river: an explanation which is obviously insufficient, even though the tidal wave had failed to rise.

Further research would probably extend this list. In history, these records are distinguished from those that relate to the shifting of channels, overflowing of banks, and other obstructions to which rivers are subjected.

Come we now to our own days.

In the latter part of 1852 the people of Hwaingan found the river fordable: in the spring of the ensuing year travelers crossed it dry shod, since which time it has been, to use the Chinese term applied to it, "as dry as dust." We have in our employ the former Secretary of the Commissioner of the Grand Canal, who resided in Hwaingan from February to September 1853. Nearly the whole of the following year he spent further up the river at Süchau. The dryness of the channel at the former place attracted his attention, but he found prevailing such a supersti-

tious dread of the subject that people avoided conversing about it: it was believed that even politics might be discussed with less danger, the fear being, that if not let alone altogether the dangerous stream might re-appear, and with greater power. At Süchau, says our informant, a few puddles might be seen, and a rivulet which a child could ford. From various sources we learn that as high up as Kaifung there is so little water that boats can no longer approach the city. The subject is seldom referred to in the *Gazette*. In May last the Commissioner having charge of the lower portion of the Hwang reported that out of the 22 *ting* under his jurisdiction 9 were entirely dry. Last May the emperor in a sentential document enumerating the calamitous occurrences of his short reign says, "the River does not flow as hitherto," evidently regarding that as an evil omen. A careful search of the *Gazette* of the past four years would perhaps throw more light on the subject; the above is all that we have noted.

It will be remembered that an earthquake was felt in the maritime portion of the Plain on the 16th December 1852. Did the earthquake precede, was it synchronous with, or did it follow the fluvial phenomenon?

In the following year earthquakes occurred over this same region April 15th, 24th and 25th. A newly formed part of the coast north of the Yangtz disappeared in one of those shocks. About the same time for 15 successive days destructive shocks were experienced in Kansuh. In 1854 several slight earthquakes were felt in the south of China, and in the China sea and in 1855 occurred the great earthquake at Simoda which as we have elsewhere stated in detail caused an elevation of the inland waters of the S.E. corner of the Plain.

In the spring of the present year earthquakes were of frequent occurrence in Manchuria. In fine, the whole of S.E. Asia, has within the past few years been disturbed by an extraordinary number of earthquakes. It is for dynamic geology, with which we are in no wise conversant, to inform us if there is any connection between these subterranean forces, and the change which has come over the Yellow River. Although no proper geodetical survey has been made we know that a portion of the lower part of the Hwang is higher than the adjacent plain. A very slight elevation of that region of country would suffice to turn the waters into their ancient channels. We have indeed received verbal accounts from travelers, to the effect that the stream now passes through the

prefecture of Tsanchan in the S.W. part of Shantung, and thence as of old, in what particular way is not stated, to the Gulf of Pechele. On the other hand the above name Secretary states that in his journey from Peking to Hwaingan made in February 1853 he found from Tientsing to that point on the canal where it receives the waters of the Yunho less water than usual, and from thence where the current turned in his favor the quantity of water in the canal became less and less until he reached its junction with the Yellow River where it also was dry. Moreover the waters were nowhere less pellucid than ordinary. From various other sources we have received similar accounts which like this, palpably contradict the statements which represent the Hwang as having taken a N.E. course. How could that vast sheet of water find its way into the Gulf without imparting its hue to the streams it invaded? Again how could the river find exit in the manner indicated without overflowing rivers the level of which in some places is above that of the adjacent country, having dykes scarcely adequate to sustain their normal pressure? Yet no change is recorded in the condition of the streams emptying into the Gulf of Pechele;—no floods,—it seems as if “Chinese sorrow” were assuaged by some wand unseen. There is confessedly much about that river which we do not know. We do know however that in bye gone centuries it was a sad vagrant, and that ever since the palmy days of the Patriarchal emperor Yu, (the first, if not greatest

of civil engineers) it has been an unconscionable spendthrift. No good therefore could be expected to come of it, yet for it to terminate so mysteriously that to find its end, one is obliged to rush into print, is what we never did expect. Has the earth opened and swallowed up this trouble of China, that is to say, did the earthquake which appears to have elevated the seaward part of its bed, leave parallel chasms into which the waters descend through the alluvial bottom? If so, what then? It could not reach the sea through any underland route. Is it finding its way into the nether molten regions? If this conjecture is calculated to impair the confidence of any in the stability of this part of the earthy crust, relief may be found in another, namely—that the gases thus generated find vent through those subterranean and subærial volcanos which girt the continent. This however supposes a prodigious waste of steam which in these piping times cannot be contemplated with indifference. It is incumbent on those who dwell nearest to the late bed of the missing one, to procure information not forgetting dates, for those who wish to keep posted up in geography, and it is with the view of inducing some of the denizens of Shanghai to investigate the matter, that we pen these crude notes and queries regarding what we consider to be one of the greatest physical changes which has occurred within the historic period.

D. J. M.

Ningpo, Nov. 1, 1856.

FROM DR. MACGOWAN'S CHINESE SERIAL. (AMPLIFIED.)

ALUM.—About eleven hundred tons of Alum have been exported within a short period, chiefly to India. This mineral is largely employed by the Chinese in dyeing, and to some extent in paper-making as with us. Surgeons apply it variously after depriving it of its water of crystallization, and in domestic life it is used for precipitating vegetable substances suspended in potable water. It is used also by the Chinese in a manner peculiar to themselves. Fishermen are usually provided with it, and when they take one of those huge *Thizostoma* which abound on the coast they rub the animal with the pulverized styptic to give a degree of coherence to the gelatinous mass. Architects employ it as a cement in those airy bridges which span the watercourses. It is poured in a molten state into the interstices of the stones, and in structures not exposed to constant moisture the cohesion is perfect, but in damp situations it becomes a hydrate and crumbles, a fact of which the whole empire was officially informed by the government about thirty years ago. It was discovered that water had percolated into the mausoleum of Kiaking, having been built too near to the mountain side the Alum cement imbibed moisture, segregated and opened the way for to enter the tomb. In those peaceful days such an event was of such importance as to call forth edicts and rescripts, memorials and reports in succession for several months. The son-in-law of the deceased monarch to whose care the construction of the edifice had been entrusted was fined and degraded, and a statesman from Foh-kien acquainted with the properties of Alum was appointed to remove it a short distance from the mountain.

Alum was first introduced into China from the West, and until a comparatively recent period the best kind called sometimes Persian, and at others Roman Alum was brought from Western Asia. Numerous localities where an inferior article is manufactured are mentioned in the *Pharmacopœia*—*viz.*, Shan-tung, Shan-se, Kiang-su, Hu-kwang, Sz'-chuen, also in the south-western frontier and in Tibet. That from Sz'-chuen is represented as having the property of converting iron into copper or of coating iron with copper, by placing the former metal in a solution of rice-liquor and alum the stone of that province. The most recent editions of works on *materia medica* contain no reference to the mines in this province, the products of which have surpassed in quality the foreign, and rendered its importation unnecessary. From this and from other circumstances it is certain that the works which we shall now describe have not been long in operation. They are in the Sung-yang hills bordering on Foh-kien in the district of Ping-yang, Wan-chau prefecture, and in close proximity to Peh-kwan harbor (27° 9' 10" N., 120° 32' 6" E.)

The locality has been visited by one foreigner only to whom we are indebted for most of the following particulars. About two months ago he started from Chih-k'i bight in Lannai harbor to which Ningpo boats resort for this commodity to the northward of Peh-kwan. Three hour's hard walking over a succession of precipitous hills crossed by stone steps and pathways brought him to the mines. Ten Alum-making establishments were in operation, which, with the exception of one on a hill opposite, occupied about a mile of the

side of a lofty hill. The works were adjacent to the quarries from which the Alum-stone seemed to crop out of decomposed rock of the same lithological character. The stones were thrown into a fire of brushwood where they burnt with a slight lambent flame and as they cracked, the fragments were raked out broken into small pieces, and macerated in vats. Subsequently the disintegrated mineral was thrown with water into a vessel having an iron bottom and sides of wood and boiled for a short time. The *lixivium* was then poured into large reservoirs where it crystallized into a solid mass. Blocks of Alum weighing about 50 catties each were hewn out of the reservoir and carried in this state in bamboo frames, one on each end of a porter's pole to the place of shipment, where it is broken into fragments. When not designed for immediate exportation the blocks are stored away for drying. On reaching the *dépôt* the Alum is found charged with a double quantity of moisture, the porters being obliged to deliver a certain weight they slip their burdens in the mountain streams which they pass in the journey. Judging from the number of laborers engaged in transporting the mineral on the day of our informant's visit, the quantity brought from the works could not be less than eighteen tons. This was represented as less than an average day's work, as labor was in such demand just then for agricultural purposes that double pay was given;—and aged men, and women, with boys and girls were pressed into the service. Assuming that day's product as a basis for calculation and making an allowance for rainy days we may safely estimate the annual supply as between five and six thousand tons. The quantity consumed by the dyers of Ningpo prefecture alone being nearly 22 tons per annum is corroborative of this estimate. The supply is literally inexhaustible. Five dollars-and-a-quarter a ton at the landing would afford the manufacturer a fair profit. It often fetches much more, as there has been an increasing demand for the article owing to the greater facilities afforded for exportation from Ningpo in foreign vessels.

The Wan-chau Alum is equal to the best Roman,—a roseate tint in some specimens indicates the presence of minute quantities of iron.

We have no means of ascertaining the precise geological position of the rock from which this Alum is procured; some circumstances seem to indicate it to be a new mineral. It is stated that no potash nor any other material is employed in the works. Granitic and porphyritic rocks abound in the vicinity, and some parts of the district produce iron and silver. According to the Wan-chau Topography the working of silver was discontinued in the reign of Wan-lih (1615) in consequence of imperial prohibition. This part of the coast has recently become the seat of extensive Poppy cultivation for the bane of the Chinese race.

As a contribution to the physical description of the Alum district we would add that the typhoon of September last was preceded by a rising of water in wells and ponds many miles inland. When the cyclone reached the coast it submerged about a hundred square miles, occasioning a vast destruction of life and property. The waters of the sea were retained in the country by strong easterly winds for several days leaving a strip of land bordering on the sea quite dry.

NOTE EXCULPATORY.—A reverend and friendly critic has taken the trouble to comment upon some remarks made in our last regarding the *Peking Gazette*, and a rumoured cession to Russia of a portion of Manchuria. It does not seem that his estimate of the *Peking Gazette* differs from ours, but we confess that we think more favorably of our own effusions than does that most unprejudiced and disinterested writer. His well meant communication would require no notice, save an acknowledgment for having made two typographical corrections out of a dozen that were called for, had he not publicly asked us to "produce reliable information—worthy of the confidence of the public" respecting the alleged cession.

It is due to those who favor our paragraphs with perusal, that they should be reminded of what none can be ignorant—viz, that a rumour, originating apparently at St. Petersburg, found its way into the journals of Europe and America, of India and China, to the effect, that such cession had been made. One of the least explicit of these we may be allowed to quote—"Since the commencement of the rebellion, Russia has obtained from the embarrassment of the court of Peking a treaty yielding to her the navigation of the Amour, and she has already converted that permission into actual possession of the whole course of the river, and an enormous tract of country above 1,000 miles in length, and in some parts as much as 500 in breadth, and the exclusive ownership of the Yablounai mountains." *Frazer's Magazine* for January 1855 republished in the *North-China Herald* June 9, 1855. It was in allusion to reports analogous to the above, that we spoke of the "ignorance of natives and foreigners" respecting any such transaction. Thus, it will be seen that we give little credence to the rumour, and that the Rev. Dr. Medhurst, by representing us as putting forth "the tittle-tattle of local news-mongers" has paid no homage to truth, and consequently his amiable strictures are pointless, and love's labor lost, save in so far as it serves to exhibit the animus that sways some compartments of the Missionary mind.

BURNING OBSCENE BOOKS.—A beautiful instance illustrative not only of the manner in which Confucianists and Buddhists dwell together in unity, but of their harmonious co-operation for the accomplishment of a noble object, may now be witnessed in this city—the object, to the credit of Chinese scholars be it spoken, is the expurgation from literature of everything offensive to purity. Their first step was to organize a society, and next to draw up an Index Expurgatorius and a set of rules, and finally to procure magisterial sanction in the form of admonitory and prohibitory proclamations. It was decreed that every copy of the works named—above two hundred in number should, be taken together with the blocks, to the office of the society, there to be burnt in the presence of those who brought them, and who should be compensated for the same, at a fixed rate. Operations commenced two weeks ago, and every day witnesses the conflagration of huge piles of books, and blocks, in the most public part of the city. Having attended some of these burn-

ings, and being in possession of various documents relating to the novel proceeding, we propose at some future time to give the history of the movement, —which originated some years ago at Suchau.

NINGPO PORCELAIN.—Kintehchin in Kiangsi and Tsiuenchau (Chinchau) in Fuhkien are the two seats of Chinese porcelain manufacture.* That article is now likely to be fabricated near this city. The metamorphic rocks of which the hills environing this plain are composed, are in some places in a state of rapid disintegration, exposing veins of quartz, and beds of felspar. A resemblance in the soil of the borders of the Reservoir—or Lake as it is called, to that of the districts whence the Kintehchin manufacturers draw their materials, induced a shrewd inhabitant of the place to believe that porcelain could be manufactured there. He had worked in the Kiangsi potteries, but was out of employment owing to the unsettled state of the country. So satisfied was he that he had made a discovery, that he journeyed to Kintehchin taking earth with him, which on trial proved to be Kaolin, and Petunze, affording porcelain superior to the Fuhkien article, and not much inferior to that fabricated at the place of trial. The simple man thought he should make a fortune without difficulty; he commenced operations at Hiashwui—(nether-waters) with much spirit, when lo! that green eyed monster monopoly, which like Bigotry in another walk can endure naught that is not of its own begetting, stalks forth and crushes the enterprise in its bud! The wealthy and powerful dealers in porcelain covertly opposed the work, and so effectually, that it was abandoned. Recently however the discoverer has taken courage and being backed by some public spirited literati is contesting the case before the *Chihien*. Success to the brave fellow! May his fires be rekindled, and may our taper burn, at least until we are permitted to record the discomfiture of his enemy, monopoly.

A Christian Almanac once published at Ningpo was put out by the withering sarcasm of the brotherhood now arrayed against us. We shall not be thus extinguished. We hope on the contrary to continue to afford information regarding China despite gibes and sneers, and what is more, we shall amplify when need is, not only to vindicate ourselves, but to teach the unruly denizens of fragile tenements to keep the peace—*verbum sapientibus*, &c.

* Marco Polo in his itinerary to Zaitun (Amoy) says "in that province (Fuhchau) is a city named *Timingui* where they make the most beautiful cups in the world; they are of porcelain, and are manufactured in no other part of the earth besides that city; for a venitian gosse you may purchase three cups of this most elegant ware." The commentators of the "Herodotus of the Middle Ages" Mr. Marsden, Count Boni, Mr. Murray, and others, finding it stated in modern works on China that Kintehchin is the sole place of manufacture of porcelain, are greatly puzzled in attempting to explain their author. The truth is, that during the Mongol sway the Tsiuenchau porcelain (the *Timingui* of Polo) was then in most repute, in some parts of the empire, while to the Venitian the ware of Kiangsi was unknown, or not distinguished.

FROM DR. MACGOWANG'S CHINESE SERIAL.

(AMPLIFIED.)

MANCHU SOLDIERS.—Present occurrences serve to confirm the current opinion respecting the Martial degeneracy of the Manchus. On one occasion near Nanking when the imperialists suffered a signal defeat, the Manchu cavalry fled first and farthest, while Chinese infantry from Shantung (Mahomedans doubtless) bravely maintained their ground. The emperor attributed this disaster to the Manchu officers in command, but cases frequently occur showing a general demoralization of the bannermen. One of these is brought forward in the form of two successive reports to the emperor from a sort of Court Martial. It appears that a force of 650 men from near the Amour stationed at Kaifung were found inefficient and were ordered to return to their native wilds in two detachments. According to custom, the local authorities on the road were severally directed to furnish food and means of transport. At each stage thirty taels were to be spent for provisions; there was to be a waggon for each officer and one for every four soldiers. Also an allowance of money to each man—from a fund subscribed for the support of the army. In 35 days the last detachment arrived at a village in Ningyuen, just beyond the Great Wall, when the soldiers commenced oppressing the people, or rather perhaps they met for the first time persons who dared resent their disorderly conduct. The officer in command reports that "some unruly men rushed into a refectory and smashed all the dishes. I ordered sergeant Shanhi to apprehend them, instead of obeying, he told private Kinsien and other soldiers that they had been defrauded at every stage of the journey, and thus caused much excitement. Inquiry showed the charge to be correct. On reaching Tihling sergeant Shanhi reported that Kinsien and some others had quitted the ranks to go and lodge complaints at Shingking. Soon after lictors came from the magistracy informing me that my men had forced an entrance there going into the kitchen, breaking pots and pommelling the cooks. I succeeded in discovering two of the rioters and put them in irons. The brother of one of the prisoners aided by petty officers and soldiers released them—defying the magistrates officers both civil and military. I entreat your excellency to investigate these acts of insubordination." This was addressed to a minister of state residing at Shingking who handed over the commander and all the offenders to the *tsoling* at Fungtien for punishment. The emperor endorses the proceeding.

MONGOLIANS.—If the Mongols are less Martial than when they were the terror of the world, they are still formidable at least to China. Sang-kih-lin-sin, their representative at Peking has become an important character since the fall of Nanking. If the emperor had followed the counsel of this king by calling in a large Mongol army for the suppression of the rebellion the position of the Taping party would doubtless have been far different from

what it now is; but on the other hand the Manchus would have been in a condition more precarious than at present. Knowing this, Hienfung has trusted his allies only to a very limited extent. An incident recorded in a recent *Gazette* shows, that these nomads are not in a humor to practice any self denial, however great the exigencies of the Peking treasury. Two Mongolians connected with the colonial office memorialize the emperor respecting a deficiency in the brick tea to which some of their tribes are entitled. After informing the emperor that they had sent a special messenger to the governor of Shansi (whose duty, it is to supply that article) vainly urging him to make good the deficit, they state plainly that eight thousand pieces of brick tea should be sent to Kweisuy-tau (in Shansi, beyond the wall) on or before the first of the fifth month, otherwise the inconvenience would be grave. The emperor is respectfully but urgently requested to issue the necessary order to the said governor. A favorable reply was recorded.

MAHOMEDANS.—When the numerical insignificance of the Mahomedans in China is considered one is surprised at the influence they seem to possess in the politics of the empire. Until of late they have appeared to be the most turbulent and seditious class in the state. We shall refer on some other occasion to the stand they have taken against the iconoclasts of Nanking, merely giving in this connection an instance of the sufferings of members of this faith from local robbers near the seat of war, as detailed in *Gazettes* published in the early part of this year. On the first occasion 20 were massacred, on another 40, and on a third 30, including women children and the aged while their settlements on sand river (Fauyang district Nganhwui) were destroyed by fire.

Besides suffering from these successive attacks of local robbers they were persecuted by the magistrate of Fauyang at the instigation of a robber who charged them with being in league with the long-haired rebels. In consequence of that charge several were put to death and a body consisting of 28 families were compelled to renounce their faith, after several of the number had been executed. In vain did they appeal to provincial tribunals. No redress could be procured nor even protection. We are unable to learn from subsequent *Gazettes* the result of their complaint at Peking.

MIAUTS'.—The highlanders, or aboriginal inhabitants of the south western province, who for several milleniums have been an annoyance to the Chinese are now in these troublous times often mentioned in Peking police reports. The exploits of these mountainers if fully narrated would no doubt present counterparts to Rob Roy Macgregor. A glimpse at the predatory warfare which they carry on is afforded by the governor of Kweichau in a report to the emperor last April.

Yang 'Rh-wu-chi.—The head of an aboriginal clan secured the connivance of Lung Tingkwei, an hereditary chieftain, by giving him money, cloth, and cattle, being a portion of spoils obtained in recent raids. As a Chinese officer Lung Tingkwei was obliged to send a force against Yang 'Rh-wu-chi. This body consisting of 250 men made a feigned attack on a fortress of the Miantz' and consequently speedily retreated. Emboldened by success the highland chief led an expedition against the district city of Sántá when he was defeated and captured with many followers, among whom were some of Lung's selfs. A high military officer was accordingly directed by the governor to inveigle Lung Tingkwei to the provincial capital, to which place the laird was finally brought by force. The evidence of his guilt was established by the trial of the aborigines; he did not hesitate to confess complicity, admitting that he had shared in the plunder, and had in consideration sent a contingent to his confederate, pleading however in extenuation that he had not been personally concerned in any foray. He was executed together with Yang 'Rh-wu-chi and several followers.

TOURGOUTHs.—A mandarin acquainted with colonial affairs informs us that Tourgouths—Wu-pah-neh-rh [who emigrated toward the close of the last century from the Caspian to eastern Turkestan—transferring allegiance from Russia to China] have doubled their population; and in every respect are a flourishing tribe. If that statement may be relied on, the Tourgouths now number a million, and it would appear that they are powerful as were the Manchus at the close of the Ming dynasty. Being an improvable people they may yet exert considerable influence in the middle kingdom.

TARTARS.—Diplomatists and senators, merchants and missionaries, historical and descriptive writers often discourse on Tartary and the Tartars, malgré the light thrown on the history of eastern Asia by Klapraht and Remusat and other German and French Orientalists. This side of Cloudland there is no such place as Tartary—Tartars are a myth. *Tah-tsz'*, or *Tah-tah-rh* is a generic nickname applied indiscriminately by the Chinese to various Manchu and Mongolian tribes. It is a Mongolian word obsolete, or at least obsolescent, meaning "tributary people" and has never been the proper name of any people, and the country

of Tartary can be found only on the maps of Occidental geographers. If the notion which Coleridge tells us one of his literary friends entertained,—of a barbarian attorney general—authorized to bring information ex-officio against writers who persevere in misusing a word, were carried out, it is easy to see what penalty a court having cognizance of such misdemeanors would inflict on those, who when in earnest talk of Tartars—they would be required to catch one.*

PIRATES.—The coast of Chihkiang has again become infested with pirates. As yet they have formed no formidable fleet, and it is not probable that they will be permitted to increase as in former years. There is however no Chinese power competent to repress even piratical fishermen. Not long since a Portuguese lorchá while at anchor at Chihhai was captured at night by some Cantonese who put to sea in her. Since then they have made no report of themselves except by the capture of an English boat trading between Ningpo and Shanghai, and a boat of a similar character under Swedish colors. One at least of these boats was freighted with cash. They have been seen as tenders of the promising fleet.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND IN CHINESE.—*In two vol. 250 pp. by Rev. W. Muirhead of Shanghai.* A native scholar writes a favorable notice of this work. His commendation is doubtless well bestowed. A cursory glance at the reign of the 3d George, and the Regency discovered to us several lacunæ; yet we are so satisfied of the general impartiality of the history that we shall take pleasure in circulating it with our Serial if furnished with a sufficient number of copies. From a fly-leaf note in English, it appears that the expense of publishing these useful volumes is defrayed from a fund bestowed for such purposes by an English merchant formerly in this country. If it were generally known that there is no society in existence which can publish works other than such as are of a strictly religious character, the proverbial liberality of our merchant princes would often prompt them to adopt this mode of meeting the claims which this land of their temporary abode has on them. Competent persons are always at hand to prepare such books—the "sinew" only is deficient,

* The foregoing notes should have appeared some weeks ago, but were mislaid. They are however not less readable.—*Ed. N.-C. H.*

THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT.

From a late issue of the Red Book, or Chinese Court Calender, published during the summer of the present year, we insert a few extracts, giving the names of the leading magnates in the empire, who are now endeavoring to uphold the throne of the Manchus.

The NUI KOH, or Privy Council, consists of these four chief ministers,—

Yu-ching, 裕誠 a Manchu of the Bordered Yellow Banner.

Kiá Ching, 賈楨 a Chinese of Shantung.

Wanking, 文慶 a Manchu of the Bordered Red Banner.

Yeh Mingchin, 葉名琛 a Chinese of Húpeh, a hereditary baron, and now governor-general of Kwángtung.

The assistant chief ministers are,—

Kweiliáng, 桂良 a Manchu of the Plain Red Banner.

Páng Wancháng, 彭蘊章 a Chinese of Kiángsú.

These six officers have the control of all affairs in the empire under his Majesty's orders.

The presidents of the Six Boards, who, with the preceding and some other grandees, form the KIUN-KI TA-CHIN, or General Council of the empire, are as follows:—

Over the BOARD OF CIVIL OFFICE, which is regarded as the first in point of influence, is stationed Hwashana, 花沙納 a Mongolian, who is the superintendent, and

Ung Sin-tsun, 翁心存 a Chinese of Kiángsú. Under them are four vice-presidents.

Over the BOARD OF REVENUE, is Wanking, one of the Privy Council, with Pehtsinen 柏俊 a Mongolian, and Chú Fung-pláu 朱鳳標 a Chinese from Chehkiáng, as presidents, with four vice-presidents.

Over the BOARD OF RITES, Suillin 瑞麟 a Manchu, and Tsü Tsih-tsien 徐澤醇 a Bannerman, are presidents, with four *shiláng* or vice-presidents.

Over the BOARD OF WAR, the premier Yuching has the superintendency. Alingah 阿靈阿

a Manchu, and Chau Tsu-pai 周祖培 a Chinese of Honán, with four *shiláng*, have the management under him.

Over the BOARD OF PUNISHMENTS, a Manchu, Lin-kwei 麟魁 and a Chinese, Cháu Kwáng 趙光 from Yunnán, are placed as presidents, with four vice-presidents.

Over the BOARD OF WORKS, Kiá Ching, the second member of the Cabinet, is superintendent, having a Manchu, Tsienking 全慶 and Páng Wancháng, the sixth member of the Cabinet, under him as presidents, with four vice-presidents.

The heads of other divisions of the central government need not now be enumerated, as their political influence is comparatively less. We add the list of governor-generals and governors, as they are placed in the Red Book.

CHIHLI, which is the metropolitan province, is placed under Kiá Ching and Kweiliáng, both of them members of the Cabinet. The first rules over the metropolitan prefecture of Shuntien, the other over the province at large.

KIANGNAN, also called Liáng Kiáng, has for its governor-general, the Manchu Iliang 怡良, whose rule extends over the three provinces of Kiángsú, Nganhwui and Kiángsi. The acting governor of Kiángsú is a Chinese, Chau Tehcheh 趙德轍; of Nganhwui, the Manchu Fuhtai 福濟; and of Kiángsi, the Manchu Wantsiun 文俊, both the latter being in command of the troops of those provinces, under Hochun 和春, now the commander-in-chief.

FUKHLEN and CHEHKIANG are under one jurisdiction called Min-Cheh; the governor-general Wáng Iteh 王懿德 a Chinese, lives at Fuhchau. The governor of Fuhkien is Lü Tsien-sun 呂全孫 a Chinese of Kiángsú; and the governor of Chehkiang, who lives at Hang-chau is Ho Kweitsing 何桂清 a Chinese of Yunnan.

HUPEH and HUNAN (also called Húkwáng and Liáng Hú) are under one governor-general who lives at Wuchang, Kwán Wan 官文 a Bannerman. The governor of Húpeh is Hú

Lin-yih 胡林翼 a Chinese; and of Hú-nan, Loh Pingchang 駱秉章 also a Chinese.

HONAN has no governor-general, and is under the care of a governor, the Manchu Yingkwei 英桂 who is also commander of the troops.

SHANTUNG is likewise ruled only by a governor, who is Tsung-ngan 崇恩 a Manchu of the Gioro or Imperial family, and in charge of the troops.

SHANSI is also under a governor, now Wáng Kingyun 王慶雲 a Chinese of Fuhkien, and vice-president of the Board of War.

SHENSI and KANSUH are under one governor-general, who resides at Lanchau, the Chinese Yih Tang 易崇 of Húnan, who was judge at Canton a few years since. The governor of Shensi is

Wú Chinyih 吳振械 a Chinese; Kansuh has no governor.

SZ'CHUEN is one government under a governor-general, Hwáng Tsungshan 黃宗漢 a Chinese of Fuhkien, assisted by Lohpan 樂斌 a Manchu in command of the military.

KWANGTUNG and KWANGSI, also called Liáng Kwang, are under one governor-general, Yeh Mingchin, also the fourth member of the Cabinet. The governor of Kwangtung is Pihkwei 柏貴 a Mongolian; of Kwangsi, it is Lau Tsungkwáng 勞崇光 a Chinese.

YUNNAN and KWEICHAU are under one governor-general, who lives at Yunnan fú; it is Hangchun 恒春 a Manchu. The governor at the same place is Shuhingah 舒興阿 also a Manchu; at Kweiyang fú in Kweichau, it is Taiang Weiyuan 遠尉蔣 a Bannerman.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES OF THE REBELS AT NANKING,

IN 1853-54.

Collected by a native, and published in Shanghai, June 1855.

Translated for the "North-China Herald,"

with notes by the Translator.

PREFACE.

As devouring locusts injure the grain, so plundering rebels injure the people. Unlike as the two are in nature, both are alike assembled with ease and dispersed with difficulty. But let these locusts, however numerous, be seized and killed as soon as they come into life, while yet young and scarcely able to crawl, and a mere child may put them to death; but if allowed to multiply and increase, till they are fully grown, they rapidly cover the hills and spread themselves abroad upon the fields, while the husbandmen, not knowing what to do, gaze at each other in consternation. Alas, it is then too late! Those, therefore, who would deal successfully with these locusts, should diligently dig them out, hastily beat them, vigorously assemble and cut them up, secretly assailing them on all sides. Thus dealt with, these locusts will do no damage, or if they do, it will not be considerable.

During the two centuries and more since our dynasty arose, the increase of population has been very great, while the restrictions have been gradually relaxed, and the magistrates have become remiss in the discharge of their duty. Consequently, treacherous villains, assembling and hiding themselves in obscure retreats, have secretly and gradually increased, and are now risen up to the great danger of the empire. Had there been, at the commencement of this insurrection, good officers, like some of our ancient worthies,⁽¹⁾ able without noise and parade to seize and

execute the ringleaders, send all their accomplices into banishment, consign their books to the flames, and burn up their lurking places; then a single subaltern could have "removed both the evil and its cause."⁽²⁾

But the trailing vine, not being removed, has spread like a growing ulcer, till these petty miscreants have overrun almost one half of the empire, everywhere creating disorders and confusion, and reducing the people to extreme wretchedness. Alas! whose fault is all this? Yet, numerous, as they are, the rebel bands are mere vagabonds, quarrelsome, reckless of life, without distinguished talent or ability, without discernment or discretion, without well-tempered arms or implements of war, or even any wiles or strategy to allure and captivate others. It is merely by severe laws and cruel punishments, that they drive and coërcé men, causing terror by empty sounds, and constraint by vain prohibitions.

The ignorant common people are wont to regard their sayings as divine, their pomp as awful, and to shrink back from before them, not even daring to en-

(2) Instead of "removed both the evil and its cause," the text reads literally, *remove fuel bend flue*; and thereupon hangs a tale, from which the four words are quoted, which is briefly this. Once on a time, many centuries ago, a gentleman, being at the house of his friend, saw that it was in great danger of being burnt down by the improper arrangement of the fuel and flue, and therefore hinted to him that the one had better be removed and the position of the other altered. This gave serious offence; the gentle hint was neglected; and not long after, the house was in flames. The sequel,—a long story, need not here be told. The allusion is very apposite, and to the native reader, acquainted with the story, most pleasing; but it is one where a literal rendering is dry and senseless; in such cases, it is better to translate *ad sensum*, by giving an equivalent.

(1) The names of these ancient worthies are *Yu Shū* and *Kung Sui*, and I have omitted them in the translation because to the general reader the Chinese names are uncouth, and, except to those read in Chinese lore, they rather serve to mar the text. I shall, therefore, wherever practicable omit them.

counter the points of their weapons. But how does all this differ from the conduct of those who should say, "Oh, these locusts are a judgment sent down upon us from Heaven, it would be unlucky to seize them!" and so should quietly fold their hands and wait for the locusts to die off! Precisely like this is the conduct these Miscellaneous Notices exemplify.

This little volume so faithfully and exactly portrays all the various incidents relating to the rebels, that the recital pains the head and the heart, and excites the strongest indignation of the Reader, as it shows him plainly and clearly how utterly contemptible these rebels are; and now if Heaven be satisfied [with the woes already inflicted], and men will but unite their efforts, must not these rebels, though numerous as swarming wasps or trooping ants, be utterly annihilated?

It was well said, in an ancient treatise on the destruction of locusts, written in the time of the Táng dynasty, "Under a holy government, the monstrous cannot overcome the virtuous." And I also say, "Under our government the upright must overcome the depraved."

Therefore, let those who would subdue the rebels, first of all take care that they do not cause the people to become rebels; and let those who were unable to prevent insurrection, at once now seize and destroy these rebels. If our officers will deal with them, too, just as we ought to do with the locusts, and go resolutely to their duty, then it will be fortunate indeed for the people of Nanking;—and not alone for them, but for the people of the whole empire!

At the commencement of the Insurrection, these rebels, pretending that they were moved by Heaven, deceived the people; and in this way the ignorant and stupid were easily taken by their seductive influences. Having long enjoyed peace, our people had become so ignorant of the military life, that half looked on with unconcern and half with fear, while the rebels had full license to carry on their deadly operations. During the two years, 1853-54, since those Southern rebels took Nanking, the sufferings of the people have been extreme; I cannot bear to relate all the sad grievances which those who have escaped have declared to me; and yet, on the other hand, I cannot bear

to keep silence; for I would have all men fully know these things, and also how easily these petty miscreants might be subdued. They are not to be compared, at all, with the Yellow Caps, or Lí Sien-chí, Hwáng Cháu, Lí Chwáng, and Cháng Hienchung; (3) and though I would not, yet I could not but collect and relate these Notices.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

Note.—The author now proceeds with his Narrative, and at the end of the volume gives short Notices of the principal persons who have been conspicuous in this Rebellion. It will assist the Reader, if these Notices of persons precede the general Narrative; and accordingly I here introduce them.

- 1 洪秀全 Hung Siú-tsuen;
- 2 楊秀清 Yáng Siú-ting;
- 3 蕭朝貴 Siáu Chau-wei;
- 4 馮雲山 Fung Yun-shan;
- 5 韋昌輝 Wei Cháng-hwui;
- 6 石達開 Shih Tah-kái;
- 7 秦日綱 Ts'in Yih-káng;
- 8 胡以晄 Hú I-kwáng;
- 9 陳承諮 Chin Ching-yung;
- 10 黃玉崑 Hwáng Yuh-kwan;
- 11 楊元清 Yáng Yuen-ting;
- 12 石祥楨 Shih Tsíang-ching;
- 13 曾水源 Tsang Shwui-yuen;
- 14 林鳳祥 Lin Fung-tsiáng;
- 15 曾釗楊 Tsang Chau-yáng;
- 16 李開芳 Lí Kái-fáng;
- 17 黃超芳 Hwáng Chau-fáng;
- 18 何震川 Ho Chin-chuen;
- 19 曾天養 Tsang Tien-yáng;
- 20 陳宗楊 Chin Tsung-yáng;
- 21 陳宗勝 Chin Tsung-shing;

(3) These were all distinguished men and flourished under different dynasties. The *Hwáng kín*, "Yellow turbans," or Yellow Caps, are celebrated in the "History of the Three States."

- 22 羅大綱 Lo Tá-káng;
 23 唐正財 Táng Ching-tsái;
 24 周勝坤 Chau Shing-kwan;
 25 黎振暉 Lí Chín-hwui;
 26 傅學賢 Chuen Hieh-hien;
 27 鄧輔廷 Tang Fú-ting;
 28 黃開元 Hwáng Kái-yuen;
 29 劉春山 Liú Chun-shán.

1. Hung Siú-tsiuen, the Southern rebel chief a native of the district of *Hwá*, in the province of Kwáng-tung, is about forty years of age, has a broad face, long beard, and a fat clumsy person. He has some slight acquaintance with vulgar literature, and, on first going to Kwáng-si, he gained his livelihood as a fortune-teller, carrying his implements of divination under his arm. There, throughout the districts of Wú-siuen and Kwei-ping, he beguiled the stupid villagers, and many were the deceived.

In 1848-49, he styled himself the Heavenly Father's Second Son, and pretended that the Heavenly Father and Heavenly Elder Brother, descending into the world, had appeared, the one in the person of Yáng Siú-tsing, and the other in the person of Siáu Chau-kwei, they holding strange converse for mutual support;—for their religion is the same as that of the Roman Catholics, and by appropriating to themselves portions of it, they have become alike strange and wicked.

Having traversed the mountainous regions of Pingsái and inveigled many of the bad people, he now secretly formed his treacherous plans; and, on the 10th of December 1850, headed the rebellion at Goldfield (Kin-tien), and falsely styled himself Tái Ping Tien Kwoh Tien Wáng—i.e. *Heavenly King of the Great Peaceful Heavenly Kingdom*.

At that time the confederates numbered only one or two hundred. At once they began to plunder the neighboring villages and market-places; and when surrounded, sorely pressed, and about to be taken by our troops, they were joined by some three thousand desperadoes from Kwáng-tung, assembled in two gangs, under the bandit chiefs Yáng Yuen-tsing, Fán Yun-tai, and others. Thus they became very formidable.

In the year 1851, having fled from Goldfield, they entered the city of Yung-ngán. There besieged and pressed hard by our troops, they, for their better defense, separated themselves into distinct companies, the men living apart from the women.

It happened about that time, that the rebel Lí Yenyung, of Pinchau in Húnán, who had raised insurrection and was pursued by our troops, ran away, and both he and his fellows joined themselves to the rebels at Yung-ngán. Thus united, they were able to effect an escape, their men then numbering only about two thousand, and their women dressed in men's clothes less than three thousand. After having created disorder all about in the de-

partment of Kweilin the capital of Kwángsi, they escaped to Cháng-shá, the capital of Húnán. This was in 1852.

Previously there were many gangs of bandits in Húnán, that had been already pursued and cut up by the imperial troops. All these now came and joined Hung Siú-tsiuen, swelling his numbers to about twenty thousand. He also collected several hundred coal-diggers, Herculean fellows, who introduced the practice of mining, which they called making the "dragon mouth," i.e. opening a subterranean way.

Previously to coming to Chángshá, they had never been able to breach the walls of a city, but now having recourse to this art, they had well nigh succeeded in reducing the city, when fortunately the imperial troops came to its rescue, and Siáu Chau-kwei having been killed, the rebels retired from before the city. They came next against Wú-cháng, the capital of Húpeh, where this art of mining was successful.

However, before the city was taken, seven or eight in ten of the rebel bands from Húnán had absconded; but on the 12th of January, 1853, the city was reduced; and then they shouted and proclaimed, "the words of the Heavenly Father and the Heavenly Elder Brother are true and comforting;" and then, too, all those who had absconded returned.

At that time their numbers were, say, from Kwángtung and Kwángsi, 2,000 and odd; from Húnán 10,000 and odd; from Húpeh, newly impressed, 30,000 and odd: with several thousands from the other provinces.

Early this year (1853), they passed straight on down the Great River, by land and water, to Hwáng-chau, Kiú-kiáng, and Ngán-king, creating disorders in all the surrounding regions and pressing some thousands into their service. In less than one month they reached Nanking, which city was soon reduced, they again having had recourse to the dragon's mouth. This was on the 19th of March.

Having entered the city, slaughter and rapine followed. Hung Siútsiuen took up his residence at the governor's house. The dwellings of the people were destroyed in order to enlarge his den, which he styled the King's house; and its inclosures were extended to a circuit of more than two miles.

Led on by his lewd disposition, he took from the people some fifty or sixty of their daughters. Indeed, all in his house were females, men being employed only as door-keepers.

Morning and evening rehearsing his doxologies, he would shake the heavens with the din of gongs, and all to deceive the multitudes.

His food and drink he had served up by his own trusty cook.

Having himself once entered into his den, he was never seen to come out of it, all authority being now held by the eastern rebel, while Hung Siútsiuen seemed as his willing prisoner. He had one son, eight or nine years of age; and another newly born. The first was generally reputed to be the son of Yáng.(4)

(4) This statement, that the lad was not Hung's own son, like many of the other details in the above notice, I believe to be false.

2. Yáng Siútsing, the Eastern rebel, is a native of the prefecture of Kiáying in the province of Kwángtung, but resided in a village in the district of Wú-sien, in the prefecture of Tainchau in Kwángsi. He is about thirty years of age, has a thin face, a pale countenance, a short, slender person, a yellowish beard, and is much afflicted with weak eyes. He is very illiterate, but has great skill in dissimulation.

Neighbor to Siáu Chaukwei, he was his yoke-fellow and companion in agricultural labors; and with him Hung Siútsien formed a secret and intimate acquaintance.

With strange words he declared that he was the fourth son of the Heavenly Father, and that he was born of Heaven to be a general; and therefore he was styled commander-in-chief of the army, and designated Eastern King, to live nine thousand years.(5)

With Siuen-kiau, the wife of Siáu Chaukwei, he was wont to have illicit intercourse; and when his comrades came in where they were sleeping, he would not start away, but pretend that the Heavenly Father had come down in his person, and would address them thus:

"Siuenkiau is my sixth child,(6) Yáng Siútsing's own sister, and her family name ought to be changed to Yáng; and Siáu Chaukwei is her ladyship's husband: I command [Yáng] Siútsing to sleep, in order to redeem all the Brethren in the world from sickness; and I command Siuenkiau to sleep, in order to redeem all the Sisters in the world from sickness. For an own brother and a sister to sleep together, what harm? Be not suspicious."

He thereupon styled himself, "The Redeemer from sickness,"(7) using phraseology like "*cow-demon*" and "*snake-deity*," to excite and deceive these desperadoes.

On the breaking out of the insurrection at Goldfield, Dec. 13th, 1850, by degrees he engrossed all authority among the rebels, and from Kwángsi to Nanking they all followed his beck, and all their public orders were given in his name.

On the fall of Nanking, he took up his quarters at the residence of the Manchu commandant; but when the shot from our artillery at the East gate brought down the tiles from his roof, he was alarmed; and, as the lares in the city squeaked by

(5) In the "Ceremonial Regulations," this style of address is fixed, and when used, as here, serves to indicate rank and dignity. It is like, "May the King live forever!" and Long live the Queen!" In addressing the chief, the Heavenly King, they use *wán wán sui*, by which they mean, "May he live and reign ten thousand times ten thousand years!" The heir-apparent has ten thousand, and the commander-in-chief nine. The sons and daughters of the heir have only one thousand. The Chinese themselves employ only *wán sui*, ten thousand, and this only when speaking of or addressing the emperor, "the Son of Heaven."

(6) The feminine is here used in the original, but to say the *sixth daughter* would suggest a first, a second, &c.

(7) The term *ho nai sze* is an anagram of the word *Siá*, as it occurs in the names of the two principal leaders; and is cabalistic as here used. The "*cow-demon*" and the "*snake-deity*," answer well to the abracadabra of the ancients.

day and cried by night, he was much disquieted, and so removed to some buildings on Granary Street by one of the western gates, formerly the residence of the commissioner of the gabel.

He also tore down the dwellings of the people to enlarge his den, making its circuit a mile and a half (six *li*). The hill in the rear he turned into a pool, and the highway in front he made into a dead-wall. Everything in and about his house and his food and drink, were all on the same scale as Hung Siútsien's. In lewdness he exceeded him, and took thirty-and-six of the people's daughters, under seventeen years of age, and styled them royal ladies.

When he wished to kill any person, he would pretend that the Heavenly Father had indicated such and such a thing of this or that one, and that the same ought to be killed; and thus he caused all the rebels to fear him as God. (8) Accordingly in the spring of this year (1853), he took these additional titles, "The Comforter," and "The Holy Spirit." (9)

Although he would refer cases of capital punishment to Hung Siútsien; yet if the latter said, "Let him be killed," Siútsing would say, "He must not be killed;" and when the other said, "Let him not be killed," he would say, "He must be killed," declaring that such was the pleasure of the Heavenly Father. In this way feigning the words of the Heavenly Father, he gave Hung Siútsien forty blows, as a display of majesty!

The only places in the city visited by him, were the tops of the walls and Siútsien's house, for he really was afraid to go out of the city to battle; and to inspire the multitude with awe, he would make a great display of banners.

Even in the city, he would issue forth abruptly, escorted by thousands, with scores of great gongs, dozens of flags bearing figures of dragons, tigers, and phoenixes, and as many more with figures of beasts and birds in variegated silks. After these came a five colored dragon made of rich crape, some tens of feet in length, ten feet and more in height, the bearers of it moving so as not to be seen, followed by music. This was called the Eastern Dragon. When the music ceased, then would come the chair of state, with fifty-six bearers, and within it two servant boys, one on the right and one on the left; the first a butler to serve him with tea, the other an orderly to keep off the flies. After the chair of state, then followed his high ministers and other officers by hundreds. Then another dragon closed the procession.

He was accustomed to sit daily in state in his palace, attended by one minister of the highest rank, two presidents, two heralds, and two directors,—who waited on him in order one after the

(8) "God," or *Shin*, is used here by way of eminence. Above in the Preface, our author used the same word as a verb, where he says, the rebels were accustomed to *deify* the sayings of their Chiefs, i. e. to regard them as the words of God, their Heavenly Father.

(9) The first of these two is borrowed from Gutzlaff's version, used by him for the Paraclete; the second is from Morrison's version, where it is used for the Holy Spirit.

other. After matters of business were finished, the state medical adviser, Hung Siútsien's own physician, was introduced to feel his pulse; and then two other assistant physicians, who did the same. These having written out their prescriptions retired. Yáng Siútsing was accustomed to all this medical attendance, because of his weakness, for being excessively debauched, he was always sick and ready to die.—Only let him live a little longer, and he will be useful to be offered in sacrifice. His only son is also, like him, very apt to be sick.

3. Siáu Chau-kwei, the Western rebel, a native of Wúsiuen in the prefecture of Tsinchau in Kwángsi, was very young in years, tall in stature, and of herculean strength. He was a near neighbor to Yáng,⁽¹⁰⁾ and his companion in agricultural labors. Hung Siútsien greatly admired his bravery; and because Yáng had secretly formed an intimate connection with him, he styled him lieutenant-general⁽¹¹⁾, and designated him Western King, to live nine thousand years.

On account of his wife's intrigue with Yáng, he was willingly taken by his foolery, when he pretended that the Heavenly Father had said, that Siuenkiau was his sixth child, and that Siáu was his son-in-law, the husband of Yáng's excellent sister; and with shameless bravado he boasted of this before his companions. Because Yáng was accustomed to associate Siáu's name with his own in proclamations, he was much delighted, everywhere strove to be foremost, and to excel in cruelty. At the siege of Yung-ngán, he was the first to escape; and at Cháng-shá he flew upon the ramparts, and there wounded many of our soldiers. Suddenly struck by a shot, his flesh was all cut in pieces by our troops, and thus his cruel slaughters were avenged. But the rebels gave out, that the Heavenly Father, from regard to his meritorious labors, had received him up to high heaven to enjoy felicity; and the better to deceive the multitude, congratulated each other on that event. They gave him also the title of Rain-master.

At the time the rebels beleaguered Yung-ngán, when they had their men and women separated from each other, if any of them, except the six kings, even though husband and wife, were found together, they were to be decapitated. Now it happened, while on their way to Cháng-shá, that his father and mother were seen together by some of the rebels, who reported it to him, and he to Yáng; and after consultation, they decapitated both as a warning to all others, Siáu declaring that, as his parents had been found guilty of unlawful

(10) In narrative or descriptive style, indeed generally, Chinese writers use either the individual or family name, or both together, at pleasure; thus we have Yáng Siútsing, or Siútsing, or simply the family name Yáng, or some equivalent, as in this instance, *Tung*, "Eastern," i.e. the Eastern king, for which its equivalent Yáng has been substituted in the translation.

(11) The style of address, or rather the use of civil and military titles—employed conventionally no doubt by the rebels,—seems sometimes very arbitrary, and it is not easy to find an exact equivalent; the reader, therefore, must be content with what may be only an approximation to the original.

intercourse, they were no longer worthy to be his father and mother. Alas, for such folly and stupidity!

He had one son, five years of age, who died of small-pox after reaching Nanking, and his mother, on the death of this son, was received into the family of Yáng.

4. Fung Yun-shán, a native of Kweiping in Tsinchau of the same province, was over thirty years of age, of middling stature, an ugly visage, and somewhat read in books.

On meeting with Hung, he regretted that he had not made his acquaintance earlier. He became his secret and intimate friend, and wrote books to deceive the multitudes; who, with stupid folly, believed him to be divine; for those rebels, if not rustic villagers, were all, without exception, thieves or robbers, or else barbers, feet-dressers, play-actors, and debauchees. On seeing the books which he made,—the Ten Commandments, the Regulations of the Army, and the Heavenly Father's Declarations,⁽¹²⁾ they all said, "What extraordinary talents has he displayed!" "How could he produce such works if he were not born of Heaven?"

Designating himself the third son of the Heavenly Father, he was styled van-leader, major-general, and Southern King, to live seven thousand years. After the insurrection began, all the military schemes, however well and deep-laid, and all the public proclamations, were subjected to his revision.

When the rebels fled from Yung-ngán, and were on their way to Kweilin, he was cut in pieces by the Imperial troops; and now again the rebels said, "He has ascended up to heaven to enjoy felicity;" and conferred on him the title of Cloud-master.

He had no son, and but one brother, about thirty years of age. His wife and concubines, after his death, were received into the family of Yáng.

5. Wei Cháng-hwui, the Northern rebel, whose original name was Ching, was likewise a native of Kweiping in Kwángsi. He is some twenty or more years of age, with a thin face, a dark yellowish complexion, a light beard, and is tall and spare. In disposition he is crafty and cruel, and has a slight knowledge of letters; he was the owner of a large farm, and had a good supply of food and clothing.

When the rebels had secretly agreed together to raise insurrection, they beguiled him, strangely saying that he was the Heavenly Father's fifth son; and therefore styled him rear-guardian, major-general, and Northern King, to live six thousand years. From the commencement of open insurrection, he was accustomed to lead on the rebel bands, and all their affairs, great or small, were subjected to his order.

After the fall of Nanking, Wei had his residence in the house of the Li family on Broadway, where were gardens and arbors, so that but few of the people's houses were torn down to make room for him. At that time all communications

(12) Gutzlaff's version is called *Cháu Shú*, and would seem to be the book here referred to, the republication of which was early commenced by the rebels.

were made through him to the Eastern king, whom he served most obsequiously. When his state-chair approached, he would support it and receive him; and in conversation ever and anon bow and thank him, saying, in the vulgar dialect of his native district, "Unless my fourth elder brother had instructed and guided me, my bowels had been so tender(13) that I could never have attained to such estate as this."

Wei's older brother, whose name I have forgotten, had a quarrel with an older brother of one of Yang's concubines, about a house, and Yang referred the decision of the case to Wei, who requested that his own brother might be drawn asunder by five horses; (14) for, said he, no other punishment would suffice to warn the multitude. When any of the rebels received anything, he must have it always marked with Wei's seal, so that it might be verified. Usually he had under his authority between two and three thousand men; but Yang's jealousy having been excited by this, he took from him a part of that authority and gave it to the Assistant king, and to Wei he added the title of Thunder-master.

Whenever he went out in state, his escort was half that of Yang's, only without the dragon-banners. His daily food and drink were served him from without. Of the people's daughters he took fourteen, whom he styled royal ladies. His only son is about seven years of age.

6. Shih T'á-kái, the Assistant rebel, also a native of Wúsiuen, is over twenty years of age, has a rather light complexion, and a thin beard. He is of middling stature, peaceful in disposition, and had a tolerably large patrimony.

While the rebels were meditating insurrection, and were in perplexity for want of means, they heard of his name, and sought an intimacy with him; they strangely said that he was the fifth son of the Heavenly Father and ought to be a king; and so they gave him the title of brigadier-general, and designed him Assistant King. Being thus deceived, he confided in them, and willingly gave up his property to advance their object; but he was exceedingly timid, and seldom led on the troops to battle.

In serving Yang his sycophancy equaled Wei's; and Yang, having had the benefit of his property at the commencement of the insurrection, was now very indulgent towards him.

In the spring or summer of 1853, Ngán-king, the capital of Ngán-hwui, fell into their hands a second time; in the autumn of that year Yang placed him there in command; and he so modified the severity of the government established there by Yang, that the sufferings of the people were alleviated. Hearing of this, and afraid lest he should steal away the hearts of the multitude, Yang hastened to recall him, and sent Tsin Yih-káng to act in his stead; and he craftily told Shih

that Wei's anxious duties were too burdensome, and he would divide his responsibilities and give a part to him (Shih), and so one would help sustain the burden of the other. In this manner he contrived to prevent his getting too much influence in the capital of Ngán-hwui.

At that time the numbers subject to his authority were large, being greatly increased by new captives; but ordinarily the whole, officers and men, did not exceed two or three thousand.

On the capture of Nanking, Shih had his residence in the house of Liú near the Great Central bridge, but none of the houses of the people were torn down to accommodate him. On his return from Ngán-king, finding that the lares were disquieted, he took up his residence at the Hall for public examinations, and occupied them with other adjacent buildings.

The title of Lightning-master was now conferred on him by his superiors; and on going in state, he was allowed a retinue one half that of Wei's. Like his, too, he had food and drink served from without. He took seven of the people's daughters, as his royal ladies. And whenever Yang offered him any of the damsels that were from time to time brought in, he would at first decline and then accept them. He has one son, a youth.

7. Tsin Jih-káng, (15) This man, above thirty years of age, and a native of Kwángsi, was a seller of bean-curd, and is described as short and ill-favored. On their march from Goldfield to Chángshá, Tsin Jih-káng distinguished himself by great activity in distributing the proclamations of the rebels in advance of their march; and was then honored with the title of minister of state. In the summer of 1853 he was sent to the capital of Ngán-hwui, where at the end of the year he was appointed to succeed Shih, the Assistant king. There he too fell under suspicion of Yang, and in his turn was succeeded by the brave Lo T'á-káng.

The next year, when the rebels had met with reverses on the Yellow River and in Húnán, this seller of bean-card received the title of Hoarfrost-master, was designated Yen Wáng, (16) and sent up the Great River in command of a naval squadron. He had not proceeded far before he was met and discomfited by the Imperialists, who destroyed his flotilla, and as trophies brought off the seals and the cap of Yenwáng, they supposing that he had been killed when his vessel was sunk. Subsequently, however, the Imperialists ascertained from some long-haired prisoners that, when his junk went down, he made his escape and fled to one of the neighboring cities in possession of the rebels.

8. This man, Hú I-kwáng, a native of Kwángsi, was an early and intimate friend of the chief rebels, and so was his wife. She was soon elevated

(15) The principal actors having been now described at length, and in the author's own style, the Reader will be satisfied, I presume, with an abridged account of the subordinates, comprising the most notable incidents of their history.

(16) Northern China was anciently called Yen; and this phrase is equivalent to King of Peking, or King of Northern China. It must not, however, be confounded with Wei's designation of Northern king.

(13) This phrase, translated literally as above, is used, by the common people in Tsinchau, to mean that one has but little knowledge of books, or is no student.

(14) One horse to be fastened to the neck, one to each arm, and one to each leg, and then to be started off in opposite directions, thus rending in pieces the body.

ed to rank, and Yáng had great confidence in her. On the reverses already alluded to, Hú was raised to royal dignity, (17) and received the title of Dew-master; but being unsuccessful, he was recalled from his government in Ngán-hwui, and for some cause, unknown to our author, was degraded from his honors and put to death in Nanking.

9. Chin Ching-yung, a native of Kwángsi, and a minister of state, was designated marquis of the rising dynasty; and though he could not read a word, all communications to the chiefs were transmitted through him.

10. Hwáng Yuh-kwan, a native of Kwángsi, was father-in-law of the Assistant king, an intelligent village-resident, and had some knowledge of language and literature. He was at first made an examiner; then marquis-guardian of the state; and was much employed in judicial affairs. On account of a quarrel with one of the minor kings, he was deprived of his rank, whipped, made a common soldier, and afterwards a servant in the house of his father-in-law. His chief antagonist in the quarrel, was drawn asunder by five horses; and others, like himself, were whipped.

11. Yáng Yuen-ting is one of the two rebel chiefs, from Kwángtung, who first joined Hung Siútsuen, when his party numbered only a few hundreds. He is a native of Kiá-ying, and his wife an attendant on Yáng's wife. One day, after their arrival in Húpeh, Yáng was boasting of his good success, when she said, "You seem very well pleased with yourself, Uncle; but suppose all your people were dispersed, what then?" Whereat Yáng was so enraged, that he put her to death, and dismissed him from his service.

12. Shih Tsáng-shing was a clansman of the Assistant king, and a fierce violent desperado, with many of the like sort under his command. He was killed by the Imperialists, after the fall of Hánkau and Wúcháng.

13. Shing Shwui-yuen, a native of Kwángsi and minister of state, was daily employed by Yáng as his counselor, but dismissed for want of punctuality.

14. Lin Fung-tsiáng, a staunch rebel from Kwángsi, was lost on the northern expedition, or "flight," as this loyal author calls it.

15. Tsang Chau-yáng, nephew of Tsang Shwui-yuen, ugly and cruel, has some knowledge of letters, and is employed in revising proclamations, &c.

16. Lí Kái-fáng, a great desperado and an old rebel from Kwángsi, was killed by our troops in his flight north of the river, with Lin Fungtsiáng.

17. Hwáng Chau-fáng, an ignorant dunce, was raised to the dignity of minister of state; and is a fair specimen of many of his fellows.

18. Ho Chin-chuen, called himself a Kwángsi graduate, possesses some knowledge of literature, and, at one of the examinations, was placed in the third class of the successful candidates. Half of the proclamations are from his hand.

(17) *Yú Wáng* was the designation given to this man; *Yú* is an ancient name of the region now known as Kiángsi; his style was, therefore, King of Kiángsi.

19. Tsang Tien-yáng had a peaceful disposition, and was high in favor. He was killed by our troops in Ngán-hwui.

20. Chin Tsung-yáng was one of Yáng's heralds, and his wife a heraldess of Yáng's wife; he resided in an adjacent house. They (he and his wife) were decapitated for unlawful intercourse, their crime having been pointed out to Yáng, as he pretended, by the Heavenly Father.

21. Chin Tsung-shing, a younger brother of Tsung-yáng, was twice defeated, and then ran away; but being caught, was brought back and put to death.

22. Lo Tá-káng, a native of Kwángtung, was chief of one of the bands that early gave in their adherence to Hung Siútsuen. Always ready to "share the sweet and the bitter" with his followers, he easily won their affections. Brave and careless of his own life, he was ever in the van, leading in person where the battle was the hottest. Having reduced Chinkiang, he remained there for a season in command. (18) He was afterwards made minister of state, and sent to Ngánhwui.

23. Táng Ching-tsái, a sailor from Húnán, was placed in high command on his arrival at Nanking, and subsequently raised to the rank of examiner.

24. Chau Shing-kwan was a great dissembler, and with another of like character, succeeded Lo at Chinkiang.

25. Lí Chin-hwui was a desperado; and after many narrow escapes and the loss of an eye, he fell fighting under the walls of Nanking.

26. Chuen Hioh-hien was ugly, cruel and bold. The whole practice of using hot irons to inflict punishment, originated with him.

27. Tang Fú-ting joined the rebels from Húpeh, and was put to death for his connection with a spy.

28. Hwáng Kái-yuen, a play-actor from Húpeh, was greatly loved by the Chiefs, and distinguished himself by his zeal in recapturing runaways. In this manner he made himself many enemies, who accused him of being in league with the Imperial troops, and so succeeded in getting him drawn asunder by five horses.

29. Liú Chun-shán, a physician from Húpeh, was state medical adviser; and, implicated in the league above referred to, he was put to death.

P.S.—May 1855.—The death of the Eastern king is reported. (19) On that occasion the whole city appeared in mourning; and after he had been interred, all who assisted in that service were at once put to death [by his friends, lest they might, at some future time, point out his grave to his enemies]. On the following day, his uncle succeeded him, as quasi-king. (19)

(18) This was "the commandant" at Chinkiang, spoken of by Mr. Meadows, Dr. Taylor, and others, who have visited that place.

(19) This anonymous writer proceeds to speculate on the reported death of his enemy, Yáng Siútsing; and the report and the speculations thereon have been continued, and often revamped from that day to this, and are rife now as ever.

N.B.—Proceeding now with the narrative part of the little book, I will number the paragraphs, add a running caption to each, and omit whatever seems irrelevant.—TRANSLATOR.

§ 1. *The rebels appear before Nanking; their numbers on land, and on the river.*

On the 8th of March, 1853, the southern (20) rebels, Hung Siútsuen, Yáng Siútsing, and their fellows, appeared before Nanking. Those who came by land were divided into twenty-four companies, numbering from two or three hundred to fifty or sixty in each, say 6,000 in all; and of these not more than two or three in ten were of the original band, while the others were captives recently impressed from Hápeli, Ngán-hwui, and other provinces. Those who came down on the Great River, in boats, were in all about 75,000,—the men numbering 45,000, the women 20,000, and the children 10,000.(21)

§ 2. *Religious services, before and after the fall of the city.*

While the rebels were yet without the walls of the city, they erected lofty stages in the open country; and several of their leaders, mounted upon these, did what they called "Expounding the doctrines of religion." (22) The substance of what they said was, *Man's salvation is from the Heavenly Father and the Heavenly Elder Brother, who have raised up our kings to teach and guide you; very great is your happiness, Brothers and Sisters; henceforth you shall enjoy unbounded felicity*,—exhibiting many odd gestures [as they spoke], yet wholly unconscious of their own oddity. Subsequently, when they had entered the city, these same scenes were reenacted.

§ 3. *Mines sprung; the walls breached and escalated; great slaughter ensues, and the city is lost.*

On the 19th of March, a mine was sprung by the rebels on the north side of the city, and the walls breached; as they were entering the city, another mine was sprung, and great numbers of them killed and wounded by the falling rocks. Regardless of life, clambering up over the corpses of their dead, with hurried steps, they gained the summit of the walls. There in great numbers they were shot and beaten down by our men, who strove to get their heads, and run away with them

(20) Here we have *Yueh*, another ancient term like *Yen* and *Yá*, already explained; it is now, I believe, restricted to the provinces of Kwáng-tung and Kwáng-si, and in the name *Viet-nam* is also used for Cochinchina.

(21) Twice in this paragraph the author stops to inveigh against the emperor's own officers, first for bad management in defending the city, and then for not burning the rebel fleet,—all of which, pertinent enough to the author's object, is here omitted as irrelevant to that of the translator.

(22) That is, as the phrase *kiáng-táu-li* is used in common parlance by Protestant missionaries—*they preached*.

to the place of rendezvous, to present them and demand the promised reward.(23)

The Imperial force reduced and the rebels still pressing on in great strength, detachments from our troops on the walls at the southern and two western gates were quickly ordered up to oppose the enemy on the north; but no sooner was this done, than the enemy entered the city by scaling it close to the western water gate, opened it, and entered in heavy columns. Our troops and the rebels thereupon joined in the onslaught, and innumerable corpses covered the ground in all directions. Thus fell this great city!

§ 4. *Many of the inhabitants, officers and gentry, destroy themselves.*

The chief district magistrate, arrayed in his robes, entered his office and there railed at the rebels, calling on them to spare the people but hasten to kill him; and as they hesitated to take his life, he presently threw himself into a canal in the rear of his office and there perished; and so did, I know not how many, others of his followers. In the city also, of the aged gentry and retired officers, there perished voluntarily more than can be numbered,—some by poison, some by hanging, some by drowning, and others setting fire to their dwellings burnt themselves with their families.

§ 5. *The citadel of the Manchus stormed, and all both men and women destroyed.*

In this extremity the Manchu commandant retired to the citadel with his whole force, assisted in its defense by the Manchu women, who mounted the ramparts. The next day the rebels came up in great force, and were killed without number by our artillery. Still they were not diminished, but rather increased; and the Imperial troops, for successive days without leisure even to take food, were unable to hold out any longer against them. Then as the rebels escalated the citadel, the commandant and all within its walls voluntarily perished; while the women and little ones, who still remained alive, were driven out of the city, down to the borders of the river, and there killed and thrown into the water!

§ 6. *The dead carried off; orders given for resuming business; new impressments; boys taken as sons or servants; the men separated from the women; private property limited.*

On their entrance into the city, the rebels dared not enter the houses of the people, lest Imperial troops might be there in ambush, but they killed all they met in the streets. On the third day they compelled every one they could find to assist in carrying off the dead, which were thrown into the river. If any declined, they were killed. This work was continued for many days.

Orders were now given, by the sound of the gong, for the people to resume their accustomed business, and such as did not comply were searched out and killed. Even when the front part of a shop had been torn down and carried away, the rebels, under pretence of searching for persons, would enter and plunder every single thing.

(23) About fifty dollars for the head of a common rebel, and a much larger sum for the head of a leader.

All the robust and strong people were pressed into service as soldiers, and were called *cháu i*, or "enlisted-uniforms," and had their designation written upon yellow patches sown to their jackets before and behind. (24)

The rebels, exceedingly fond of boys, take great delight in dalliance with them; they never call them soldier-servants, but either take them as their own sons, or "fan-bearers," for so they call their personal servants, who follow them to carry their fans, umbrellas or horse-whips.

At that time the rebels paid no attention to the aged and the sick, except to forbid the men or boys to go to their own homes; for in such case they would, the rebels said, have unlawful intercourse with the women, and so, transgressing the commandments of Heaven, would have to be punished with death. In this way, the males being first collected into separate quarters, the rebels could enter the houses of the people just as they pleased, searching and plundering everywhere; and if they found more than ten taels of silver or one of gold (say \$14 to 22) they would kill the person with whom it was found, declaring it embezzlement and a violation of their laws.

§ 7. *Rebels encounter the inmates of the Green houses, get intoxicated, and are slaughtered.*

The people had mostly removed from the green houses on both sides of the rivulet north of Quickstep bridge, but there still remained the harlot Wang's family. Delighted the rebels forced their way into that house; and the smirking damsel receiving them said, "How can we, poor creatures, adorn ourselves so as to please our royal masters; perhaps there may be a little food or wine in our house, why not drink and take your delights." So the rebels joyfully consented, and when thoroughly intoxicated, the women drew their knives and slew them, and then all went away and hung themselves. (25)

§ 8. *The celestial rebel, Hung Siütsuen, secludes himself in the governor's palace.*

After the streets of the city had been cleared, and the governor's house duly prepared, then the heavenly rebel entered, escorted by hundreds with gongs and drums, there to reside. Having entered once, he was never seen to come out of it, for by thus becoming his willing prisoner, Yáng placed Hung Siütsuen in the condition of one self-immolated. He had a large number of royal ladies, all of whom wore yellow turbans and rode upon horses barefooted.

§ 9. *The women removed to separate quarters; their hard service, cruel sufferings, and death.*

After the men of the city had been removed to separate apartments, and no more allowed to go to their homes, the women were also driven out and not permitted to live in private dwellings. Hav-

(24) This designation or title had comprised in it the name of the division of the army, &c., in which the person served.

(25) Having narrated these details,—supplied him by his imagination evidently,—he goes on to satirize those imperialists who had run away, "more shameless than the inmates of the green house."

ing now to support the aged, to lead the young, and to carry heavy burdens, all the while hurried about in the streets, great numbers of them, as they found opportunity, threw themselves into the rivers. Now they were driven in this and then in that direction, not daring even to cry, for if they cried they were considered bewitched, and if not instantly killed were severely whipped. At night they were compelled to sleep out under the eaves of houses.

When some days had elapsed, the women in their own quarters were divided into five brigades,—front, rear, right, left, and centre,—each of these into eight, and then again into eight; over each of these was placed one female commander-in-chief and several tens of centurions, who were to keep them in order.

If their husbands or sons came in search of any of them, although they might look at them, they dared not speak to them, because doing so was regarded as disobeying celestial orders and violating Heaven's commands—for which offences a great many were beaten and put to death.

It happened about this time that the rebels, in searching after goods, discovered some of the people, who had secreted themselves in a secret place on the northern side of the city. At once the men and boys all scattered in consternation, while all the females were driven forth out of one of the western gates, there killed and thrown into the river.

§ 10. *Their religion enforced; its forms and ceremonies; universal brotherhood; morning and evening devotions; grace at meals; observance of the Sabbath.*

The men and women having been removed to their respective quarters, they were now compelled to worship the High One, which the rebels called Worshipping the Heavenly Father, but which in fact might be called adopting their religion. They had formulæ written out on yellow paper, like the words of an oath, which they called Prayers for Penitent Sinners. (26)

Now in doing honor to Heaven men are all alike; but these rebels from the south, appropriating to themselves some features of the religion of the Roman Catholics, pretended that the Heavenly Father came down into Yáng Siütsung and spoke through him. This they called "Heavenly Father's decent." The foolish vulgar believed them; yet afterwards, when coming to know how they themselves had been duped, they in the same way duped others, and would say that they honored Jesus the Heavenly Elder Brother.

Now this Jesus is a holy person that once lived among the nations of the West, who all believe in him, worship him with the greatest sincerity, and also discourse of his character in the most lucid manner. But these Southern rebels, by a forced construction, when speaking of the Heavenly Elder Brother, say that he, this Jesus, is the Heavenly Father's first son; Hung Siütsuen, the Heavenly king, is his second son; Fung Yunshán, the Southern king, his third son; Yáng Siütsung, the

(26) Lit. *hwai tsui*, penitence for sin; and as one of their formulæ, the sense is as above, or more fully, a form of prayer to be used by penitent sinners.

Eastern king, his *fourth* son; Wei Cháng-hwui, the Northern king, his *fifth* son; Siuenkiaü, wife of Siáu Chaukwei the Western king, his *sixth* child; and Shih Tahkái, the Assistant king, his *seventh* son.(27) The others, whether fathers, elder brothers, sons or grand-sons, are all called the younger brothers of those persons; while their mothers, sisters, &c., are all called younger sisters.

Moreover, these chief rebels are accustomed, morning and evening, to lead on all their associates in rehearsing the dexologies and hymns of praise prepared by Fung Yunshán. Before every meal, they repeat, in a low voice, "We kneeling down upon the ground, reverently give thanks to the Heavenly Father," &c. Also at night, when they retire, and in the morning when they arise, they repeat prayers. Likewise they say that in seven days the Heavenly Father(28) made heaven, and earth, hills and seas, and all things, and they observe every seventh day as a season for offering praises. On the day preceding, flags are set up in the streets, on which are written these words: "*To-morrow is the Sabbath; let each one seriously regard it.*" At nine o'clock, (Sabbath morning,) having prepared their fruits and viands, the whole congregations rehearse their dexologies and hymns of praise. The courts of the officers are then made to resound with the deafening noise of gongs and creakers, while they cast into the fire crape jackets and trowsers, which is called, "Restoring them to the Heavenly Father." When any of the original rebels are sick, they will write a form of prayer, "I, a humble suppliant, kneeling down upon the ground," &c.; which prayer is given to another, who offers it in a most doleful tone.

These things, above recorded, show how the rebels have deceived the rustic people, all led away by their absurd stories; but they are utterly without any charms or sorceries by which they can excite the least fear; nor ought their gibberish to excite awe in any one.

§ 11. *The Ten commandments; false gods not to be worshiped, but only Jesus and Jehovah.*

Adopting ten prohibitory commandments, the rebels put to death those who transgress them, and chastise those who cannot repeat them memoriter. But what advantage it can be, to such rebels as these, to worship the Supreme Ruler, I do not know.

Their commandments require extra religious worship on every Sabbath day, and leave no place for those transgressing them to pray for pardon; they forbid the worship of false gods, and require the worship only of Jesus, and of Jehovah,—a name applied to the Heavenly Father, at first avoided, but subsequently used by them.

How can filial or fraternal duties be observed, when fathers and mothers and brothers are separated and scattered far away from each other? Husbands and wives living together the rebels regard as adultery; yet when they themselves take away the daughters of the people, that is no transgression. Falsehoods they are ever uttering;

(27) In the notices of the persons, who have been conspicuous in the rebellion, the Assistant king was erroneously called the *fifth* son.

(28) In their own books, the Insurgents say that "in six days all things were created.

robbery is their constant practice; and covetousness is their natural disposition. Their prohibitions, in short, are all for others, not for themselves. How plainly, therefore, is seen the utter absurdity of all their talk about the Ten commandments!

§ 12. *Funeral rites, and the condition of the dead, described.*

The rebels have issued proclamations disallowing the use of coffins for the dead, which is declared to be monstrous; and if any burn incense [to the manes] it is regarded as a vicious act. The hearts of these rebels are worse indeed than those of the brutes! When one of them dies, he is thought to have gone up to heaven, it is regarded as an occasion for rejoicing, and no one is allowed to weep. Still when the son of the Eastern king died, his tears fell like rain, and his eyes were never dry.

§ 13. *Owners of boats spoiled of their vessels and compelled to act as servants or soldiers.*

When coming down the Great River, to Nanking, the rebels pressed many boats into their service, falsely promising their owners, that, after their arrival, their boats would be given back, they themselves permitted to return, and need not therefore let their hair grow long. Accordingly, a list of the sailors was made out, and liberal presents given to them. Unexpectedly however, on the fall of Nanking, they were all forced into the city; those who willingly gave in their adherence were transferred to other boats, while those who would not were distributed as servants among the rebel officers. All the property or goods belonging to the owners were confiscated; and on board of the same boats some tens of thousands of their able bodied men were embarked, and urged away to Yángchau and Chinkiang. In the mean time, as opportunities occurred, not a few ran away.

§ 14. *An advance on Súcchau and Hángchau prevented by the approach of general Hiáng-yung.*

After the fall of Chinkiang, the Eastern rebel intimated that an immediate advance would be made on the cities of Súcchau and Hángchau; but hearing that our commander-in-chief, Hiáng-yung, had arrived at the market-town Shun-hwá, (distant only ten or twelve miles,) he was greatly alarmed, and ordered the main body of the rebels to return for the defense of Nanking. On this account it was that those cities were not molested; and I firmly believe the great general, Hiáng-yung, was our protector and guardian on the south and east.

§ 15. *Sufferings of the people; they enter the various guilds, and thus were exempted from military service.*

When the people saw they were to be forced away [on military service] to Chinkiang and Yángchau, some ran away and others put an end to themselves; at this the rebels were greatly alarmed, and the whole city was like a boiling chaldron. It happened about the same time that the weavers' guild was advertising for more workmen, and one of the rebel ministers of state, Chung Fáng-lí, a man of peaceful disposition, told them that those who were employed in this trade would not be required to engage in military service; moreover, when any of the weavers came

to him with complaints of extortion, practiced on them by the rebels, he would chastise the offenders, and restore the property. Some twenty thousand of the people, under pretense of joining the weavers' guild, thus contrived to secrete themselves. Subsequently the same scheme was adopted by other guilds.

§ 16. *Hospitals established for the aged, the sick, and infirm, and become places of refuge.*

Among their patrols was one Chau Tsai-tái, who was naturally averse to slaughter, and who, compassionating the aged and the destitute, whom he met, requested the old long-haired rebels to establish hospitals for invalids, and that all the maimed might be employed as watchmen in the hospitals, and the old and the sickly in sweeping the streets and picking up waste paper, and so be exempted from active military service. Feigning sickness, immediately some seven or eight thousand of the people entered these hospitals as invalids.

§ 17. *Vegitable gardens also made places of refuge.*

Discovering some vegetable gardens, the rebels strove with each other to place their own marks upon them, so as to secure them to themselves; and those employed in cultivating these grounds were to be exempt from military service. Hence some thousands of persons also took refuge in these gardens.

§ 18. *Requisitions issued for scholars and men of learning.*

Unacquainted with language and literature, requisitions were made by the rebels for all scholars and men of learning to come forward to assist in literary labors; if any refused, they were decapitated; and all found in concealment were considered equally guilty. Hundreds came forward, and were required to write poetry and parallelisms; (29) also they were exercised in writing proclamations; and all those whose labors proved acceptable were distributed among the rebel officers, as clerks, &c., and exempted also from military service.

§ 19. *Rebels slain by strategy; others, in disguise, escape from the city.*

In going out to battle (on a certain occasion) the Imperial troops bound a scarf around their heads, (30) which was unknown to the rebels; but when they met each other, and our troops had killed them, then the rebels understood this stratagem! Also, there were some who, by disguising themselves, got out of the city; but when this was discovered, the rebels immediately stamped the words *Holy Armory* on their uniforms; and any one found in a dress that was not so stamped was put to death.

(29) This species of composition is very common among the Chinese, and much admired by them; it is quite like that of the Hebrews, in many of its features; and usually consists of only two lines, corresponding to each other in form and structure. Hung Siatsuen was fond of it in his early life.

(30) In Shanghai and other places, as well as in Nanking, the insurgents have usually been distinguished by some badge—such as a scarf, ribbon, or sash,—worn on their heads, like the yellow caps of old.

§ 20. *Ancestral sacrifices denounced; ancient emperors dishonored; innovations in language sanctioned.*

All sacrifices offered to ancestors are denounced by the rebels as monstrous; and our ancient emperors Yáu and Shun, and our three great kings, Yu, Táng and Wú, are all degraded by them, being regarded as inferior to themselves.

In their proclamations and books, they have changed the written forms and characters of our language and literature. Such madness and folly no mortal can explain.

The following are examples of their innovations, where the form of the written characters is changed: thus,

聖	is changed to	正
上	is changed to	向
國	is changed to	国
華	is changed to	花
火	is changed to	亮
老	is changed to	考
亥	is changed to	開
丑	is changed to	好
卯	is changed to	榮

§ 21. *Women compelled to bear heavy burdens; many of them die; others destroy themselves.*

Of the boats taken by the rebels in Húpeh and Ngánhwái, those laden with rice were anchored off the north-west gate (*Yung mun*); and those laden with salt, off the west gate (*Hán-si mun*); and then the female officers, bearing flags, were ordered to drive all the women and children out of the city, and compel them to carry the rice and the salt into the store-houses. Boys, with whips in their hands, were ordered to drive and beat them, and make them move on with a quick step. If any flagged, then the boys would ply the whip; this they called Keeping guard. Till evening they were allowed no rest.

As they had a long way to travel, and were unable to return to their quarters at night, some of them entering vacant houses would hang themselves; others would plunge into the water and kill themselves; while others in the rain, on the muddy and slippery way, fell bruised and wounded, and thus died. All the rest of them had to sleep abroad in the heavy dew.

§ 22. *Captains and generals appointed over the workmen; women required to carry brick and to dig ditches.*

Several of the chief rebels had many of the houses of the people burnt down, in order to make room for their dens; and captains and generals were appointed, from among the carpenters and masons, to lead on the troops of workmen to build these dens.

Also the female officers were directed, in separate divisions, to lead on the women by thousands, to carry brick and to dig ditches. Daily at dawn they went forth, and in the dusk of evening they returned.

§ 23. *Yáng Siútsing afflicted with blindness; feigns a descent of the Heavenly Father; directs the women to learn hymns of praise; and confers titles of honor on those able to cure blindness.*

Yáng Siútsing, who set no bounds to his lewdness, when bereft of his own son and the son of the Western king, was so deeply afflicted that sight failed him in both eyes and he could not see at all. He then feigned a descent of the Heavenly Father, and said, "If each one of the sisters does not know how to honor the Heavenly Father, He will send down sickness upon them all."

Thereupon Yáng gave orders to the female officers to instruct the women and girls, throughout all their quarters, to rehearse memoriter the doxologies and hymns of praise, and to chastise those who were unable to do this. Also he caused proclamation to be made, that those females who could cure the eyes and restore sight to the blind should be rewarded with the office of ministers of state.

§ 24. *The weavers subjected to hard service; their property taken away, and their number reduced.*

When the number of weavers had become great, increased by their advertising for laborers, orders were issued requiring a certain quota of men, from each of their establishments, to go out of the city to carry timber. No sooner, however, had they gone out than they were all forced to embark in boats, and proceed to Kiángsi.

Among those who first entered the weavers' guild were many persons having some property, who had purchased their admittance. Subsequently, when those who had taken refuge in this guild as weavers were not forthcoming, search was made for them, and likewise for their money, clothes, and other articles.

By these means the number of weavers was soon reduced to five or six thousand.

§ 25. *A conspiracy to kill their leaders: the plot divulged and the conspirators put to death.*

Among the people from Húpeh and Húnán and the sailors in their naval brigades, there were those who had been forced to become rebels, and were unwilling to continue such. These formed a plot to kill the rebel leaders, and had a red lining in the cuff of their sleeves as the badge of their fraternity. While their plans were unsettled, they assembled in the guilds of the iron and gold smiths for a feast, there to enroll their names and to pledge themselves to each other by oath. Some of them getting intoxicated, their plot was divulged; and thereupon the Eastern king, feigning a descent of the Heavenly Father, and getting possession of their papers, put to death every one whose name was enrolled. The others, after the lapse of some days, were sent to Kiángsi.

§ 26. *Lists of names prepared; a monthly census recorded; total numbers in the summer of 1853.*

While the plot for the destruction of the rebel leaders was yet undivulged, persons could secretly transfer themselves from one guild to another, and it was impossible to ascertain their total numbers.

But it was not so now, since the rebels had lists of those in the several establishment prepared, the names being given in by the principal in each, who was responsible for him; for once a month these lists were sent in to the recorders, by whom the census was kept; and all transfers from one station to another, and all runaways, were carefully noted down in the records.

At that time, the Summer of 1853, the men and women in the various establishments [at Nanking], according to their census, were in round numbers as follows:

MALES,—MEN AND BOYS.

From Kwángsi,	1,500;
From Kwángtung,	2,500;
From Húnán,	10,000;
From Húpeh,	30,000;
From Ngánghwui,	3,000;
From other provinces,	2,000;
The natives of Nanking,	50,000;
From Chinkiang and Yángchau,	5,000.

FEMALES,—WOMEN AND GIRLS.

From Kwángtung, and Kwángsi,	2,000;
From Húnán,	400;
From Húpeh,	20,500;
From Ngánghwui,	3,000;
From Chinkiang and Yángchau,	10,000;
Natives of Nanking,	100,000.
Total males	104,000;
Total females	125,000;

Sum total 229,000.

§ 27. *Many of the women, required to work on the ditches and moats, perish.*

The commander of the Imperial forces now had his camp on the east of the city; and the rebels, alarmed by this proximity, daily sent forth out of the eastern gates some twenty thousand of their women to open and deepen the ditches and moats, and to carry sharpened bamboos [for palisades]. Every day some of these women perished on the way, going or coming; some were wounded or killed by shot from our camp; while others absconded or hid themselves.

§ 28. *From the moats some transferred to the fields, to reap the wheat; while invalids were sent to gather the oil plant.*

For a long time the wheat, both within and without the eastern gates, had been ripe, and it still remained uncut; and as the women had now nearly completed their work, in the ditches and moats, they were sent to reap the wheat.

Seeing too that the oil-plant was now also thoroughly ripened, the rebels sent forth bands of invalids to cut and gather it in.

§ 29. *Distribution of rice; at first free; subsequently restricted.*

On their first entrance to Nanking, the rebels kept no account of the rice they distributed, but gave it out freely to all who came for it. But after the census had been taken, the amount of daily distribution was made a matter of deliberation; and the price suddenly rose to six taels per hundred catties. In fact, there was no place where rice could be bought; and if any attempted to purchase it and bring it into the city, they were declared violators of the laws, and were beaten accordingly.

§ 30. *Abonders declared monsters; and all persons going out of the city furnished with passports.*

All who went out of the city and absconded, were declared monsters. At first the rebels had no means of ascertaining who or how many absconded; subsequently, however, a system of passports was established. These duly stamped were delivered to the officers and to the responsible heads of the respective guilds, and were furnished as credentials to all who went out of the city.(31)

§ 31. *Effective and non-effective force; many of both classes abscond.*

All the males in the city, from sixteen to fifty years of age, are called effectives, the others non-effectives.(32) Half of the effective force having been dispatched up the Great River, very many of them absconded; and now that there was a lack of men fit for service, the strong old men were taken from the non-effectives and required to keep watch upon the walls; and as there was still a deficiency, the sick old men were also required to do the same duty on the walls. Thus employed, great numbers of these non-effectives absconded, and the total number remaining was reduced to three thousand.

§ 32. *Search for silver and gold in coffins and graves: the chief magistrate's grave invaded; the act resented by his spirit and the gods.*

When the rebels had many times found silver and gold in the uninterred coffins, which they broke open, they next proceeded to open the new-made graves. Close by the steps on the east side of the Dragon King's temple, situated in the rear of the office of the chief district magistrate of Nanking, there was a grave, over which the earth was still loose. In it his honor, the magistrate Liu, had been interred, and his faithful servant was keeping watch over it. Making their way to that spot, the rebels suspected that money had been there concealed; and on the first stroke of the spade, they were seized with giddiness and fell to the ground. Thereupon they declared to each other that the place was haunted by monsters, and they dared not proceed any farther in their rash purpose. Ah, how watchful was the spirit of his honor (the deceased magistrate)! how quickly vouchsafed, too, was the protection of the demons and gods!(33)

(31) There was a two-fold object in giving these tickets; one, that the bearer might be known abroad by the other rebels; the other, that he might be recognized on returning to the city—for otherwise spies might enter.

(32) The phraseology,—in the original *pái mien* and *pái wí*,—is both new and arbitrary; in § 16, and some other places, I have translated the latter "invalids," for the phrase, *pái wí*, includes the sick, the maimed, &c.; *pái* is the same word that occurs in the phrases *pái páu* a warrant, and *ho pái* an express; *mien*—is the face, the front; and *wí* is the hinder part, the less, the poorer.

(33) In the text, *Ling*, *Kwei*, and *Shin* are the words here translated *spirit*, *demons*, and *gods*: the first, joined with another and read *ling-hwan*, or *hwan-ling*, is the common term for the *soul* of man, the rational immortal spirit, which our author supposed to be, not dead nor dormant, hovering over the grave.

§ 33. *Silver and gold found also in wells, terraces, walls and ceilings.*

Silver and gold having been found by some of the rebels in the wells and flower-terraces, straightway all the wells, and flower-terraces, and double-walls, and ceilings were opened or broken up. In some there was money; in some there was none; while in some there was found only a jar of water.(34) Thus in the search after money, very many of the houses of Nanking were torn down.

§ 34. *The Imperial Calendar discarded, and a new one adopted.*

The rebels have prohibited the use of the Imperial Calendar; and not having among themselves any persons competent to make the necessary calculations, they have therefore reckoned thirty-one days for each odd, and thirty for each even month of the year. Nor are they acquainted with the intercalary laws.(35)

§ 35. *Public documents; their respective authors; the Book of Genesis.*

From the year 1848 till they entered Nanking, the rebels have kept records of their public documents; the earlier ones were from the hand of Fung Yun-shán; the later ones were by Tsang Chau-yáng, Ho Chin-chuen, and others. A foreign book, Genesis, the rebels have appropriated to themselves and published; their other books have been written by Hung Siú-tsiuen and Fung Yun-shán,—excepting only the accounts of the various descents of the Heavenly Father into the world: these have been written by Tsang Chau-yáng and Ho Chin-chuen at the command of Yáng Siú-tsing.(36)

§ 36. *Various titles adopted by the rebels; number and grade of officers.*

In regard to titles, the rebels have deemed it necessary to feign the heavenly; to the title of kings they have added strange designations; and so, in short, to those of their dukes, and others. They have principal and secondary ministers of state, and a first and second order of each, in all twenty-four.(37)••••

§ 37. *The ladies of the chiefs and others honored with titles.*

The women have also received titles, such as ministers of state, directors, generals, captains, centurions, &c., and in all instances their titles are written on their head dress. The captains, and all above them, are large-footed herculian dames!

(34) The money is often deposited in jars, large or small, as the case may require; and the belief is that, in certain instances where it was ill-gotten, it is changed to water!

(35) The author proceeds to point out a few of the errors in their Calendar, but wholly omits their own statements abolishing and denouncing the system of *lucky* and *lucky* days, so essential in the Imperial Almanac.

(36) The author's criticisms on the style and doctrines of the books, I have omitted as irrelevant, being also in part false.

(37) This and some of the following paragraphs are interesting enough to the native reader, but not to the foreigner; and accordingly such unimportant parts will be passed by untranslated.

§ 38. *Style of dress, in regard to caps, robes, &c., indicative of rank.*

In regard to dress, the kings have their caps in the form of the dragon and phoenix, and the same figures are wrought on their robes; the ministers of state have their caps in the form of the phoenix; and others, have other forms;—by observing these forms, the rank of the respective persons will be known.

§ 39. *Residences of the kings and others distinguished by peculiar names, &c.*

The royal residences are called (*fū*) courts; the residences of their inferiors, are called (*yá*) offices.***

§ 40. *Modes of salutation among the rebels; they go barefooted, and are fond of musical boxes.*

When visiting each other, the inferior in rank kneels, but does not bow nor make obeisance; if it be in the morning, he says, has Your Excellency breakfasted? if in the evening, he says, has Your Excellency eaten his evening meal? The same is done when they meet on the highways.

They are very fond of going barefooted, and do so even in their official dresses and when riding on horseback.

They are, too, very fond of musical boxes; and, even when riding on horseback, they will carry these boxes, attached to their girdles as ornamental.

§ 41. *Order observed when going out to battle; cry to the Heavenly Father in case of defeat.*

When they are about to go into battle, the standards are brought forward and the horns sound for the men to take their places and wait for the word of command. Those who have been pressed into their service are placed in the front ranks, and the old long-haired men in the rear. When defeated, they fall upon their knees and cry, *Heavenly Father look compassionately on us*; but those err who suppose there is any enchantment in all this; and our troops should know the real state of the case, that they may [when seeing the rebels in that attitude] rush on and kill them.

§ 42. *Literary examinations on the royal birthdays; the themes proposed; the degrees conferred.*

At an appointed time, previously to the anniversary of the birthday of any one of the kings, the scholars are required to attend a literary examination in the Examination Hall (*kung yuen*); the themes, given out for essays, are such as the following: May the Eastern king live nine thousand years; and, How different are the doctrines of true religion from those of the world! For the first, second, third, and fourth degrees of graduates one of each is selected; of the *Hanlin* (the next in their scale) some tens are selected; and some hundreds for the next degree (*tsin-sz*). The king whose birthday is to be celebrated, presides as principal examiner at the previous examination. (38)

(38) So far as the record goes, the terms used by the rebels to designate the different grades of the graduates remain unchanged; for *themes*, however, their old classics appear to have been utterly discarded.

§ 43. *Daughters of the people selected and presented to the kings on their birthdays.*

On the recurrence of the birthday, of any one of the kings, a hundred or more of the daughters of the people are selected and led away to the office of Mung Tehtien, one of the ministers of state; there, out of that whole number, fifteen are selected; of these six are presented to Hung Siútsiuen, six to Yang Siátsing, two to Wei Cháng-hwui, and one to Shih Tálkái.

§ 44. *Presents made on these anniversaries by the women and officers; the heir apparent's birthday especially honored.*

On the recurrence of a birthday of any one of the kings, large supplies of presents are brought in by the female officers, consisting of cakes, carried on tables borne by women in procession, accompanied by gongs, &c., &c. The officers of the kings offer presents in like manner.

On the anniversary of the birthday of the youthful lord (the son of Hung Siútsiuen) the visitors are detained for a repast, and are presented with silver tablets.

§ 45. *The extravagance and lewdness of Yang Siútsing.*

The Eastern king had made for himself a large bedstead; the four sides were all of glass; therein he had gold fish which he kept alive in water. The whole was most extravagantly and beautifully furnished. The pillow for the bed was four and a half feet long.—This is a specimen of his lewd and disolute conduct!

§ 46. *Scarcity of provisions; total numbers at Nanking in January 1854.*

When the provisions of the rebels were much reduced, it was determined that the mechanics, the invalids, and the women should all have their allowance in paddy, or the poorer kinds of grain.

At that time, January 1854, the men and women in the various establishments, at Nanking, were in round numbers as follows:

MALES,—MEN AND WOMEN.

From Kángsi,	1,000;
From Kwángtung,	2,000;
From Húnán,	5,500;
From Hápeh,	10,000;
From Hingkwoh & Hwángchau, ..	10,000;
From Ngánhwui,	2,000;
From Lúchau, &c.,	10,000;
From Kiángsi,	5,500;
From other provinces,	1,000;
From Nanking,	20,000;
From Chinkiang & Yángchau, ..	3,000;
From Yángchau, the recaptured, ..	4,000.

FEMALES,—WOMEN AND GIRLS.

From Kwángtung & Kwángsi, ..	2,400;
From Húnán,	300;
From Hápeh,	23,000;
From Ngánhwui,	2,700;
From Chinkiang & Yángchau, ..	12,000;
From Nanking,	90,000.

Total males, 74,000;
Total females, 154,700;

Sum total, 228,700.(39)

§ 47. *On the newyear's day, according to the Imperial Calendar, congratulations are disallowed.*

On the first day of the first month of the 4th year of His Imperial Majesty's reign, the women of the city, arrayed in their best apparel, began to congratulate each other on the return of that season. As soon as their officers noticed this, the offenders were regarded as monsters, put in chains and led away to be chastised or exposed in the woolen collar. The same was done among the invalids. This was on the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month of the rebels' Calendar. [January 29th 1854.]

§ 48. *Congratulations on newyear's day according to their own Calendar.*

The seventh day of the first month of our Calendar was newyear's day with the rebels. At early dawn they commenced the rehearsal of their doxologies and hymns of praise, in tones that shook heaven and earth; then they hastened away to congratulate each other; and as they met they neither bent the knee nor bowed, but merely exclaimed, High may you rise!

§ 49. *A plot, for opening the gates of the city, frustrated.*

In concert with our troops a plot, for opening the city, was formed by a literary graduate of Nanking, Cháng Ping-yuen, who headed the conspirators. It was arranged that, during the festivities and congratulations of the newyear, when the rebels were unprepared and off their guard,—on the third, or fourth, or fifth of their month, our troops should make an attack, and enter the city at the east gate, and that Chin Kwei-táng should kill the rebels on guard and receive our troops. Unexpectedly however, on the second day of the newyear, Chin Kwei-táng was ordered to proceed up the Great River with a naval brigade; consequently when our troops approached the walls, on the fourth day, they found no one there to receive them, and they had only to return to camp.

§ 50. *Theatrical exhibitions denounced; subsequently allowed, and afterwards suspended.*

At first the rebels said that theatrical exhibitions were no better than lewd songs. But afterwards, when they had brought to Nanking some boxes of theatrical dresses, found at Chíchau in Ngánhwei, they collected a company of actors, and plays were performed. The Eastern king was himself a spectator, sitting under the trees on the

brow of Tsing-liáng hill; and, being greatly delighted, he gave orders for the erection of a stage in front of his own court, preparatory to theatrical performances. Just at that time he was again afflicted with sore eyes, and the work was stopped.

§ 51. *Singing girls with guitars introduced to the courts of the kings.*

Orders were given by the Eastern king that, at the morning and evening services in honor of the Heavenly Father, white men performed the music outside, female musicians should be employed within. Accordingly diligent search was made throughout the city of Nanking for singing girls, and some tens were introduced to each of the courts of the respective kings, morning and evening, with their guitars, to assist in the doxologies and hymns of praise.

§ 52. *A spy arrested; great numbers involved; conversation on the highways forbidden.*

A tall robust young man, seen out side of the city, was arrested by the rebels on suspicion that he was a bad fellow; and, when put to the torture, he confessed that he was a spy from the Imperial camp, and said that a white cloth was the thing agreed upon as a badge [by those privy to his plot]. Immediately, at an early hour, the horn was sounded for the men to assemble; and as soon as they arrived in front of the Northern king's court, the barricades were closed, and search being made, more than a thousand "white cloth" handkerchiefs were found, and the persons having these were chained and placed in custody. Finding no evidence against them, after three days trial, each officer was required to give security for those under him, and a few only were put to death.(40)

From that time all conversation was prohibited; and if any transgressed, they were killed and cast out into the corners of the streets; and such as became informers were honored with the title of military director, whose special business it was to watch and guard against conspiracy. Thus it was that those who met on the highways would pass each other as if they were entire strangers.

§ 53. *The literary graduate formed a second plot, which was frustrated, and new precautions adopted.*

Chin Kwei-táng having been sent on a naval excursion, and Cháng Ping-yuen's plot failing, he now found his way to the Imperial camp by an unfrequented route, and after consulting with the officers in command, it was agreed that, persons engaged in the plot should go out of the city to Traffic Street, as if they were marketmen wishing to make purchases, and that, at a time agreed upon, five hundred Imperial soldiers, personating vendors of goods, should make their way to the same place; and that, after these two parties had recognized each other, they should repair to the gates, keep them open, and receive the Imperial troops, which in full columns should follow close after them.

(40) All this said by the spy, about the "white cloth," was evidently a mere ruse, though the rebels did not seem disposed to view it as such.

(39) Some thousands of these men and women, were "new captives," i.e. persons brought to Nanking from cities recently captured, or persons brought back after having absconded. Hingkwoh and Hwángchau are in the province of Húpeli. It should be borne in mind that since the other return, of numbers (sum total 229,000), there had been, not only deserters, but large detachments sent forth from Nanking.

It was raining a little at the appointed time, and as the Imperial troops advanced a loud shout arose, and before reaching Traffic Street they were discovered by the rebels, who opened their artillery from the city walls. Those privy to the plot turned about, but on reaching the city gates found them closed; while the Imperial troops marched back to their camp. When the gates were opened, those privy to the plot entered. The affair, however, had excited suspicion in the rebel chiefs, and they at once had the street inside the great east gate, for the distance of a bow shot, narrowed to five feet, and this at each end barricaded with heavy timbers bound round and round with iron chains.

§ 54. *The graduate accused, accuses his accuser of smoking opium; the latter and others put to death.*

After some days the Imperial general directed one of his officers, Tien Yuh-mei, to go into the city and consult with the conspirators, and to fix a time when they would be upon the walls, ready, on the approach of our troops, to kill the guards and those in charge of the guns, and to open the gates and receive our forces.

While these consultations were still pending, Cháng Ping-yuen thinking he might find some conspirators at the south gate, went in that direction; as he approached the gate he met Chin Kwei-táng's secretary, Cháng Pei-tseh, who seized and led him away to the office of marquis Hwáng Yuh-kwan, and informed against him, stating that he and Cháng Ping-yuen had been plotting together; that he had induced the other to get, as evidence, papers stamped with the signet of the Imperial commissioner; after which Cháng Ping-yuen had disappeared until now, when, meeting him in the street, he had seized and brought him hither.

The marquis having sought in vain for evidence against Cháng Ping-yuen, handed him over to others for examination. Subjected to repeated and cruel torture he was almost dead, when reviving he said, Cháng Pei-tseh was an opium-smoker, and that he had warned him to discontinue the practice; and that now, harboring an old grudge, he had brought against him a false accusation.

Search being made, opium and smoking utensils were found in the office of Pei-tseh, and he was at once put to death [on that charge], while Ping-yuen was sent up to the court of the Northern king for further trial. Knowing that he must certainly die, he now confessed his being in league with the Imperial army; "I am," said he, "a native of the province of Kiangnán; but if my seniors and elder brethren had not taken the lead and directed me, I never should have dared to enter the league." Thus by his testimony several tens of the old long-haired rebels were implicated and all put to death, but not one of those privy to the plot!

§ 55. *The conspirators form another plot; it also fails, and two hundred of them are put to death; the graduate one of them.*

The conspirators had hoped that Cháng Ping-yuen would escape, but when they saw what had transpired and that he was about to be put to

death, they hastened to concert with our own men, and it was agreed that, Tien Yuh-mei and others, nine in all, should enter the city, and, at a time appointed, with fifty of the conspirators, rendezvous on the walls at the east gate, kill the guards and open it and receive our troops.

On the appointed day, the sound of the Imperial troops was heard by Tien Yuh-mei and his comrades on the walls, who quickly opened the gates, dispatching the keepers and several tens of the old long-haired rebels there in charge of the guns. They had now to open the barricades, bound round and round with iron chains. Ere this was effected, shouting and the report of guns outside of the city was heard by the rebels within, who, in full battalions came down upon Tien Yuh-mei and his comrades. Defenseless they scattered and sought to hide themselves in various quarters.

The rebels seeing [in company with the conspirators] fifty of their own men,—weavers, invalids, gardeners, &c., made diligent search in all their quarters, and discovered three or four of the papers that had been stamped with the Imperial commissioner's signet in blue ink. Hundreds of them, thereupon, were chained and placed in custody at the Examination Hall,—the rebels intending to put every one of them to death. Subsequently, however, an order was issued, declaring that if there were elders, among the men from Kwángsi, who would give security for any of them, that then those might be liberated.

It was finally so arranged that only about two hundred were put to death. Poor Cháng Ping-yuen was among the sufferers.

The number in the weaver's quarters was now reduced to about two thousand; of the gardeners there remained but a few hundreds; while the quarters for invalids were discontinued.

§ 56. *The spy and his comrade escaped, their host and his subalterns put to death; new precaution adopted.*

When formerly the rebels advertised for masons and carpenters, Tien Yuh-mei, disguised as a mason, entered the city; and now, the recent plot being detected, and the city gates closed for three days, the nine men from the Imperial camp, Tien Yuh-mei and others, were kept meanwhile concealed in the office of Sun Chih, general of the masons.

And what should the servant boy of this general do, but slip away to the Eastern king, and their give full particulars about his master's concealing the nine men. The Eastern king at once issued secret orders for their apprehension; but fortunately, on that day, the gates were opened, and Yuh-mei and his comrades escaped; their host, Sun Chih and all his subalterns, however, were bound in chains and put to death.

In consequence of all this, the old passports were recalled, and tickets substituted in their place, to be issued by the Assistant king. When any one went out of the city, the number of his or her ticket had to be entered in a book; and on returning the same was examined and verified. Without this precaution no one of the officers even could go out of the city.

§ 57. *The author of a verbal change in the doxologies punished with death; other changes proposed by the rebels.*

Some one among the rebels having presumed to change, in their doxologies, the words, "His soul then ascended to heaven," to these, "His work accomplished, his fame was secured," the Eastern king, enraged, beat the man to death. But subsequently he had a consultation about introducing changes into these very same doxologies, for he was afraid lest his enemies, by being able to rehearse these, should introduce themselves into the rebel army.

§ 58. *The women ordered to bring to the Eastern king's court some stone well-curbs, and sundry vermin.*

Orders were given by the rebels, on a certain time, that the women, in each of their quarters, should bring to his court a well-curb,—for what object, did not appear. In their endeavors to carry these, many of the women found their strength inadequate and failed, but not until they had sustained serious injury.

On a former occasion—I know not for what purpose,—in a manner equally silly and ridiculous—order were given, requiring the women, in each of their respective quarters, to search out some couples of mice and some couples of the *Cimex lectularius*, and present them at his court!

§ 59. *Suspicion, seizure, torture, and death occasioned, in hundred of cases, by cutting off of the hair because of sores, &c., on the head.*

Among those arrested, and yet not executed, were some who, because of sores and lice, had cut off their hair, and now subjected to trial, by cruel torture, confessed that they had been in concert with the Imperialists. As soon as this occurred, again the horn was sounded, and orders given for the men in the city to muster and have their hair examined, and for all, whose hair had been cut off, to be put in chains and led away to the Examination Hall. Another order was given, declaring that each man, in all the respective quarters in which were still remaining any whose hair had been cut off, would on detection be held as equally guilty with them, unless they quickly brought the delinquents to the Hall. Straightway from their respective quarters, and in great trepidation, were forthcoming in all more than two thousand men.

Likewise orders were given that the quarters of the women should be examined. It was the custom in Nanking, with many of the women and girls, to cut off their hair before and behind; but the rebels, without taking any notice of this, had more than two thousand women arrested, and also some hundreds of children; all of whom were shut up in the Examination Hall.

At first it was the purpose of the Eastern king to have all these men, women, and children, put to death; ere this was done, however, the mother of one of his concubines, Ch'ang T'á-mei, came to his court, beat the great alarm-drum, and announced a case of false accusation. Her son, she said, whose hair had been cut off because of sores on his head, had been put in chains and led away to the Examination Hall, and she begged that he might be released. The king, greatly enraged, replied: Because of sores to cut off the hair is a

very reasonable thing; yet how it is in regard to the falsely accused? Since my brother-in-law is verily in this condition, who knows but that many others of the Brethren and Sisters may also be falsely accused! (41)

He at once gave orders, that those whose hair had truly been cut because of sores, &c., should all be liberated, on the condition of their being secured by the elders in their respective quarters. Such as were not thus secured,—one or two in ten,—some hundreds of men and women, were put to death!

A few days after this, among the runaways, caught and brought back, were some whose hair had been before cut off. Enraged the Eastern king put them on trial, by torture, using red hot irons, demanding whether or not they had been concerting with the Imperialists. Compelled to confess that they had been, he at once gave orders, that all the Brethren and Sisters whose hair had been cut, together with their securities, should be brought to the Examination Hall, and that any failing to do so should be regarded as principal offenders. The men and the women were placed, for safe keeping, in separate rooms, and day after day, by different sets of officers, the trial proceeded.

Besides the ordinary modes of torture, by beating with the bamboo, and by compressing the feet under heavy rollers, some had their hands and feet tied behind them, and then, being suspend by chords, had red hot irons laid upon their backs, until their shrieks of distress became intolerable.

Others had red hot chains coiled round their naked ankles; then, as all the flesh was mangled to pieces, might be heard the hissing of the burning iron, and the groans of the expiring victims. Now the red hot irons were thrust into the limbs, and then into the body, while the sufferers in the agonies of death gave utterance to a thousand doleful cries.

While these tortures were being inflicted, once daily there was thrown out to them, on the ground or upon a flat stone, a little rice gruel, which they had to scrape together with their hands or lick up with their tongues.

Of the men more than four hundred were condemned to suffer death, while more than a hundred died under torture or killed themselves. Of the women, after having suffered every indignity in their cells at the hands of the keepers and others, more than a hundred perished by starvation, more than a hundred others hung themselves, as many more died under torture, while two hundred and odd were sentenced to capital punishment.

The survivors had yet to be subjected to another trial, for they were to be reported to the Eastern king, whose original purpose it had been to put the whole number to death; but he was pleased to refer this matter to Hung Siútsuen, whose sentence was that, imitating the Heavenly Father's tender regard for the living, only one hundred of the Brethren should be put to death, and only a few tens of the Sisters, while the others should be

(41) In the original, the arch rebel's dissimulation is here set off with inimitable skill; his anger was all feigned; he cared nothing for the many, but would liberate his concubine's brother, his own brother-in-law, guilty or not guilty!

again put on trial, and unless they confessed to their having been concerting with the monsters [the imperialists] they should all be set at liberty.

On a former occasion, those whom Siütsiuen wished to liberate, Siütsiung would put to death; and those whom the other wished to put to death, he would liberate, in order to have it appear that the controlling power rested with himself; but now as Hung Siütsiuen had given sentence for only a hundred to be put to death, the Eastern king, afraid lest he should be hated by all the people, gave orders that those who could obtain security should be set at liberty, and that the others should be put to death. Two hundred and odd of the men and women were killed, all the others were set at liberty.

§ 60. *Monopoly of the rice-market established, in order to prevent desertion and to get gain; the scheme failed.*

The rebels observing that all the deserters were from among those who went out of the city to make purchases, and observing also that the purchasers were many, hoped that through their gains might be secured to themselves, and therefore established five market-places near the bridge at the north gate; at the same time they forbade the people to go out of the city to make purchases, or to purchase in the streets of the city, requiring all go to the five market-places. But as at those market-places all articles suddenly became very dear, causing great inconvenience to the old rebels, they therefore discontinued the monopoly.

§ 61. *The Eastern king's favorite secretary, a Nanking lady, exposed in the wooden collar, sickens, is liberated, and then disappears.*

For female secretaries, to write out his replies and decisions, the Eastern king selected literary women. Now there was one Fú Shen-tsiáng, a Nanking lady, about twenty years of age, who had great confidence in her own abilities and acquirements. Hearing of this person, the Eastern king had her brought to his court, and he submitted to her all the dispatches he received, that she might write thereon his replies and decisions. If in them there was aught that did not please her, she would severely censure it. By this procedure, the rebel officers were induced to give more attention to their style of writing.

Able to meet the king's wishes, and relying on his favor, she carried herself proudly and haughtily, often stigmatized the old rebels as illiterate dogs; and, at length, so displeased him, that, on the charge of her having smoked tobacco, and while still wishing to retain her in his service, he caused her to be placed in the wooden collar (or cangue) and thus exposed her as a warning to all the women in their quarters.

In this most uncomfortable condition, Fú Shen-tsiáng became sick, and in her own behalf addressed to the Eastern king the following note:—

"Having received great favors, and not having wherewith to requite them, all my mental energies were exhausted in the examination of dispatches; when thus wearied by night, and in an unguarded hour, being tempted by the devil, I smoked a little tobacco; by renewed favor my life was then spared, and I thought that, if I might but be set at liberty, I could hope hereafter to requite the favor; suddenly, however, I was taken very ill, was unable to rise; and now afraid I may never again

see your kind visage, I can only take those two golden finger-rings, which on a certain day you presented to me, and return them as a token of your younger sister's regards; and happy shall I be for a condescending glance at this note."

When the king knew she was so very ill, he was alarmed, released her from the cangue, and directed the state medical adviser to go and see her. She recovered, and was permitted to go as she pleased throughout all the quarters of the women. No restraint was put upon her; but what became of her, I do not know; it was commonly reported that she had absconded.

§ 62. *Another female secretary formed a design against his life, was detected, and with nine others put to death.*

After the release of Fú Shen-tsiáng, and when no one was found to fill her place, as secretary, to the satisfaction of the Eastern king, one Chú Kiu-mei, a female captive from Húpeh, about twenty years of age, handsome, and a proficient in poetry, was introduced to the rebel's court, and in the following manner.

She was living in the quarters of the women, under the care of one of the female centurions from Kwángai, by whom she was pitied and beloved. Between these two there was great intimacy and strong attachment. But whenever the king made inquiries for literary women to fill the secretary's office, Kiu-mei's centurion friend took care to keep back her name from appearing on the list of candidates.

Hearing of all this, at length, the Eastern king was greatly enraged, and, feigning a descent of the Heavenly Father, pointed out Kiu-mei, saying that such and such a centurion ought to be drawn asunder by five horses, and that all the centurions with all the female officers ought each to receive two hundred blows of the bamboo, as a warning to them against deception and concealment. These then all being summoned, came forward in company and kneeled before the Eastern king's court. "Kiu-mei," said he, "do you know how to read?" "No," she replied. "Did such and such a centurion conceal you?" "No," was her answer; and, thereupon, he ordered her to receive three hundred blows.

Putting those same questions, regarding Kiu-mei, to the centurion, above alluded to, the same answers were returned; he then at once dispatched her, but not until he had first plucked out her eyes and cut open her breasts. And, after she was dead, he had her heart cleft asunder, and her head exposed on a pole, declaring that such was the pleasure of the Heavenly Father, and that nothing less than this was sufficient to afford due warning to the others.

Just at that conjuncture, a violent storm of wind and rain set in, and the others were allowed to go unpunished.

Thus the captive Kiu-mei was introduced to court; but she had not been there a month, ere she secretly procured arsenic and had formed a plan, with some of the royal ladies, to kill the king with poison. By some means this secret was divulged, and in his wrath the king said that the Heavenly Father had come down and had pointed out the conspirators; he therefore put to death Kiu-mei and nine others with her.

§ 63. *Design against the persons of the Celestial and Eastern kings; the celestial lamp.*

Caps for the rebel kings were furnished from the embroiderers' guild. One of the captive embroiderers, whose name was unknown to me, wrought foul cloth into the lining of the caps which she made for Hung Siútsien and Yáng Siútsing, hoping by this means to cause them to become insane. (42) But some one of her fellow-laborers, harboring ill-will against her, went and informed the Eastern king of this, who in his rage gave orders that she should be made a celestial lamp, i. e. that she should be bound fast to a heavy wooden staff, her four extremities compressed by cloth bandages wound round and round her body, then dipped in oil, and set on fire. (43)

Fortunately, the poor woman, being whipped and fainting, was cast out and left under a tree, where, on reviving, she hung herself. Seven of her female companions, who, cognizant of her design, failed to give information against her, were put to death.

§ 64. *Women all ordered out of the city; hundreds destroyed first their children and then themselves; a mob; the sequel.*

The Eastern king, enraged because so many attempts were made by the women to injure him, seeing also that there was a great scarcity of provisions, commanded the female officers to issue orders that, at early dawn on the following day, all the Sisters in the city, each one carrying a single coverlet on her back, should go forth out of the Tsui-páu gate and there encamp: his design was that, on their arrival at the gate, the names of all should be marked, and that those who had husbands or children in the city should be sent back, while the remainder should be forced out of the city, and all their effects, left behind, given up to pillage.

The female officers having issued their orders, the whole city was in an uproar; the women, first casting their infant children into the river, then destroyed themselves, some by drowning, others by hanging. Thus perished four or five hundred.

In all the streets men and women were seen in disorder hurrying to and fro, while their loud wailings shook the earth. The carpenters and masons, leaving their work, ran away to the women's quarters, and nothing could stop them. In short there was a perfect mob.

The northern and assistant kings were greatly alarmed; and, having first consulted with the

Eastern king, sent their heralds to the corners of all the streets, there to assure the Sisters of the Eastern king's love to them, and that he would by no means allow them to be put to death on going out of the city; he only wished to have one or two of the large footed Sisters, from each one of their respective companies, go and assist in opening the moats and ditches outside of the Southern gate. The female officers had mistaken their orders,—the heralds proceeded to say,—and then putting some tens of them in chains, led them to the Eastern king's court, there to be put to death. Subsequently, however, the heralds told the said female officers that they would merely be beaten. Thus the uproar was quelled.

Next day an order was circulated, requiring all the Sisters to repair to one of the smaller camps, there to hear explained the doctrines of religion, and declaring that, if any one failed to come, the same on detection would be decapitated. On arriving at the camp, they were separated and arranged under four banners: those who had husbands or sons, in the city, took their stand under the yellow banner; those whose husbands or sons had gone out to war, took their stand under the red banner; those who were widows or unmarried took their stand under the white banner; and those whose husbands or sons had become monsters or run away took their stand under the black banner.

With what design all this was done I do not know; but at once a marquis, mounted on a stage and addressing these four companies, said: The mistake of yesterday, in transmitting the king's orders, was not in the female officers; but it was a mistake, you newly arrived sisters, on your part in your hearing, and you ought to be decapitated; you shall, however, be spared a little. Go, each one of you, and be enrolled under your respective banners; and let the several lists of names be handed over to the officers of the patrol, and that without delay.

He having thus spoken, they were all dismissed; the several lists were made out, but were never after called for; and so the matter ended.

§ 65. *Arrival of foreigners, on three occasions, their conduct, and departure.*

In the fifth month [of this year 1854] foreigners arrived at Nanking, and being refused admittance by the Eastern king, they entered the city without permission, and wrote a great number of questions, addressed to the Eastern king, after the following manner: you and we both having the same religion, why is it that you keep the men and women in separate apartments? You speak of the Heavenly Father's descent; now we should like to ask, if he has a body of flesh, or of wood, that is visible? &c., &c.

In the fourth month of the year 1853 foreigners arrived, and entered the city; and the Eastern king charged them not to fight.

In the eleventh month they came again to confer about peace, when the Eastern king became very angry with them, and they then went away. On this occasion they delivered a letter, and waited for the Eastern king's reply, who directed the Assistant king and Hwáng Yuhkwan, to sit for three days with closed doors, and to write out his orders in reply to said letter. What they wrote I

(42) This word is a compound of the radicals, 27, a shelter; 72, the sun; 74, the moon; 94, a dog; and 194, a demon: the new character, formed of these five, when pronounced yáh, has the meaning I have given it above, i. e. insane; but when pronounced yen, it means nightmare: foul cloth is *wi pu*; *pú* is cloth of any kind; *wi* any thing that is foul; but in this connection the reference is an indelicate one, and the specific article must not be named.

(43) *Tien T'ien tang*, lit. "to light heaven's lamp;" the idea is to make, of the person and the appendages, a candle; and then turned head downwards, the candle is to be lighted at the feet or end of the toes, and so burnt down to the head.

do not know; but the Eastern king stood in great fear of those foreigners.(44)

§ 66. *Scarcity of provisions; total numbers at Nanking in July 1854.*

In the summer of this year letters from Húnán, Húpeh, and Ngánhwui came in succession to the Eastern king, announcing that in all those places they were without rice or other grain. A council was then held, and it was determined that, to each one of the effective force, half a catty of rice per day should be distributed; and four ounces to each noneffective man; that to the women, from Húnán and southward, six ounces of rice daily should be given, and to those from Húpeh and northward only three,—and both to be served with the poorer kind of rice, i. e. paddy; and that all, both men and women, should be required to eat rice gruel, and if any refused they should be put to death.

At that time, July 1854, when the number of runaways was great, and the number of captives brought in was small, the men and women remaining in the various establishments at Nanking, were in round numbers, as follows:

MALES,—MEN AND BOYS.

From Kwángsi,	1,000;
From Kwángtung,	1,000;
From Húnán,	3,000;
From Húpeh,	10,000;
From Ngánhwui,	10,000;
From Kiángsi,	3,000;
From other provinces,	500;
From Nanking,	10,000;
From Chinkiang & Yángchau, ..	3,000.

FEMALES,—WOMEN AND GIRLS.

From Kwángsi & Kwángtung, ..	2,000;
From Húnán,	300;
From Húpeh,	20,000;
From Ngánhwui,	2,000;
From Chinkiang & Yángchau, ..	10,000;
From Nanking,	80,000.
Total males,	41,500;
Total females,	114,300;

Sum total, 155,800.

(44) There is some confusion and error, too, I think, in these dates: the *Hermes* was at Nanking in April 1853; the *Cassini* in Nov. and Dec. following: the *Susquehanna* in May and June 1854; and the *Rattler* shortly after, in the month of June: this our month June, corresponds to the Chinese fifth month of that year; but the "fourth month" of 1853, does not correspond to the time of the *Hermes'* visit, which was made in the third Chinese month of 1853: the three visits, alluded to by our native author, were I presume the *Rattler's*, the *Susquehanna's*, and the *Cassini's*: the last mentioned being the first in order of time; and the last, in the order of time, the first mentioned by him.

P.S.—Since the above was in type, I have seen the author, who admits his error,—and would have it corrected, and read, "*in the fourth month of the year 1854*;" he was not cognizant of the *Hermes'* visit: the three visits therefore were, the *Cassini's*, the *Susquehanna's*, and the *Rattler's*, as above presumed.

§ 67. *An attempt made to carry off treasure; women in men's apparel, and men in women's, and also pregnant women, discovered, and all put to death.*

The rebel officers who were in charge of the treasury, pretending to have received orders to go forth to war, were leading out of the city the people under their control, when, falling under suspicion of the keepers of the city gates, they were searched; and, money being found secreted on their persons, they were all led away in chains to the Eastern king. Thereupon the city was closed, every office searched, and all who had money were led in chains to the Examination Hall.

Because of some tens of the large-footed women having been found dressed in men's clothes, all the quarters of the women were searched, when some tens of men were found dressed in women's clothes, and moreover some tens of women who were pregnant. In consequence of this, all those women, and all those found dressed in men's apparel, and all the men found in women's apparel, were put to death, and likewise more than two hundred of the other men connected with the treasury department.

§ 68. *Victualing houses established, and made free to those willing to go out to the war.*

Victualing houses having been established, orders were given that all the Brethren, who were willing to go out to the war, should be allowed free admittance to these houses. Between three and four thousand at once reported themselves; after some days they were led forth, out of the city, to engage with the Imperialists; being defeated, they returned to the city, and, finding the gates closed, they turned again and fought till eight or nine in ten of them were slain in battle by our troops.

§ 69. *Great victories gained by the Imperialists; the rebels disheartened.*

The rebel forces now greatly diminished, the Eastern king, filled with suspicion, directed some of the large-footed Kwángsi women to keep guard on the city walls, and others, loaded with bags of chaff, to follow the rebel army, ready with these to fill up ditches that they might wish to pass. Great victories were gained by our troops, and between five and six thousand of the rebels slain; as all the large-footed women fled, some were cut down, and others were taken alive. Among those who fled, some when hard pressed hid themselves in shallow waters, where they covered their faces with the floating weeds, nothing but their noses appearing above the surface. Numbers of these, discovered by the villagers, were dragged out and killed.

Thus daily the courage of these rebels was weakened, and they might easily have been annihilated. Our navy had cut off all communication above and below the city, so that the rebel boats could not come down (with reinforcements); and on the 23d, 24th, and 25th of August, the great victories were achieved; and similar ones again on the 6th and 7th of September.

§ 70. *Forced out of the city, to cut rice in the fields, many of the women absconded or destroyed themselves.*

Twelve days after this last defeat, because of the scarcity of provisions in the city, the women were driven out to cut rice in the fields, and great numbers absconded; while not a few perished, some by violence, and some by a voluntary death; the others, after having been kept guarded, out side of the city for a season, were again brought within the walls.

§ 71. *Rice and gruel withheld from the men, who were sent out of the city to cut rice for their food.*

In the month of September, the men in the city had no rice served out to them, nor even any gruel; but both the effectives and non-effectives were all sent out of the city to cut rice for their own provisions, and many absconded.

§ 72. *The final scene—January 1855—as described by the author.*

In the twelfth month (January 1855) the rebel chiefs gave orders, that each of their officers, in the city, selecting for themselves, should receive several of the women, when not a few refusing [to be so disposed of] were put to death. Then might everywhere be heard the murmurs of the disturbed lares; and in all that great city, the rebels were now but few, and those, afraid to go out of the gates, would daily close them at an early hour and ere it was dark.

Thus, from the foregoing narrative, we can understand how Heaven thoroughly abhors rebellion.

Erratum.—In note (17), the name *Yú* refers to the province of Honán, and not to Kiángai; and it should read, "King of Honán."

HISTORY

OF THE

TREATY BETWEEN CHINA AND RUSSIA.

FROM THE SHING-WOO-KE, OR "WARS OF THE MANCHUS;"

BY WEI YUEN OF SHAOU-YANG.

THE kingdom of Russia first began to rise into importance during the Ming dynasty (1368 to 1643). Its territory runs along the north and west borders of Manchuria, Mongolia, and Mohammedan Tartary, holding a counterposition to China, with respect to these nations. *The capital of the country is in Europe, and its outposts on the east reach to Mongolia and Hih-lung-keang.*

In ancient times the Russians had no communication with China. At the commencement of the Yuen, they were subdued by Genghis khan who also subdued the kingdom of Kin-cha (Sweden) on their north, and that of A-shuh (Cossack country) on their south; which three he united in one kingdom under the dominion of his eldest son Toushi. This territory was all on the north-west of the Ural mountains, not having yet extended eastward. The tribes descended from the A-lo-sze (Russians) fled to the territory of Kiew by the Baltic Sea, and submitted themselves to the Yuen Tartars. After the extinction of the Yuen dynasty (1368), internal contests arose between several families of the Russians, when the chief of the tribe sought assistance from the kingdom of Sweden, borrowed 8,000 of their soldiers, by which he pacified the internal disorders, cut off the city of Narva, by the gift of which as a bribe, he got himself made emperor. His kingdom gradually gaining strength, he totally expelled from his borders, the Mongol descendants of the Yuen, who returned *en masse* to their former settlements. The establishment of the Chahan Khan* took place upwards of 250 years previous to the commencement of the reign of Kang-he. After several generations, in the time of

Kea-tsing (1522 to 1566), they destroyed the khanates of Kasan and Astrakhan removing the inhabitants to the north of the Altai mountains in the neighbourhood of the Wala Tartars. They had then 4 great *sze-kos*,*—Kiew, the ancient capital by the Baltic Sea; Moscow, the new capital; Kasan, from the Ural mountains westward reaching to the Black Sea on the south, and the Cossack country on the west; and Siberia, eastward from the Ural mountains, which was subdivided into four departments; east to the river Irtyche, and south to Ya-urh-ko-pao-too, formed one department; from this to the river Selengge on the east, and south to the Altai hills, formed one department; to the river Tchuku on the east, south to Chechen khanate and Mongolia, formed one department; again eastward to the sea, and south to Hih-lung-keang and Solun, also formed one department. These four departments were all included in the name of Siberia, being newly attached dependencies. Upwards of 130 years later, during the time of Kang-he, the reigning Emperor of Russia† was distinguished by his courage and bravery; in youth he was fond of martial amusements, and on ascending the throne, those who had shared his juvenile pastimes were promoted to the rank of Generals. War was his daily business; having subjugated the nomade tribes between the Mediterranean and Black Seas, he opened up the way towards Western India. After this he joined battle with the Prince of Hungary under Turkey for the city of Azof, which he took after a strong contest; the Prince of Hungary sued for peace, when

* This is the syllable *ske*, which terminates the names of provinces in Russia, as *Siberisko*, *Kazansko*, &c., and which the Chinese author has taken as the name of a territorial division.

† Peter the Great.

* Chahan Khan is the Mongolian title of the Emperor of Russia, literally the White Emperor.

the city was given back, and upwards of a thousand *le* of territory on the north-east of Azof taken instead. At this time 3 additional *skos* were established, called Smolensk, Gorod Archangel, and Volhynia, making in all 7 great *skos*. He next sent an ambassador to reclaim Narva, which had been ceded to the kingdom of Sweden by his ancestor, but meeting with an unfavourable reply, the result was a war which lasted several years, and ended in the annexation to his empire of this city, together with several thousand *le* of territory; here he fixed his new capital, and named it after himself St. Petersburg. He had then 8 great *skos*. There were Gagarins* appointed to the guardianship of 7 of these great divisions, while the metropolitan division was under the charge of 4 Great ministers. In the government of these 8 divisions, a *sko* is equivalent to a Province in China; each great *sko* includes several tens of lesser *skos*, which are equivalent to Chinese Prefectures; besides which there are several hundreds of Besings, equivalent to Chinese Districts. There are general officers appointed for the government of each great *sko*; the first is called Gagarin, and is equivalent to a Lieutenant-governor in China; each small *sko* and Besing has a chief, equivalent to our prefectural and district magistrates. On the east, west and north, the country is bounded by the sea; it is upwards of 20,000 *le* from east to west, and 6,000 *le* from north to south, being divided longitudinally by the Ural mountains which form the northern stem of the Tsung-ling range; these are also called the Ta-le-poo hills, and extend to the Arctic ocean. *The waters on the east of the Ural range all discharge themselves into Lake Baikal, while those on the west run into the Caspian sea.* The hills, rivers, cities, suburbs, men, animals, plants, diseases, climate, various localities of the tribes, and complex system of military defence, all bear a great resemblance to those of China. The country produces famous horses; the soldiers excel in horse warfare, are expert in the use of fire-arms, and have coats of mail which can withstand cannon balls. Slaves

are more numerous than the soldiers, the great tribes having as many as 120,000. Half of the slaves are employed in warfare and half in agriculture; every agriculturist having 50 *mow* of land, on which he has to support one soldier and one horse, without further allowance. The Christian is the established religion, and their years are dated accordingly. Their writing is in horizontal lines from left to right, like the Latin of the west, and the Calmuc and Akchur of the east; and with this they can transcribe the Mongolian, Manchu, and Chinese literature. Latin is the character used in Europe; Calmuc is the character used by the Eleuth Tartars; and Akchur is the Tibetan character. In the 44th year of Kang-he (1705) a commercial envoy from Russia arrived in China; the emperor on examining his despatch, remarked that it combined the peculiarities of these three forms.

Formerly the borders of Russia joined Hih-lung-keang, the Outer Hing-gan range forming the boundary. At the end of the Ming, when our dynasty had just pacified the Hih-lung-keang, Solun, Dakhour, Sze-keun, and Sze-luh tribes, which were bounded on the north and east by the sea, the eastern tribe of Russians called Lo-cha crossed the Hing-gan range, took possession of Yaksa and Niptchau, two places on the borders of the Amour river, and erected dwellings surrounded by palisades. The troops of the two nations refrained from hostilities, till the Russians moving southward, invaded and plundered the Bourat and Uriyanghai tribes, and took forcible possession of four captaincies. In 1639 the imperial troops being again engaged pacifying Hih-lung-keang, destroyed their palisades, but did not establish any defence at these places. When the troops retired, the Russians returned and took possession of their cities.

In 1654, troops were again sent, who expelled them from the Amour.

In 1658, Corean troops were sent to drive them off, and several Great ministers conducted the expedition; but the supply of provisions failing, they returned before reaching their destination.

In 1655 and 1660 respectively, the Russians sent merchants to our capital, bearing memorials, but neither of which

* This was the name of the Governor-general of Siberia, during the reign of Kang-he. (Memoires relatifs a l'Asie, vol. 1, p. 98.)

made any allusion to the border disturbances.

In 1676 a party of merchants, Nicholas and others arrived; the emperor desired to see them, and gave them a letter for the emperor of Russia, requesting that he should place his subjects the Lo-chas under restraint, so that they might not commit depredations on the border. For a long time there was no reply, and the Russians continued to seize men and cattle as before on the Hih-che-fei-ha territory, and also to harbour criminals who had escaped from China; they also prevented the Solun bringing their tribute of martens, wishing to cut off several thousand *le* of the Keu-to territory on the north-east of Hih-lung-keang. The emperor seeing they were drawing towards the ancient Manchu capital and wishing to put a stop to their further incursions, again raised a serious question of dispute respecting the border; and in 1682 the Commander Pang-chun was sent on a hunting expedition with a body of troops to the Amour, who marching directly to their settlements, reconnoitred the position, and built fortresses at Merguen and Tsitsihar, established ten posts with water communications, caused the Chechen khan of Kalkas to cut off all commercial dealings with them, and further reduced them by causing the troops on guard to reap their fields. In 1685, in the 4th month, the water communication being opened up by means of the thawing of the ice, the imperial troops took advantage of the occasion to advance upon their cities, which they took, but set the inhabitants at liberty, who returned to their ancient capital of Iakoutsk.

In the 1st month of 1686, the Russians returned with fire-arms and took possession of the city of Yaksa, when they were besieged by our troops, but withstood every effort for their expulsion. At that time there happened to be a Dutch ambassador with tribute in the capital, who stated that his country was in the vicinity of Russia; whereupon a letter was entrusted to him, to be transmitted to the emperor. By this time the former emperor of Russia* was dead, and his succes-

* The death of the Emperor Alexis took place in 1676 the same year as the previous embassy to China. His eldest son and successor Feodor died in 1682. It is uncertain which is the one alluded to here.

sor* considering that China was situated in the remote east and separated by roving nations, while Sweden on the north-west and Turkey on the south-west were as arms to his empire, he saw the importance of concentrating his energies on these. The journey to and fro by sea being rapidly made, the answer to the letter arrived in the ninth month, which stated that "letters had been several times sent from China on previous occasions, but no one in Russia could understand them. Now being made acquainted with the misdeemeanours which had taken place on the border, an ambassador should be despatched to the frontier to fix the boundary," the request being preferred that the siege at Yaksa should first be raised. In the following year an ambassador† arrived by the north, at the border of the Kalkas Tusiyeu khanate, whence his letter was forwarded and an answer returned. In the 12th month of 1689, he was met by our Great Officer Sunggodo and others for consultation at the Amour, when it was agreed upon,—1st, That the upper pasturage by the Woo-lun-muh river, from Shih-ta and Hing-gan to the sea, and all the streams from the south side of these hills, running into the Amour, should belong to China; while the streams from the north side of the hills should all pertain to Russia. 2nd, That the river Gerbitsi, a tributary of the Amour, should form the boundary; all on the south of which should belong to China, while the territory on the north should be retained by Russia. Yaksa and Niptchau were then returned to China, and a mart for commerce appointed at Kulun in the eastern division of Kalkas, while a stone was erected on the west bank of the Amour on which the seven articles of the treaty were engraved in the Manchu, Chinese, Latin, Mongolian, and Russian languages.‡ At the same time several thousand *le* of waste land on the north-east was left undecided.

* Peter the Great.

† Count Feodor Alexiewitch Golowin.

‡ The first treaty concluded between China and Russia, above alluded to, is given as follows in Martin's "China":—

"ARTICLE 1st, The River Gerbitsi, which is next to the River Shorna, and falls into the Amour, shall serve for the bounds for both empires: and that long chain of mountains which is below the source of the said River Gerbitsi, and extends as far as the Eastern sea, shall serve also as bounds to both empires; inasmuch that

When the Soungars began to annoy the Kalkas and China, they gave out ostentatiously that they had borrowed artillery and 60,000 soldiers from Russia; but Russia being then engaged in military operations in the west, had no thought of pushing invasion southward; and when

all the rivers and banks, great or small, which rise on the southern side of those mountains, and fall into the Amour, with all the lands and countries, from the top of the said mountains, southward, shall belong to the empire of China; and all the lands, countries, rivers, and brooks, which are on the other side of the mountains, extending northward, shall remain to the empire of Russia; with this restriction nevertheless, that all the country lying between the said chain of mountains and the River Oud shall continue undecided, till the ambassadors of both powers, on their return home, shall have gotten proper information and instructions to treat of this article; after which the affair shall be decided either by ambassadors or letters. Moreover the River Ergune, which falls into the Amour, shall serve for bounds to the two empires; so that all the lands and countries lying to the south thereof shall appertain to the empire of China, and whatever lies to the north of it, shall remain to the empire of Russia. All the houses and dwellings, which are at present to the south of the said Ergune, at the mouth of the River Meritken, shall be removed to the north side of the Ergune.

"2nd, The fortress built by the Russians in the place called Yaksa, shall be entirely demolished; and all those subjects of the empire of Russia, now dwelling in the said fortress, shall be transported, with all their effects, upon the lands appertaining to the crown of Russia. The hunters of the respective empires may not, upon any account whatever, pass beyond the bounds settled as above. That in case one or two ordinary persons happen to make excursions beyond the limits, either to hunt, steal, or plunder, they shall be immediately seized and brought before the governors and officers established on the frontiers of both empires; and the said governors, after being informed of the nature of the crime, shall punish them according to their deserts. That if people, assembled to the number of ten or fifteen, shall go armed to hunt or pillage on the land beyond their limits, or shall kill any subject belonging to either crown, the Emperors of both empires shall be informed thereof, and those found guilty of the crime shall be put to death; but no excess whatever, committed by private persons, shall kindle a war, much less shall blood be shed by violent means.

"3rd, Everything that has passed hitherto, of what nature soever it may be, shall be buried in everlasting oblivion.

"4th, From the day that this perpetual peace between both empires shall be sworn to, neither side shall receive any fugitive or deserter; but if any subject of either empire shall fly into the territories of the other, he shall be immediately secured and sent back.

"5th, All subjects of the crown of Russia, who are at present in the empire of China, and all those belonging to the crown of China, who are in the empire of Russia, shall remain as they are.

"6th, Regard being had to the present treaty of peace and mutual union between the two crowns, all persons, of what condition soever they be, may go and come reciprocally, with full liberty, from the territories subject to either empire into those of the other, provided they have passports by which it appears that they come with permission; and they shall be suffered to buy and sell whatever they think fit, and carry on mutual trade.

"7th, All the differences that have arisen relating to the frontiers of both countries being thus terminated, and a sincere peace and eternal union being settled be-

the Galdan* was defeated, on going to offer himself to the Russians, they refused to receive him; in 1696 he died.

An embassy from the Tourgouths arrived through Russia in 1711. These Tourgouths with the Eleuths originally formed one of the four Wala tribes; but in the time of the Ming, some difference having taken place between them and the Eleuths, they travelled westward to the Cossack country and offered themselves to Russia. Being a roving nation, the Russians gave them pasture land in the uncultivated region south of the Gih-tsie-lih river, east of Turkey and north of the Cossacks, where they remained for seventy or eighty years; when hearing of the extinction of the Soungars they came to China with tribute. The emperor being desirous of ascertaining their condition, sent Tulishen, Vice-president of the Board of War to obtain information. Taking the route by Russia, he passed through Siberia and Kasan, the journey there and back occupying three years. Having returned in the 3rd month of 1715, he presented a series of drawings and plans for the imperial inspection. He also wrote a little work† detailing an account of the rivers he had passed. The largest were the Selengge, and the Irtyche, both of which rise in China, and flow into Lake Baikal. In the neighbourhood of Lake Baikal, there is no night at mid-summer. The Selengge receives the waters of the Ergune and the Toura in the Tusiyetu khanate; crossing the Russian frontier the road is by the Tchuku; again turning northward one arrives at the Anggara, which discharges its waters into Lake Baikal; this being the route followed by envoys to and fro. When our am-

between the two nations, there will be no longer any ground for uneasiness, provided the above-mentioned articles of the present treaty, which shall be reduced to writing, be punctually observed.

"8th, The chief ambassadors of the respective crowns shall reciprocally give each other two copies of the aforesaid treaty, sealed with their seals.

"Lastly, This present treaty, with all its articles, shall be engraven in the Tartarian, Chinese, Russian, and Latin languages, upon a stone, which shall be placed at the bounds settled between the two empires, there to remain as a perpetual monument of the good understanding that ought to subsist between them."

* Prince of the Soungar Tartars.

† This work was originally published in Chinese and Manchu; a Russian translation from the Manchu was published by Leontief in 1782, and an English translation from the Chinese by Sir G. Staunton in 1821.

bassador crossed the frontier, the border officer entertained him with the appropriate rites, by order of the emperor of Russia; and provided him with a military escort on the way. At that time the emperor of Russia was forty-one years old, having been twenty-six years on the throne. When he died,* his son being then a child, his widow† reigned in his stead with the title of Kow-keng khan, which signifies Princess.

In 1727, the Russian ambassador Sawa again held a council with our minister the Prince royal Ts'areng of Kalkas; by whom it was decided that the north boundary of the Kalkas, from the river Tchuku westward, along the Purgutei hill, to the Po-muh-sha range, should be the frontier between the two kingdoms; Kiyaktu being appointed as the place for commerce. It was settled that a body of troops with powerful artillery should be stationed there; and the treaty was ratified by an appeal to Heaven.‡ The Rus-

* 1725.

† The Empress Catherine I.

‡ The following is the Treaty above alluded to, translated from the Manchu version, as given in Klaproth's "Chrestomathie Mandchou":—

TREATY OF PEACE, BETWEEN CHINA AND RUSSIA.

By the Will of the Emperor of China:—

Tchapina, Privy-councillor, President of the Board of office, and Household Minister attached to the Office for Interior government;

Tegut, Privy-councillor, President of the Board of Dependencies, and High officer of the Pure red Banner; and Tulishen, Vice-president of the Board of War.

The Illyrian count Sawa Vladislawitch, Ambassador from the Empress of Russia.

These have met and drawn up a Treaty of Peace between the two kingdoms at Niptchau, in the following terms:—

I. ART.—This document has been drawn up as a lasting witness to a treaty of peace between the two kingdoms. From the day of its settlement, each kingdom shall lay a vigorous restraint upon its own subjects, and according to the stipulations of this treaty, each nation shall keep together those under its control, and maintain such a firm government, as shall prevent any matters of altercation.

II. ART.—Now according to the newly-settled treaty between the two kingdoms, all previous questions of discussion between them, are cancelled. Refugees who have crossed the mutual limits previous to this time, shall not be claimed, and shall remain where they now are; but henceforward, if any shall abscond, they must not be retained by either side, but must be rigorously sought out, apprehended, and sent back to the respective guardians of the border.

III. ART.—The most important point in the consultation between the Great officers of the Chinese empire

sians profess the Catholic religion in western Europe; at the southern boundary, near the Cossack country, the Mohammedan is the established faith; at their eastern boundary near Mongolia, they honour Buddhism; hence they have sent

and the Illyrian count Sawa Vladislawitch, the Russian ambassador, is the determination of the boundary between the two kingdoms; the which cannot be identified unless the locality be inspected and pointed out. The Illyrian count Sawa Vladislawitch, the Russian ambassador, having gone to the frontier, has fixed the boundary limits, in concert with Ts'areng, Adjutant general of the Chinese empire, Secondary prince of the High council, and Son-in-law of the emperor, Beszege, Commandant of the imperial guard, and Tulishen, Vice-president of the Board of War.

There is a Russian guard-house by the stream Kiyaktu; and a signal-pile of the Chinese empire on the top of Orhoitu hill. Midway between this guard-house and signal-pile, another pile having been raised, equally dividing the ground, this has been appointed as the commercial boundary of the two kingdoms; and Commissioners (K'a-mi-sar) have been sent to fix the boundary limits on both sides, from the locality thus determined.

From this point the boundary passes eastward to the guard-house of Kiran on the peak of Purgutei hill.

After the guard-house of Kiran, are those of Tsiktei, Aru-kidure, and Aru-hadangsu; passing in a line by these four guard-houses, the river Tchuku has been determined on as the boundary.

From Aru-hadangsu, it extends to the signal-pile of the guard-house at Eper-hadangsu.

From Eper-hadangsu, it reaches to the signal-pile of the Mongolian guard-house at Tchagan aul.

The vacant territory between the part inhabited by Russian subjects, and the signal piles of the Mongolian guard-houses of the Chinese empire shall be equally divided, in the same manner as the division at Kiyaktu. Where there are hill-ridges or rivers, near the location of the Russian subjects, it is determined that these hill-ridges and rivers shall form the boundary; and where there are hill-ridges or rivers near the signal piles of the Mongolian guard-houses, it is determined that these hill-ridges and rivers shall form the boundary. But in open places, where there are neither hills nor rivers, it is determined that signal piles be set up, marking the boundary, and dividing the ground equally in the centre.

From the signal-pile of the guard-house of Tchagan aul, to the banks of the river Ergune, it has been determined that the signal-piles, which the deputies of the two kingdoms, who have gone to inspect the locality beyond the signal-pile of the Mongolian guard-house, after deliberation, have set up, shall form the boundary. From the boundary signal-pile between Kiyaktu and Orhoitu, westward, the line passes by Orhoitu hill, Tumen kuchughun, Pitsiktu, Hoshogo, Puileautu hill, Kuke tallautu, Honggor signal-pile, Yonggor hill, Pos pass, Gutszan hill, Hodahaitu hill, Pogutu ridge of K'o-i peak, Dosidu ridge of Eguden chau-i peak, Klsenektu ridge, Gõrpi ridge, Nuktu ridge, Ergik darkak dalgan, Doros ridge, Kenche madan, Honin ridge, Kim-kimtsik pom, and Shapinal ridge. The line having been drawn through the centre of this chain, the boundary has been determined by an equal division. Where any hills or rivers cross the line between these places, the boundary has been determined also by an equal division. From Shapinal ridge to the banks of the river Ergune, all to the south of the line pertains to the Chinese empire, while all to the north belongs to Russia.

The territory being thus clearly divided and plans drawn, the envoys of the two kingdoms exchanged documents together, which have been brought and given to their respective high officers. During the settlement of

people to China to study the Lama classics, in order to soothe their oriental subjects.

They also send youths to the national college to learn the Manchu and Chi-

this boundary, those lawless subjects of either of the two kingdoms, who had clandestinely crossed the frontier, and fraudulently fixed their abodes in improper localities, have been carefully sought out, and all removed within their respective limits; and vagabonds who were living promiscuously with the people of the two kingdoms have all been removed, and settled in their proper places; so that the frontiers have thus been purified.

Those Uriyanghai* on both sides, who pay an annual tribute of five martens, remain as formerly with their original masters; those Uriyanghai who formerly gave one marten, are exempted from the payment of this one marten, from the day of the settlement of this treaty henceforward.

True copies of the agreement now concluded have been exchanged between the respective authorities.

IV. ART.—The treaty of peace having been now newly settled, by which all persons are prevented crossing the frontier between the two kingdoms; it is agreed in concert with the Illyrian count Sawa Vladislawitche, Russian ambassador, that a caravan commerce be carried on between the two nations. In carrying on this commerce, it is determined that the original regulation limiting the number of the men to two hundred, be still in force; and once in three years, they may proceed to the capital. These being all traders, it is determined that the ancient custom of giving food and provender shall be abandoned; and that no impost shall be levied on the buyers or sellers. When the traders reach the frontier, they must first forward a written despatch, intimating the occasion of their arrival; when an officer will be sent out to meet them, and they will be allowed to enter and transact their business. On the road, if they purchase camels, horses, or food, or hire carriers, they shall purchase or hire at their own expense. There shall be officers as chiefs, to undertake the control of the traders, who shall manage the affairs of those under them; and if any matters of dispute arise, they shall equitably adjust the differences. The chiefs who superintend the affairs of the traders, being men of rank, shall be treated according to their station. It is determined that there shall be no restraint upon the purchase and sale of every kind of goods; except those which are prohibited by the two nations, which must not be bought or sold. It is determined that if any secretly stay behind, they shall not be allowed to remain without permission from their chiefs. It is determined in accordance with the proposal of the Illyrian count Sawa Vladislawitche, Russian ambassador, that if any one falls sick and dies, his goods shall be all given over to his countrymen. Besides the caravan trade between the two countries, a convenient place shall be selected at Kiyaktu or Niptchau near the Selenge, for the purpose of carrying on a retail trade on the boundary of the two kingdoms; when merchants going there to trade, may, according to their option, surround their dwellings with walls and barriers; and it is determined that no duties shall be levied. If instead of travelling by the direct road, any deviate into another course, or go to trade in some other place, their goods shall be confiscated. The two kingdoms shall respectively appoint an officer of equal rank, with the same number of troops under each, who shall unite in concert for the protection of the settlement; and they shall adjust all matters of difference; in accordance with the proposal of the Illyrian count Sawa Vladislawitche, Russian ambassador.

* This is the name given by the Mongols to some Soyete tribes living in the neighbourhood of the Altai mountains, which were subdued by, and rendered tributary to the Mongols in 1755. (*Mém. rel. à l'Asie*, vol. 1, p. 11.)

V. ART.—From this time forward, the Russian Hotel in the capital shall be specially appropriated to the location of all Russians on their arrival. The Illyrian count Sawa Vladislawitche, Russian ambassador, having requested that a Church (Miaou) might be erected; by the aid of the officer of the Chinese empire, charged with the management of Russian affairs, a Church has been erected by the Russian Hotel. It having been proposed that one priest (Lama) now in the capital shall reside there, and that three other priests shall be sent to assist him; according to this proposal, three other priests are to be sent; when they arrive, they shall be entertained and provided for, the same as those priests who have previously arrived, and shall reside in this Church; and it is determined that Russians shall meet with no obstruction in worshipping God (Futsighi,†) and reciting prayers, according to their own ritual, in the capital. Four Russian youths as students, and two adults understanding the Russian and Latin languages, who have been left by the Illyrian count Sawa Vladislawitche, shall also reside in this place, and shall have an allowance from the government for their maintenance. When they have completed their studies, they may be recalled at the proper period.

VI. ART.—As it is very important that documents passing between the two kingdoms should be authenticated by a seal, henceforward, letters sent from China to Russia shall all be sealed with the seal of the Board of Dependencies, as before, and forwarded to the Russian Senate. Letters sent from Russia to China, shall be sealed with the seals of the Russian Senate, and the Governor of Tobolsk, and forwarded to the Chinese Board of Dependencies. When letters are sent, relative to absconders, robbery, or such matters, at places in the vicinity of the border, they shall be forwarded with the respective seals and signatures of Wyal dortzi the Tusiyetu khan, and the Prince Dantzin dortzi, on the Chinese frontier, and the city chiefs on the Russian frontier. When letters are sent to the Russians from Wyal dortzi the Tusiyetu khan, and the Prince Dantzin dortzi, or from the Russians to Wyal dortzi the Tusiyetu khan, and the prince Dantzi dortzi, the courier shall follow the road through Kiyaktu. If, however, it be a matter of urgency, he may take any road he finds most expeditious; but if any one clandestinely departs from the Kiyaktu road, for a shorter course, the frontier khan and prince, and the Russian city chiefs shall reciprocally inform each other by letter, that when the matter has been investigated, the delinquent may be punished.

VII. ART.—Formerly the Interior minister Sunggoda, and Feodor Alexiewitche,† in a mutual consultation respecting the territory by the river Oud, agreed that this land should for the time remain neutral; and it was noted in the record, that it might form the subject of future decision, either by an embassy or by written correspondence.

It was said to the Illyrian count Sawa Vladislawitche, the Russian ambassador,—"Since you are sent by your empress for the special purpose of negotiating this business, we may deliberate respecting the settlement of this territory. Now your people are in the habit of crossing the border at Ghinggun tугурик; if something is not determined on with regard to this, between our two kingdoms, the people dwelling on this border land will certainly at some future period fall into contentions. As this pertains to the treaty of peace between the two kingdoms, we may now come to some decision on the

* The Manchu name for Buddha, here used generally for God.

† Count Feodor Alexiewitche Golewin, Russian ambassador in 1689.

nese languages and literature. These are lodged in the old Assembly Hotel, and

point." The Illyrian count Sawa Vladislawitche, the Russian ambassador replied,—“My empress has given me no commission to treat of the country towards the east; and as I am not clearly informed respecting that part, matters remaining according to previous settlement, a rigorous restraint may be put upon our people crossing the frontier.” We rejoined,—“Since your empress has not commissioned you to treat of the country towards the east, we will not urge you in this matter, and it may in the mean time remain neutral ground; but on your return, you must certainly establish a severe restraint upon your people; for if our people catch any coming across the frontier to our side, they will certainly be punished; when you cannot say we have violated the treaty. If any of our people go across the border to your side, do you also punish them. Now since nothing is said with regard to the territory by the river Oud, and in the mean time it remains neutral ground, your people must not clandestinely fix their residences there. When you the Illyrian count Sawa Vladislawitche, Russian ambassador, have returned, you will explain the matter of this territory to your empress, and suggest to her the expediency of sending, as mutual deputies, men acquainted with that locality to inspect and draw out some settlement respecting it. That there may be no contravention of the treaty, on account of this small matter, a document has been drawn up on the subject, and sent to your Senate.”

VIII. ART.—Let the frontier chiefs of the two nations quickly decide every affair according to justice. If any involve a matter in delay, in consideration of their own private interest, they must be punished according to the laws of their respective kingdoms.

IX. ART.—When an ambassador or envoy is despatched from either kingdom on international business, having reached the border, announcing the business on which he is come, or his rank, to the proper authority at the border, he will wait till some one comes to meet and introduce him. The letter for his introduction having arrived, he will be supplied with food at each station, and introduced with official honours. On his arrival, he will be furnished with a house and provisions. If it happens to be a year when merchandise is not brought, it has been determined that no merchandise must be brought with him. If on occasion of urgent business, one or two couriers be despatched, it has been determined that on presenting their credentials to the officers at the frontier, they shall furnish them with conductors, provisions and horses; in accordance with the proposal of the Illyrian count Sawa Vladislawitche, the Russian ambassador. Despatches and envoys passing between

according to regulation, they are replaced by others every ten years.

the two countries, being matters of importance, the least delay cannot be tolerated. Henceforward on occasion of the transmission of a despatch or the deputation of an envoy, if either country fails to send a reply to the despatch, or unnecessarily detains the envoy for a length of time, without a return commission; since this will be contrary to the stipulations of the treaty, neither ambassadors nor merchants will be admitted, until the matter of obstruction has been cleared up, when they will be allowed to proceed as before.

X. ART.—Henceforward if any of the subjects of either kingdom abscond, when taken they will be put to death. Those who cross the border with arms, and commit assassination or robbery will also in like manner be put to death. If any, not having a passport, cross the border with arms, although they neither commit assassination nor robbery, will also be amenable to punishment, according to the circumstances of the case. Should any soldier abscond, taking his master's property with him, when taken, if a Chinese subject, he shall be decapitated; if a Russian, he shall be strangled; and the property shall be given to the original owner. If any cross the border and steal camels or horses, when taken they shall be delivered up to their chief, who will determine their punishment. In fixing the sentence, the verdict shall be according to the number of the offence; for the first offence, the penalty shall be ten times the value of the property stolen; for the second offence, twenty times the value of the property; and for the third offence, death. When any one, hunting on the border territory, for his own advantage, fraudulently trespasses on the land of another, besides forfeiting to the government the game he has taken, he shall also be punished according to the offence. Any of the common people who improperly cross the border without a passport, will be punished in the same manner; as it has been determined, in concert with the Illyrian count Sawa Vladislawitche, the Russian ambassador.

XI. ART.—A treaty of peace having been now newly settled between the two kingdoms, copies of the contract have been mutually exchanged; the Illyrian count Sawa Vladislawitche, the Russian ambassador having given one attested by his seal, to the Great Officers of China, written in the Russian and Latin languages; and the Great Officers of China having given one attested by the customary seal, to the Illyrian count Sawa Vladislawitche, the Russian ambassador, written in the Manchu, Russian and Latin languages. This document has been printed, and circulated for general information among those living on the frontier.

Yung-ching 5th year (A.D. 1727), 7th month, 7th day.

Another envoy arrived through Russia from the Tourgouths with tribute in 1754.

On the subjugation of the Western Borders by China in 1757, the rebel chief Amoursana* fled to Russia, when the Chinese emperor ordered the Board of Dependencies to make an application for his surrender. The Russians replied that he had been drowned in crossing a river; but in a later and more authentic despatch, they stated that he had recently died of the small pox, and had his body conveyed to Kiyaktu, that it might be identified by the Chinese authorities.

On another occasion the Eleuth rebel chief Shay-ling having killed a Chinese Adjutant general, took refuge in Russia, when a special envoy was despatched from China to demand that he should be delivered up; but this meeting with no greater success than had attended the previous application, the emperor was greatly incensed, and put a stop to the trade at Kiyaktu. In 1771 however, Shay-ling induced the whole tribe of Tourgouths, upwards of a hundred thousand in number, to return to Ili, and give in their allegiance to China. Since the conquest of Hungary by Russia, a hereditary animosity had existed between the latter nation and Turkey; which had broken out into open strife about the time above alluded to, in consequence of the refusal on the part of Turkey to submit to the claims set forth by Russia. The Tourgouths had been several times summoned by the Russians to undertake an expedition against the Turks; but being unskilled in the art of war, and fearing to engage in this hazardous enterprise, they left the Russian empire in a body, and resolved to tender their submission to China. The Chinese emperor called a council of his ministers on the occasion, when the general feeling was, that by receiving these refugees, a quarrel at the border might be the result; but such apprehensions were overruled by Keen-lung, who issued orders that the Board of Dependencies should send a despatch to the border officers, explaining, that as Ili was originally a Chinese territory, the Tourgouths were originally a tribe belonging to China, and Shay-ling was a revolted

Chinese subject, who had now returned to his allegiance, he might upon these considerations be received without compromising the stipulations of the treaty. Russia allowed the matter there to rest, making no further inquiry respecting the Tourgouths. The trade was reopened in 1779.

In 1789 a rebel against the Chinese government was again harboured by the Russians; on which occasion commercial intercourse was stopped, and a severe interdiction issued against the export of Tea and Rhubarb across the boundary; but three years later these restrictions were removed.

The imperial throne of Russia having been occupied in succession by husband and wife, in 1791 Sung-keun the head officer at Kiyaktu stated that the son of the late empress, being now upwards of thirty years of age, was about to succeed his mother on the throne, and as no direct diplomatic embassy had been sent to China hitherto, all former expeditions being merely for commercial purposes, he requested that he might thus pay his addresses to the great emperor. Keen-lung having expressed his assent, a special ambassador was despatched to China, by the emperor of Russia; but on reaching the boundary and refusing to perform the usual prostration rites, he was obliged to return without proceeding farther. Hence Russia is omitted in the list of the tributary kingdoms, recorded in the annals of the Board of Rites, contained in the "National Statistics." When the head officer at Kulun appointed by the Board of Dependencies for regulating the commerce between the Mongols and Russians, held consultations with the two generals, their dispatches were forwarded to the Russian senate, these officers refusing the titles proper for an address to the emperor.

Russia exceeds other nations both in extent of land, and amount of productions. The people carry on trade with the Sha-chang khanate and the several tribes of Gae-woo-han, to the west of Tibet; besides these they have commercial dealings with Gan-tsie-yen, Ili, Hami, and the Kalkas on the west, and extend their intercourse as far as Hih-lung-keang on the east. In autumn their horses are

* A prince of Soungaria.

in good condition. The merchants arrive with their goods packed in felt. Their faces are white with a tinge of red, having high noses and handsome beard and whiskers. They wear red felt hats and oiled boots, and live in tents ranged in regular order from Kiyaktu to the west bank of the Amour. From Kiyaktu westward there are fourteen encampments of the tribes of the Chechen khanate, where the ground spreads out into an extensive plain; farther to the west are high hills and dense forests, interspersed with mountain streams, being on the east bank of the Selengge river; the road winds along for upwards of eight hundred *le*, till it reaches Kulün, where the country becomes abrupt and precipitous.

When the Soungars were in their strength, they sent troops to inspect the Russian boundary, who penetrated six hundred *le* beyond the city of Gih-urh-kow, without seeing any one; but suspecting the Russians were in ambush to take them by surprise, they hastily returned. Ever since the Soungars were exterminated by China, the Russians have been overawed by our troops; so that we have been free from border disturbances for two hundred years.

When the kingdom of Russia was first established at the beginning of the Ming, the people were rude and fierce, being unacquainted with the arts and implements of the west; until the time of the prince Peter, whose military genius formed a prominent characteristic; secretly quitting his capital, he visited the dock

yards and arsenals of other nations, where he learned the mechanical arts, returned and taught them to his subjects; since which time, their ships of war and artillery are second to none in Europe.

There are several kingdoms divide Russia from England and France, but ships can pass to and fro by the Mediterranean. Since the time of the aggrandizement of this state, it has been looked on with jealousy by all the kingdoms of Europe. In 1708 an attack was made on it by the king of Sweden,* by way of the Mediterranean. The Russians allowed the enemy to land, and then cut off their retreat, when great numbers of them perished in consequence of the rain and snow, and the Swedish king made his escape by north Turkey.

In 1811 the French prince Napoleon with 130,000 chosen troops, entered into an alliance with the other states who furnished an army of 500,000 men, when they made a combined attack on Russia. The whole of the inhabitants fled from the capital, leaving the city vacant, when the French entered it in great numbers; but the Russians, taking advantage of the wind and snow, secretly returned by night and set fire to the city. The violence of the wind caused the fire to rage, and the French troops were scattered in all directions. Since that time they have been engaged in contention with England for Central India, which is narrated elsewhere.

* There is a slight correction of the Chinese text here.

SUPPLEMENTARY REMARKS ON RUSSIAN AFFAIRS.

FROM THE SHING-WOO-KE, OR "WARS OF THE MANCHUS;"

BY WEI YUEN OF SHAOU-YANG.

The great southern ocean is called the Indian Sea, India being in the vicinity of Ulterior Tibet and Birmah, while the Ghorkas of Nepal are situated between. Bengal of the Ghorkas is Eastern India; Bombay to the south-west of the latter is Southern India; Hindostan lying along the borders of the Indus northward is Central India; north from this, Cashmere, the ancient kingdom of Ke-pin is Northern India; several Parsee and Mohammedan nations on the west bank of the Indus form Western India. These kingdoms, are all on the south-west of the Himalaya mountains, and join the Western Border nations of the Chinese empire. Of late the English have proclaimed themselves rulers of the Five Indies; but they have no hold upon Northern India; they have scarcely possession of half of Eastern and Western India; while Central and Southern India are almost entirely annexed by the English government; such is their present condition.

In the time of Kang-he and Yung-chung (1661-1735), the English merely held the two seaports of Bengal and Bombay, not yet having fixed their eyes on the whole coast of India; and the Russians being then at war with Prussia in the north-west, had no leisure to turn their attention towards the southern pasturages. The nations to the west of the Himalayas, along the shores of the Mediterranean, were all under the control of the Mohammedans of Arabia. Hence in the time of Kien-lung (1736-1795) when the Western Borders were first pacified, Hindostan was at war with Badakshan, and although it had recently been allied with the Douranee empire, *yet the latter held the Mohammedan faith, and not the religion of Europe.*

From the time of Kien-lung and Keating downwards, the Russian soldiers have attacked and subjugated the various tribes from the Yellow sea to the Black sea. Passing along the borders of the Caspian sea, they also carried invasion southward; while the English swallowed

up Hindostan from the Indus northward; so that, excepting Bokhara, Douranee, and other large kingdoms to the west of the Himalayas, *the nomade Mohammedan tribes in the vicinity of the Caspian sea, were all united to Russia; while of the various Mohammedan nations on both sides of the Indus, and those containing the large cities by the Southern ocean, one half belonged to the English.* The English and Russians were separated from each other by some Mohammedan nations, a distance of several hundred *le* being thus placed between the two.

In 1839 hostilities arose between the Afghans on the northern frontier of Hindostan, and the Shah Soojah, when the latter sought assistance from the English. The English thereupon assembling the regiments they had on guard at their various stations in India, attacked and reduced the Afghans. The Afghan chief* fled and laid his case before Russia; when the Russians collecting their Tartar troops from the various posts of defence, attacked Persia on the south, took Khiva and Bokhara, and wishing to fortify their position by the restoration of Afghanistan, they made a direct attack upon India; but the English trusting to the dangerous character of the country, resisted them by force. *At that time the English and Russian frontiers were merely separated by a large mountain called the Hindoo-cush, and sanguinary contests were continued without interruption.* The Afghans and adherents of Shah Soojah were on the south of this hill; Khiva and Bokhara being both to the north of it. But the subjects of Shah Soojah also made excursions to the north; *hence the cause of the misunderstanding between the English and Russians, this being the scene of their military engagements.*

In 1838 Shah Soojah being routed by the Afghans, he fled for refuge to India. At that time, the English Governor-general was Lord Auckland, and the Commander-in-chief was Sir John Keane.

* Dost Mahomed.

In July 1839, the three armies of Bengal, Bombay and Hindostan were placed under the command of Sir John Keane, Shah Soojah himself leading the way, at the head of a native contingent. At that time the Afghan chief held his court at Caubul; his second son† commanded a garrison of 3,500 men in defence of the city of Ghuznee; while his eldest son‡ at the head of several thousand troops, was on defence in the neighbourhood of Caubul. The city of Ghuznee, naturally strong and difficult of access, was further fortified by a double ditch and double wall outside the city gates. The English troops first pitched their camp near the ramparts,§ to induce the enemy to commence hostilities; but the latter making no movement, they then made an attack in three places, with horse, camel, and light artillery, besides opening fire with mortars. The mortars discharged their shot in empty air, when after ascending a sufficient height, it fell into the city. The city being thus placed under siege, companies were posted to cut off all communication of troops by the Caubul road. The Afghan chief dispatched his eldest son from Caubul, with 1,500 horsemen and 3,000 foot soldiers, to hasten to the scene of action, that he might hem in and attack the rear ranks; but he was repelled by the native force of Shah Soojah.

On the following day|| the various companies made a combined attack on the city gate, relieving each other in rotation; when having thus forced their way, they fought with deadly courage inside the city. Shells also falling thick within the walls, the terrified inhabitants strove to make their escape in all directions. The siege of the city lasted two days and nights, and the chief's second son was taken captive.

Following up this victory, they next turned towards Caubul, which they advanced to attack by two different roads.¶ The Afghan chief and his eldest son,** with 13,000 troops held Khybur Pass; but the officers and

men, conscious of their precarious position, sought opportunity to abandon the enterprise. Under these circumstances, the prince and his son fled at the head of 300 horsemen and took up the defence of Bameean, leaving fodder and provisions, utensils and arms all piled up in a heap. The English having now got possession of two cities, Shah Soojah was restored to the kingdom; and by agreement a company of European and Hindostanee troops, with some subjugated Afghan soldiers, were left to assist him in protecting his territory. Such is an outline of the recent invasion of Northern India by the English.

When the Afghan chief fled to Bameean, he sent to ask military succour from Russia. The General of the Russian Tartar guard, having long had an eye on the wealth of Eastern and Southern India, had been restrained by the Mohammedan tribes; but now that these latter were fighting among themselves, he formed a plan to attack India, by way of Persia. Persia is the father-land of Mohammedanism; and the Parsees who come to trade at Canton, and who are called *Keang-keo*,†† belonged to England of old; hence the English Governor-general Lord Auckland sent troops to assist Persia in expelling the Russians. After this, the Russians under pretence of claiming their run-away slaves, came unexpectedly and routed the two tribes of Khiva and Bokhara, these being all Mohammedan nomades in the neighbourhood of Afghanistan. On another occasion they attacked and seized three settlements‡‡ under the dominion of Shah Soojah, on the north of the Hindoo-cush. They then stationed a military guard by the river Oxus, adjoining the English frontier of Central India; at the same time, they appointed men to study the laws and learn the language of India, making use of the Bokharans as their guides. *But they never for a single day lost sight of India; while the English at the same time kept a strict guard over Afghanistan.* The latter were also deliberating about the re-establishment of the Afghan chief in his former dignity, and being free from all outside contentions, turned their attention to the

† Hyder Khan.

‡ Afrul Khan.

§ July 22d, 1839.

|| July 23d.

¶ August, 6th.

** This is a mistake; it was Akbar Khan, the favourite son of Dost Mahomed.

†† Literally "Foot of the estuary."

‡‡ Kundus, Balkh, and Badakshan.

strengthening of their frontier ; *but before their deliberations were concluded, the disturbances at Canton commenced.*

The same year, the Tartar government being incensed at the vitiating influence on China, of the opium of the Europeans, an imperial commissioner§§ was despatched to Canton, who issued a severe prohibition against opium, and also put a stop to the trade with the English ; at the same time he published their crime for the information of other nations, when the French and Americans, and those who were inimical to the English, were greatly delighted. The Ghorkas also informed the resident minister of Tibet, wishing him to send troops to attack Eastern India. It was reported that a Russian envoy had at that time started from Pe-kih-urh, on his way to Peking ; where he was to enter into an agreement, by which Chinese troops were to be sent by way of Birmah and Tibet, to hem in and attack India ; *and although the affair did not take place, yet the English were very much disturbed about it.* Either they thought to make an irruption for plunder, before the Russian envoy had reached Peking ; or they had an idea that, China placing less confidence in the Russians

than in other nations, would give no heed to their representation. When the news reached the various countries in the south and west, all the ports were shut against the sale of tea and rhubarb, and the prices rose to double. The English sent home the money they received for the opium, and there were no duties paid, a loss of upwards of a million dollars being sustained in each case ; bankers refused to advance money, silver rose to an extravagant price, and they had to borrow several tens of hundred thousands dollars from the banks of neighbouring countries, to supply the army. The Americans and French at Canton successively requested leave to render assistance with their men of war, that they might exert themselves on behalf of China ; which fact may be verified by examining the several memorials sent up by the Governor and the Generals in Canton ; then was the time that China ought to have taken advantage of circumstances.

In the preceding paper on the Russian treaty, the principle of setting barbarians fighting among themselves was illustrated. But as some are disposed without examining the matter, to make light of the facts, this chapter has been appended ; to which is superadded, a translation from the Macao gazettes.

§§ Lin Tsih-tseuen.

OPINION OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

CONCERNING

THE JUDICIAL POWERS OF THE COMMISSIONER OR MINISTER AND OF CONSULS OF THE UNITED STATES IN TURKEY AND CHINA.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
October 8, 1855.

The following opinion of the Attorney General, on the judicial authority of the commissioner or minister and of consuls of the United States in China and Turkey, is published for their instruction :

ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE,
September 19, 1855.

SIR : Your communication of the 13th of June calls for my opinion as to certain points in the judicial jurisdiction of the commissioner and consuls of the United States in China. My reply has been delayed for the purpose of conference with Mr. McLane, the late, and Mr. Parker, the present, commissioner. I now proceed to state the conclusions to which reflection has brought me.

That jurisdiction, so far as regards the forms and the manner of its exercise, is regulated by the act of August 11, 1848, which purports to have for its object to carry into effect certain provisions, in this relation, contained in the respective treaties between the United States and China, and the United States and the Ottoman Porte. (ix Stat. at Large, p. 276.)

This act, consisting of twenty-four sections, is, of course, to be considered as a whole ; and anything obscure in one part of it is to be elucidated by reference to other parts.

It is, avowedly, based on the two treaties in question, and especially that with China, and is to be construed in subordination to that, and to the constitution.

In substance, it accepts and gives actual form to those stipulations of treaty, which confer on all citizens of the United States the rights of extraterritoriality in China and Turkey.

The legal rationale of the treaty stipulations as to China, with which we are now chiefly concerned, and their relation to the legislative authority of the United States, are explained in the following despatch of the minister who negotiated the treaty :

" I entered China with the formed *general* conviction that the United States ought not to concede to any foreign state, under any circumstances, jurisdiction over the life and liberty of a citizen of the United States, unless that foreign state be of our own family of nations,—in a word, a Christian state.

" The states of Christendom are bound together by treaties, which confer mutual rights and prescribe reciprocal obligations. They acknowledge the authority of certain maxims and usages, re-

ceived among them by common consent, and called the law of nations ; but which, not being fully acknowledged and observed by the Mohammedan or Pagan states, which occupy the greater part of the globe, is, *in fact*, only the international law of Christendom. Above all, the states of Christendom have a common origin, a common religion, a common intellectuality ; associated by which common ties, each permits to the subjects of the other, in time of peace, ample means of access to its dominions for the purposes of trade, full right to reside therein, to transmit letters by its mails, to travel in its interior at pleasure, using the highways, canals, stagecoaches, steam-boats, and railroads of the country as freely as the native inhabitants. And they hold a regular and systematic intercourse as governments, by means of diplomatic agents of each, residing in the courts of the others, respectively. All these facts impart to the states of Christendom many of the qualities of one confederated republic.

" How different is the condition of things out of the limits of Christendom ! From the greater part of Asia and Africa, individual Christians are utterly excluded, either by the sanguinary barbarism of the inhabitants, or by their phrensed bigotry, or by the narrow-minded policy of their governments. To their courts, the ministers of Christian governments have no means of access except by force, and at the head of fleets and armies. As between them and us, there is no community of ideas, no common law of nations, no interchange of good offices ; and it is only during the present generation, that treaties, most of them imposed by force of arms or by terror, have begun to bring down the great Mohammedan and Pagan governments into a state of inchoate peaceful association with Christendom.

" To none of the governments of this character, as it seemed to me, was it safe to commit the lives and liberties of citizens of the United States.

" In our treaties with the Barbary states, with Turkey, and with Muscat, I had the precedent of the assertion, on our part, of more or less of exclusion of the local jurisdiction, in conformity with the usage, as it is expressed in one of them, observed in regard to the subjects of other Christian states.

" Mr. Urquhart thinks these concessions have not been wise on the part of the Mohammedan states. It may be so for them ; but it will be time enough for them to obtain jurisdiction over Christian foreigners, when these last can visit Mecca, Damascus, or Fez, as safely and freely as they do Rome and Paris, and when submission to the local jurisdiction becomes reciprocal.

"Owing to the close association of the nations of Christendom, and the right their people mutually enjoy and exercise, of free entry into each other's country, there is reciprocity in the recognition of the local jurisdiction. Not so in the case of the great Moslem or Pagan states of Asia and Africa, whose subjects do not generally frequent Europe and America, either for trade, instruction, or friendship.

"In China, I found that Great Britain had stipulated for the absolute exemption of her subjects from the jurisdiction of the empire; while the Portuguese attained the same object through their own local jurisdiction at Macao. *

"I deemed it, therefore, my duty, for all the reasons assigned, to assert a similar exemption on behalf of citizens of the United States. This exemption is agreed to in terms by the letter of the treaty of Wang-Hiya. And it was fully admitted by the Chinese, in the correspondence, which occurred contemporaneously with the negotiation of the treaty, on occasion of the death of Sha Aman.

"By that treaty, thus construed, the laws of the Union, follow its citizens, and its banner protects them, even within the domain of the Chinese empire.

"The treaties of the United States with the Barbary powers, and with Muscat, confer judicial functions on our consuls in those countries, and the treaty with Turkey places the same authority in the hands of the minister or consul, as the substitute for the local jurisdiction, which, in each case of controversy, would control it if it arose in Europe or America. These treaties are in this respect accordant with general usage, and with what I conceive to be the principles of the law of nations in relation to the non-Christian powers.

"In extending these principles to our intercourse with China, seeing that I have obtained the concession of absolute and unqualified extritoriality, I considered it well to use in the treaty terms of such generality, in describing the substitute-jurisdiction, as, while they hold unimpaired the customary or law-of-nations-jurisdiction, do also leave to Congress the full and complete direction to define, if it please to do so, what officers, with what powers, and in what form of law, shall be the instruments for the protection and regulation of the citizens of the United States.

"And it only remains, in case the treaty shall be ratified, to adopt such legislative provisions as the wisdom of the President and of Congress may desire or approve, to give effect to the concessions, which the Chinese government has made in this matter, and which seem to me so important in principle, and so material to the honor and interests of the United States." (Mr. Cushing to Mr. Calhoun, September 29, 1844. MS., State Dept.)

This anticipated dependence of the act on the treaty is plainly expressed by it, in so far as regards the *civil* jurisdiction of the commissioner and consuls, when it says: "Which jurisdiction shall embrace all controversies between citizens of the United States or others provided for by said treaty." (Sec. 3d.) And in the text of the act, as well as its title, it purports "to carry into effect" or into "full effect" the provisions of the treaty.

The *criminal* jurisdiction conferred by the act is general in terms, without, however, as we shall see

hereafter, overstepping the treaty. Whether the civil jurisdiction is *broad*er than that of the treaty, is to be decided by its enactments. I do not perceive any provision of the act, in this respect, which goes beyond the treaty. Any provision, to have such effect, must be affirmative and reasonably explicit; because the tribunals, constituted by the act as well as the treaty, are special ones, having limited jurisdiction, namely, that which is conferred by treaty or statute. I repeat, that nothing appears, in the course of the act, capable of imparting jurisdiction beyond the persons and predicaments provided for by the treaty stipulations.

Hence, incontestably, in exploring the intent of the statute, we must be careful at no time to lose sight of the provisions of the treaty, at least in the question of jurisdiction.

Let us now trace, through the treaty and statute, the persons who are to exercise this jurisdiction, the forms of its exercise, the laws it is to administer, and the persons and the conditions of its application.

"For the superintendence and regulation of the concerns of the citizens of the United States doing business at the said five ports" (of China) says the treaty, "the government of the United States may appoint consuls, or other officers, at the same, who shall be duly recognised as such by the officers of the Chinese government." (Art. iv.)

After which it proceeds:

"All questions in regard to rights, whether of property or person, arising between citizens of the United States in China, shall be subject to the jurisdiction, and regulated by the *authorities*, of their own government. And all controversies occurring in China between citizens of the United States and the subjects of any other government, shall be regulated by the treaties existing between the United States and such governments, respectively, without interference on the part of China." (Art. xxv.)

"And if controversies arise between citizens of the United States and subjects of China, which cannot be amicably settled otherwise, the same shall be examined and decided conformably to justice and equity by the public officers of the two nations acting in conjunction." (Art. xxiv.)

Finally, in regard to crimes, it is agreed that—"Citizens of the United States, who may commit any crime in China, shall be subject to be tried and punished only by the consul, or other public functionary of the United States, thereto authorized according to the laws of the United States." (Art. xxi.—See viii Stat. at Large, pp. 592, 597.)

On attentive consideration of the provisions, it will be seen that they confer on citizens of the United States in China unqualified and absolute extritoriality in all *criminal* matters; and that the sole jurisdiction of the United States over its citizens in China is plainly perfect in terms, except in the following cases:—

1. Where, in a matter of civil right, it involves controversy between a Chinese and an American, then the authorities of the two governments are to have *concerted* action.

2. Where it involves controversy between an American and some person other than Chinese, as English or French, for example, then its adjustment is to be regulated by the international rela-

tions of the United States, and of Great Britain or France.

3. Whether any of the provisions quoted apply to a case of civil right in which some *government* is a party, on the one side, and a citizen of the United States on the other, is a question to be considered more particularly in the sequel.

In our treaty with the Ottoman Porte, the stipulations of extritoriality are less explicit. In *terms*, it seems to be imperfect; but, interjecting into each stipulation its true construction, it will be seen that, so far as they go, they accomplish the object as follows:—

“If litigations and disputes arise between the subjects of the Sublime Porte and citizens of the United States, the parties shall not be heard nor shall judgment be pronounced unless the American dragoman be present. Causes (between subjects of the Porte and citizens of the United States) in which the sum (in controversy) may exceed five hundred piastres, shall be submitted to the Sublime Porte, to be decided according to the laws of equity and justice. Citizens of the United States of America, quietly pursuing their Commerce, (or other affairs in the Turkish empire), including the countries subject to its suzerainty, and not being charged or convicted of any crime or offence, shall not be molested (either by acts of violence, or by any claim or pretence of local jurisdiction); and even when they may have committed some offence, they shall not be arrested or put in prison by the local authorities, but they shall be tried by their minister or consul, and punished according to their offence, following, in this respect, the usage observed towards other Franks (that is, tried and punished by the authorities and the laws of the United States).” (Art. xxi, viii Stat. at Large, p. 400.)

In order to execute these treaties,—to carry the laws of the United States into Turkey and China,—to have our territorial jurisdiction follow our people and our flag into those empires,—persons clothed with lawful authority are the necessary instruments. In the treaty with Turkey they are spoken of as the “minister or consul” of the United States; in that with China, as “consuls or other officers,” “public officers,” the “consul or other public functionary,” and “the authorities,” of the United States. Then comes in the statute, which provides for the exercise of judicial power over the citizens of the United States in the cases which it defines, by “commissioner and consuls of the United States duly appointed to reside in China,” (sec. 1); and by “the minister of the United States and the consuls appointed by the United States to reside” in Turkey, (sec. 22): it being provided that the term “commissioner,” like that of “minister,” is intended for “the person vested with the powers of chief diplomatic functionary of the United States,” and the term “consul” for “any person vested by the United States with, and exercising, the consular authority,” in Turkey and China.

It is observable that the statute provides in terms for the exercise of judicial powers by the ministers and consuls in Turkey only “so far as regards the punishment of crime,” (sec. 22). I think this is a defect, if not oversight, in the act. It leaves all questions of civil jurisdiction to the vagueness of the general analogies of public law as applied to

Franks in the Levant. What is to follow, therefore, is only in part applicable to Turkey, and will be stated mainly as affecting China. (Mr. Toucey’s Opinion, Jan. 31, 1849, ed. 1851, p. 2136).

In thus retaining jurisdiction of our citizens in China, and providing persons to exercise it, we could not rely upon the law of nations exclusively, nor upon usages, or a customary local code applicable to the emergency, such as exists in the Levant. Accordingly, the statute contains the following important provision:

“That such jurisdiction in criminal and civil matters shall, in all cases, be exercised and enforced in conformity with the laws of the United States, which are hereby, so far as is necessary to execute said treaty, extended over all citizens of the United States in China, (and over all others to the extent that the terms of the treaty justify or require), so far as such laws are suitable to carry said treaty into effect; but in all cases where such laws are not adapted to the object, or are deficient in the provisions necessary to furnish suitable remedies, the common law shall be extended in like manner over such citizens and others in China; and if defects still remain to be supplied, and neither the common law nor the statutes of the United States furnish appropriate and suitable remedies, the commissioner shall, by decrees and regulations, which shall have the force of law, supply such defects and deficiencies.”

The system of law is composed, therefore, of—

1. The laws of the United States, comprehending the constitution, treaties, acts of Congress, equity and admiralty law, and the law of nations, public and private, as administered by the Supreme Court, and circuit and district courts of the United States, and, in certain cases, regulations of the Executive Departments.

2. “The common law.” In this respect, the statute furnishes a code of laws for the great mass of civil or municipal duties, rights, and relations of men, such as, within the United States, are of the resort of the courts of the several States.

Some general code in these respects became necessary, because the law of the United States,—that is, the federal legislation,—does not include these matters, and, of itself, would be of no avail towards determining any of the questions of property, succession, contract, which constitute the staple matter of ordinary life.

For such of the States as were founded in whole or chief part by colonists from Great Britain and Ireland, or their descendants, the law of England, as it existed in each of those States at the time of their separation from Great Britain, with such modifications as that law had undergone by the operation of colonial adjudication, legislation, or usage, became the common law of such independent State.

Meantime, in addition to many changes, differing among themselves, which the common law underwent in each of the colonies before it became a State, that common law has been yet more largely changed by the legislation and judicial construction of each of the States.

Hence, it was not enough to enact that the common law should intervene to supply, in China, deficiencies in the law of the United States. For the question would be sure to arise: What common law? The common law of England at the

time when the British colonies were transmuted into independent republican States? Or the common law of Massachusetts? Or that of New York, or Pennsylvania, or Virginia? For all these are distinct, and in many important respects diverse, "common law."

To dispose of this difficulty, the statute went one step further, and enacted, that —

3. "Decrees and regulations" may be made from time to time by the commissioner, which shall have the force of law, and supply any defects or deficiencies in the common law and the laws of the United States.

This power of supplementary decree or regulation serves to provide for many cases of criminality, which neither federal statutes nor the common law would cover.

In addition to which, it is enacted that the commissioner, with advice of the several consuls, shall prescribe the forms of processes to be issued, the mode of executing the same, the form of oaths, the costs and fees to be allowed and paid; and generally to make all such decrees, regulations, and orders, under the act, as the exigency may demand, which shall be "binding and obligatory until annulled or modified by Congress." (Sec. 5.)

In certain respects, therefore, the commissioner *legislates* for citizens of the United States in China; it being required, meanwhile, that such "regulations, orders, and decrees," as he may make in the premises, shall be transmitted "to the President, to be laid before Congress for its revision." (Sec. 6.)

The statute then proceeds to describe in detail the manner in which the commissioner and the consuls are to administer law in China.

First, it is enacted that said "public functionaries" are empowered "to arraign and try," in a certain manner, all citizens of the United States "charged with offences against law" which shall be committed in China, and upon conviction, to sentence such offenders, and to issue, "each of them," such processes as are necessary to carry this authority into execution; and, secondly, that, in regard to civil rights, whether of person or property, said functionaries are "vested with all the judicial authority necessary to execute the provisions of the said treaty." (Sec. 2 and 3.)

In regard to criminal matters, each consul, within the limits of his consular circumscription, is empowered, upon personal knowledge, belief, complaint, or information in writing, to cause the arrest of any citizen of the United States charged with the commission of crime in China, to try the offender, and to punish, by fine or imprisonment, under the following conditions:

In all cases where the fine does not exceed one hundred dollars, or the imprisonment sixty days, the consul may, if he see fit, hear and decide alone, and by his own mere authority. (Sec. 7, 8.)

In all cases where the fine is more than one hundred dollars, but not more than five hundred, or the imprisonment more than sixty days, but not more than ninety, the consul may hear and decide alone, but subject to an appeal to the commissioner. (Sec. 9.)

In all the foregoing cases, if the consul see fit, and in all cases of higher punishment, of necessity,

he will summon one or more citizens of the United States, not exceeding four, to sit with him in the trial. Each of such assessors shall enter and sign of record his opinion in the case, which, however, shall be decided still by the consul. If he and his assessors concur in opinion, the decision is final; but if they differ, the case, with the record and all the evidence, shall be referred to the commissioner, who may either determine it, or, if he choose, remit the case with instructions to the consul for further proceedings. (Sec. 10.)

In capital cases, which, as enumerated by the act, are "murder, insurrection, or rebellion against the Chinese government with intent to subvert the same," the provision is, that the consul must always proceed with four assessors; he and they must all concur in opinion to procure conviction, and the conviction is invalid unless approved by the commissioner; who, if he approve it, is either to issue a warrant of execution, or postpone the same, or, in his discretion, submit the case to the President of the United States for pardon. (Sec. 15, 16.)

In regard to civil matters, the provision is, that, in "all civil cases under said treaty," the consuls have jurisdiction, each within his consular circumscription, to try of himself, and decide finally, any controversy where the damage demanded does not exceed five hundred dollars. If it exceed five hundred dollars, then of necessity, and in other cases if the consul see fit, he is to summon to his aid not less than two, nor more than three, citizens of the United States as assessors, who shall with him hear the case. If the associates concur in opinion with the consul, his decision is final; but if they differ with him, their opinions are to be noted on the record, and either party may appeal from his decision to the commissioner. (Sec. 11.)

The commissioner is fully authorized to hear and decide all cases, which lawfully reach him under the provisions of the act, and "to decide finally any case upon the evidence which comes up with it, or to hear the parties further, if he thinks justice will be promoted thereby; and he is empowered to prescribe rules upon which new trials may be granted, either by the consuls or by himself, if asked for upon justifiable grounds." (Sec. 13.)

Although it is nowhere said by the statute, in so many words, that the judicial authority of the commissioner in the trial of the above described cases, civil or criminal, is appellate only, yet such appears to me to be its true legal intendment. No original jurisdiction in these two classes of cases is given to him in express terms by the statute. It is all conferred in express terms on the consuls. In capital cases, it is plainly enacted that the consul and his assistants convict, and the "commissioner approves the conviction," the previous conviction being essential, and approval or disapproval being in the nature of things a separate act. In all other criminal cases, and in all the civil cases mentioned, the matter comes to the commissioner by appeal, or by certificate of difference of opinion between the consul and his assessors; and the commissioner decides upon the evidence "which comes up," that is, from the consul, or upon further hearing of the parties, as he shall determine. All these are the incidents and the *indicia* of appellate, as distinguished from original jurisdiction.

Moreover, it seems fitting, and in the analogy of other judicial proceedings, that, in ordinary matters, an appellate authority should exist: which would not be the case here, if the commissioner had, in all things, original jurisdiction, concurrent with that of the consuls; and this anomaly would be the greater in the matter, in consideration that the statute gives no assessors to the commissioner.

I think it is the theory of the statute, and a good one, to give to the commissioner, in ordinary judicial matters, at common law, only a regulative, appellate, and superintending authority, devolving the original jurisdiction in such cases upon the resident consuls; that condition of things being altogether in harmony with their diplomatic relation to one another and to the government. (Mr. Marshall to Mr. Marcy, Dec. 8, 1853, Ex. Doc. 33d Cong., 1st ses., no. 123, p. 334.)

No apparent inconvenience attaches to this conclusion, except in the contingency of the temporary vacancy of a consulate. I think in such case the commissioner ought to have, if he has not already, authority to appoint an acting consul. (*Ibid*, p. 372.)

But the criminal and civil cases, which have thus far been the subject of consideration, do by no means cover the field of judicial authority at common law, still less that of such authority under the laws of the United States, still less of that which may be comprehended by regulations adopted by the commissioner, or by the commissioner and the consuls and having "the force of law," to supply any defects or deficiencies in the common law and the laws of the United States. It is manifest that the terms of description, contained in the statute, embrace all possible jurisprudence, which does or may exist, compatibly with the organic principles of constitutional law, which govern, and at the same time guard, the rights and the duties of citizens of the United States.

Leaving out of consideration all criminal matters, that is, treating them as fully disposed of, it becomes material to inquire how matters, not criminal, and not included in the appealable civil cases, are to be dealt with as between the commissioner and the consuls.

The statute-provision as to the trial of civil "cases" is, that "the consuls aforesaid, and each of them, at the port for which he is appointed, shall have jurisdiction, as is herein provided, in all civil cases arising under said treaty, wherein the *damage demanded* does not exceed five hundred dollars," in which cases consular decision may be final; "but if in his judgment any case involves legal perplexities, and assistance will be useful, or if the *damage demanded* exceeds five hundred dollars," then he must have assessors, and his decision is subject, in case of difference of opinion, to an appeal to the commissioner. (Sec. 11.)

Now, there are processes which do not involve any question of "damages" whatever, but which are nevertheless of primary importance and utility; such as the writ of *habeas corpus*.

Other cases of controversy at law exist, which concern property, but in which no question of mere damage is involved, unless incidentally, such as many suits *in rem*, and many others *de re*.

There is another class of cases of property, in which no damages are demanded, but equitable relief only, as most matters in chancery.

There is another class of processes, which have for their object to enforce or to protect rights in cases already *sub judice* otherwise; such as writs of mandamus, superseas, and prohibition.

Finally, there is a vast body of justiciable rights, to which the phrase of "damages demanded" can by no possibility apply, being questions of personal right, of the domestic relations, of inheritance, or of testamentary disposition. This includes cases of co-partnership, or other joint interest, in real or personal estate, of insolvency, of divorce, of alimony, of wills, and of intestate successions.

As to the distribution of all these matters between the commissioner and the consuls, the statute is absolutely silent; and that distribution is to be made by regulation, in subordination always to other specific rules of law.

Therefore it is, that, in several provisions of the statute, jurisdiction is conferred in general terms on both the commissioner and the consuls, (sect. 1, 2, 3); and that a general power to issue all needful processes, as well as to make regulation of all processes, is conferred on the commissioner. (Sec. 5 and 13). These general powers, we have seen, are defined and limited as to certain "civil cases" in other parts of the statute, which limitation depends on the nature of the case, as indicated by the question of "damages."

The same general powers are also limited more or less in the sense of locality; for it is enacted that "the said functionaries," that is, the commissioner and the consuls, being "(in)vested with all the judicial authority necessary to execute the provisions" of the treaty "shall entertain jurisdiction in matters of *contract* at the port where, or nearest to which, the contract was made, or at which, or nearest to which, it was to be executed; and in all other matters, at the port where, or nearest to which, the cause of controversy arose, or at the port where, or nearest to which, the damage complained of was sustained,—any such port above named being always one of the five mentioned in the treaty." (Sec. 3.)

These conditions of locality are to be applied, so far as they may be in their nature applicable, to all cases. To many cases of contract and of damage sustained, the condition of one of the five ports is inapplicable by its very nature. Thus, it may be the case of a contract made and to be executed, or of damage sustained, in Europe or in America, the parties being *now* in China.

And the condition does not apply in terms to any thing but matters of "contract" or "damage sustained." What shall be said, if it be a question of probate of will, of intestacy, or of divorce?

Nor does the other form of the condition,— "the port where, or nearest to which, the cause of controversy arose,"—satisfy all the *desiderata* of the subject. There may be no "controversy" or "cause of controversy" in the matter, though it requires judicial determination, as the probate of a will, which is at once the source and the authentication of title. And in many matters of "controversy," it may be difficult, if not impossible, to show where the "cause of controversy" arose.

But the statute does not undertake or profess to provide specially for all questions, leaving many to the regulations of the commissioner.

Where the question of place of judgment is determined by the statute, of course that controls the

commissioner as well as the consuls. In all other cases, the rules and analogies of law on the subject of jurisdiction, having reference to the *situs* of the thing, or the residence or commorancy of parties, afford a sufficient guide to the regulative discretion of the commissioner.

Whatever is determined as to the *person* who shall exercise jurisdiction, must of course be conciliated with what shall be determined as to the *place* of jurisdiction.

Independently of this, it seems to me that the commissioner and the consuls should make provision, in the manner indicated by the statute, that is, by separate or by joint regulations, (sec. 4 and 5), concerning all those things, the jurisdiction of which it leaves indeterminate, and, therefore, subject to regulation.

Matters of insolvency, intestacy, probate of will, divorce, division, or regulation of copartnership or other common interests, habeas corpus, specific performance, trust, discovery, seamen's wages, charter-party, bottomry, and other matters of equity, admiralty, or ecclesiastical law, are, for the most part, of local nature, and requiring prompt interlocutory action of judicial authority; and, therefore, seem to be fit subjects for the original jurisdiction of the consuls, with proper regulations for appeal to the commissioner.

On the other hand, some processes, like mandamus, prohibition, supersedeas, are of so high a nature, that, like review, they seem appropriate to the jurisdiction of the commissioner. The same observation may, perhaps, apply to some processes in equity.

Even as to all these matters which the statute leaves undetermined, the safer course appears to me to be to adhere, so far as may be, to the spirit of the law, which makes the commissioner the appellate supervisor of the judicial acts of the consuls.

Inquiry has arisen as to whether a vice-consul has power to act judicially in China.

It has been supposed that this is a question of the delegation of judicial power by a consular judge. It rather seems to be the question of how a vice-consul may be lawfully appointed.

The statute expressly says that "the word *commissioner*, when used in this act, shall be understood to mean the person (in)vested with, and exercising, the principal diplomatic functions in China; and the word *minister* as meaning the person (in)vested with the powers of chief diplomatic functionary of the United States in Turkey. The word *consul* shall be understood to mean any person (in)vested by the United States with, and exercising, the consular authority in any of the five ports of China named in the treaty, or any port in Turkey." (Sec. 23.)

The act then proceeds to say that "all such officers shall be responsible to the United States and to the laws thereof, not as diplomatic functionaries and commercial functionaries, but as judicial officers, *when they perform judicial duties.*" (Sec. 24.)

Now, it has never been doubted that the secretary of legation in China, or any other acting *chargé d'affaires*, could officiate as judge in virtue of treaty and statute.

And as to consuls, what possible significance has the statute, unless it be that vice-consuls may so act, when *duly appointed* by the United States?

In truth, the statute, with great propriety, employs the word *consul* as the *nomen generalissimum* for any person lawfully invested with consular authority.

If, therefore, the vice-consul have this power, it will not be authority delegated in the sense of the objection, that is, the case of a judicial consul delegating his judicial authority; but, on the contrary, it is the case of power conferred by the statute.

Moreover, the objection assumes that the vice-consul is appointed by the consul. That is an error. The vice-consul is in law appointed by the Secretary of the State or the President, just as inspectors of customs are *in law* appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury (or the President.) To be sure, the consul in practice frequently nominates a vice-consul to the Secretary of State, as the collector of customs nominates an inspector to the Secretary of Treasury. (Mr. Legare's Opinions, March 24, 1843, pp. 1577, 1579; *United States vs. Bachelder*, ii Gallison, p. 15; *United States vs. Wood*, *ibid*, p. 361.) Whether nominated in the first instance by the commissioner or by the consul, the vice-consul, when approved by the Secretary of State, is to be deemed a "person (in)vested by the United States with, and exercising, the consular authority." And the approval may, perhaps, be considered as covering the action of the vice-consul under his existing appointment by the commissioner.

Suggestion is made of some other matters of doubt in the judicial power of the commissioner and the consuls, which requires us to go back to the treaty, and compare certain of its provisions with those of the statute. These doubtful matters are the three cases specified on a previous page, in which question might arise whether the extritoriality of Americans in China is perfect. It is, in truth, however, in each of those cases, a question, not whether they enjoy extritoriality there so far as that is a privilege or a right, but whether it also attaches to them as an obligation. The laws of their own country accompany them to China, in so far as regards any criminal act whatsoever which they may commit, or be charged with committing, there. The same laws accompany them, in so far as regards any rights they may possess relatively to any other Americans; and so also in regard to any obligations to which they may be subject, relatively to any other Americans. But, how is it, in China, with regard to the civil rights and duties of Americans there, relatively to persons there not Americans?

As among the nations of Christendom, on their own soil, we know that alien friends may sue and be sued in the courts of any country. An American in France may recover his debt of a Frenchman; a Spaniard in the United States may recover his debt of an American. Is the same thing true, as between persons of either of those nations in China? Is it true there, as between a Chinese and an American?

To begin with the latter case: The treaty stipulates that "if controversies arise (in China) between citizens of the United States and subjects of China, which cannot be amicably settled otherwise, the same shall be examined and decided, conformably to justice and equity, by the public officers of the two nations acting in conjunction."

(Art. 24.) The controversy shall be settled, that the treaty engages: it shall be settled conformably to justice and equity, and it shall be settled by some conjoint action of the proper officers of the respective nations. But how?

I think the answer is obvious. Before proceeding to give it, however, it may be well to anticipate objection to what might, at first blush, appear to be an anomaly in jurisprudence. I mean the administration of law among distinct nationalities in the same place or territory, as applied to the state of things in China.

In the middle age, the fact was common, as between the coexisting nationalities, to give to distinct codes of law a personal application, according to nations, instead of a merely territorial force. (Cathcart's Savigny, vol. i, ch. 3.)

At the present time, we have precisely the same fact before us in British India. Europeans, when they first visited India, found a conqueror and a conquered race living together, with the law of each administered by nationalities. (Jones's *Inst. Hind. Law*, art. 203.) Each successive European conqueror followed more or less the same rule. (Bowyer's *Pub. Law*, p. 168.) The doctrine applies not only to civil rights and remedies, but also, in many respects, to crimes. (Morley, *Ind. Cases*, int. p. 169.) And the system is now sanctioned by the statutes of the imperial government, which enact that a case of controversy between Mohammedans is to be governed by their laws and usages, and a case of controversy between Gentoos by theirs, and where it is controversy between a Mohammedan and a Gento, the law of the defendant's nation is to be applied to the case. (Act of Parliament of 21 George iii, c. 70; and of 37 George iii, c. 142.) The acts of Parliament speak of *Gentoos* only in addition to Mohammedans. This word is not a name of nationality, but is English corruption of the Portuguese *gentio* (gentile.) Hence, the practical construction of the expression, in the Anglo-Indian courts, is to consider "Gento" as comprehending all nationalities in Hindostan except Christians and Moors; and the national law of each is applied with impartiality alike to Hindus, Sikhs, Parsis, and Jews. (The *Kojahs' and Memons' case*, Perry's *Oriental Cases*, p. 110, 124.)

In the British colonies proper, as distinguished from the delusively-called possessions of the East India Company, the rule of public law is, to maintain the municipal institutions of the conquered until they be changed by the conqueror. (Burge's *Com.*, vol. i, p. 31; Clark, *Colonial Law*, p. 4. See Vattel, *Droit des Gens*, l. iii, ch. 12, s. 201; Calvin's case, vii Co. R., p. 176; Rex vs. Vaughan, vii Bur., p. 2600; Blanchard vs. Galdy, ii Salk, p. 411; Brief in U. S. vs. Ritchie, p. 5.)

In the United States the doctrine is the same. (Strother vs. Lucas, xii Peters, p. 436; Mitchell vs. The United States, ix Peters, p. 794.)

But, in the British colonies proper, as well as in the States and organized Territories of the United States, the law is *territorial* in its application and force, not personal,—that is, it applies to all persons, of whatever nation, within the ceded or conquered territory.

It will suffice to elucidate this by examples drawn from our own public law.

The several treaties of cession, by which foreign territory, with its inhabitants, has been transferred to the United States, are those of Louisiana, of the two Floridas, and of New Mexico and California.

Our treaty with France, for the acquisition of Louisiana, stipulates that:

"ART. III. The inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the federal constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States; and, in the meantime, they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they profess." (viii Stat. at Large, p. 202.)

Stipulations to the same effect appear in the treaty with Spain, which transferred to us the Floridas, (Art. v and vi, viii Stat. at Large, p. 356); and that with the Mexican republic, which recognised our conquest of New Mexico and California. (Art. viii, ix Stat. at Large, p. 929.)

In each of these instances, it has been adjudged, as the rule of our public law, and provided by statute, that the laws and usages of the ceded country, as they existed at the time of cession, continued to be the law, not only of the previous inhabitants, but of *all others* who should come to reside in it. No distinction of law was maintained in Louisiana, Florida, or California, between the original French or Spanish inhabitants and the immigrant Anglo-Americans. The *civil* law continued to be the law of the country, until it was modified by the legislative act of the *people of the Territory*,—that is, the new inchoate state of the American confederation,—that is, its free inhabitants, of whichever nation, acting as a political society. In what is now the State of Louisiana, for instance, the Roman, Spanish, and French laws, modified by statutes, continued to be the system of the State. (Louis. Code, art. 36, 21.) In the Territory, now State, of Missouri, when the Anglo-Americans had come to predominate in numbers, the common law was substituted for the civil, as the fundamental body of jurisprudence. (Acts of 1816 and 1825. See Brief, Ruggles vs. Comtesse de Tournon, p. 38.) The same thing was done by the State of California. (Act. of 1850.) Thus, in each organized Territory or State of the Union, there is but one *municipal code*, so far as regards all the inhabitants of the Territory or State.

Nevertheless, we have, in territory of the United States unorganized, the example of law administered by nationalities in the case of the subject Indians, more especially the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees. (Opinion, May 23, 1855. MS.)

Nay, we have a striking example of the same thing, in substantial effect, in the administration of law as applied to the citizens of the United States.

Every such citizen, save in the District of Columbia, is a citizen of some State, or of a Territory, hereafter to become a State. But, in respect of all matters of municipal resort, the several States are in the relation to one another of foreign governments. That is to say, their citizens constitute in many respects distinct and independent nationalities.

In Pennsylvania, for instance, a citizen of Virginia sues, or, if there, may be sued, either in relation to a citizen of Pennsylvania, or even to another quasi-foreigner, such as a citizen of Massachusetts: all, in Pennsylvania. Being thus subject to the laws and the tribunals of Pennsylvania. But, if the subject-matter be one of federal law, that, and not the law of the State, is to be applied to the case.

Moreover, each citizen of a State has open to him the federal courts in a controversy between himself and a citizen of another State, either by the transfer of his case, or by original suit in the courts of the United States. But, in that event, he must go into the federal courts for the State of the *defendant*, and, unless it be a question of federal rights, he must accept as the rule of decision the municipal law of that State.

I apply these doctrines of public law to citizens of the United States in their relations to persons of other nations in China.

First, as to a demand brought by a Chinese against an American: The statute provides that the consular court shall have jurisdiction of "all civil cases arising under said treaty." (Sec. 3 and 11.) The controversy supposed is a civil case arising under the treaty. When it arises, "the proper officers of the two nations" will agree that the Chinese shall go into the consular court as plaintiff, and that court will take jurisdiction of the defendant as an American. Or they may enter into a general agreement, and the commissioner may provide, by a standing regulation under the statute, that the consular court shall hear and determine all private claims which Chinese may prefer against Americans.

Confirmatory of this conclusion, as also of what is hereafter to be said of the case of controversy between Americans and foreigners in China, there is in the statute a very significant expression, which assumes that the consular courts are to administer justice in some cases not confined to citizens of the United States. It extends the law, which it prescribes, to citizens of the United States, and to "all others, to the extent that the terms of the treaty justify or require." (Sec. 34.) Among those "others" are subjects of China and of any government, who, by voluntary making themselves parties complainant or defendant before the consular court, appeal, *pro tanto*, to the laws of the United States.

Secondly, as to a demand by an American against a Chinese: The former must, of necessity, be content with such judicial or executive action of the Chinese government in the premises, as appertains to their institutions, and as, by special application in each case, or by general application, may be required on the part of the public officers of the United States.

As to the other case, that of controversies occurring in China between citizens of the United States and subjects of any other (Christian) government, the treaty provides that the same "shall be regulated by the treaties existing between the United States and such governments, respectively, without interference on the part of China." (Art. xxv.)

Now, we have no special treaty with any of these governments on this point; nor is any needed, or necessarily required or intended by the

stipulation under consideration. With all, we have treaties of amity, or of ordinary commercial and social intercourse; and that suffices to meet the exigency.

But the tenor of those treaties, as they are constructed by the law and usage of nations, an Englishman has the right to sue a resident American, or an American a resident Englishman, as alien friend, in all places wherever, respectively, the jurisdiction of the other country exists locally, and is complete as to subject-matter, persons, and remedial forms. (Fœlix, Dr. Intern. privé, tit. xi. ch. 2.)

The jurisdiction of the United States is complete as to their citizens in China; and the jurisdiction of Great Britain is complete as to her subjects in China. That the jurisdiction, in each case, is exterritorial, that in China it is excepted from the local territoriality, and that it is outside of the territoriality of either Great Britain or the United States, is a fact wholly immaterial to the question. It is a question free of all doubt on principles of international right, and subject only to the single inquiry, whether the given country, each proceeding in established legal forms, by whatsoever authority such forms be established, has conferred on its courts of justice in China jurisdiction *ad hoc*, or whether that remains to be done.

Here, again, the statute is explicit and ample. It confers on the consular court jurisdiction of "all civil cases arising under said treaty." A demand of an Englishman against an American is a civil case arising under the treaty, as we see.

Therefore, a suit may be brought by the Englishman against the American in the consular court of the United States; as, undoubtedly, in the consular court of Great Britain, it may, consistently with public law, be brought by an American against an Englishman.

If the Englishman were within the territorial jurisdiction of the United States, he might sue, but would also be subject to suit, in the local courts, as the American might and would be in England. (Fœlix, *ubi supra*.) Nay, a suit would lie in the courts of Great Britain or the United States, between residents, both being aliens in the country. (Fœlix, *ubi supra*.)

In China, the relative condition of all these persons differs in this, that the local courts of each government, being exterritorial ones, have no territorial jurisdiction, but only a jurisdiction as respects persons, namely, its own citizens or subjects. Of course, neither government can take compulsory jurisdiction there of a subject or citizen of any other; but each may act compulsorily upon its own, at the suit of that of another.

Perhaps neither government is under perfect obligation to do this; but it may do so in obedience to national comity; it can rightfully do so if it will; and its obligation to do so will be perfect, provided the exercise of the right be reciprocated by the other government.

One other, and a more difficult, question remains to be explored, namely, whether a foreign government can pursue a citizen of the United States for debt or damage before the consuls' court in China. I put the question in the most general form, for so, in truth, it needs to be considered, although it presents itself, in your communication, as a special

question of an assumed or suggested right of the government of China to sue for duties on imports or exports due, or claimed to be due, from citizens of the United States.

Here, within the territorial limits of the United States, beyond all peradventure, the Great Khan may, for good and lawful cause, bring suit in some proper court against a citizen of the United States.

In England, it has been held from the earliest times that a foreign prince or government may appear and prosecute suit before the courts of the realm, either at law or in equity (Calvin's case, vii Co. R., p. 30, citing xi Edw. iii.)

The King of Spain has been several times a suitor in the courts of England. (Roi d'Espagne vs. Pountes, Rolle's Abr. tit. Court d'Adm., E. 5; Spanish Ambassador vs. Pountes, i Rolle's R., p. 133; King of Spain vs. Hallett, i Clk. and F., p. 333, and vii Bligh, 559; King of Spain vs. Tacon, iv Russ., 225; King of Spain vs. Machado, ibid, p. 560; King of Spain vs. Mendizabel, cited in Col. Gov. vs. Rothschild, i Sim., p. 101. See also Hallett and King of Spain, ii Bligh, N. S. p. 31.)

The Queen of Portugal has appeared occasionally. (Queen of Portugal vs. Glyn, vii Clk. and F., p. 466. See also Glyn vs. Queen of Portugal, i Younge & C., p. 644.)

The King of Hanover has also been a party both plaintiff and defendant. (King of Hanover vs. Wheatly, iv Bev., p. 78; Duke of Brunswick vs. King of Hanover, vi Bev., p. 1.) The Republic of Columbia has been a complainant before the Vice-Chancellor. (i Sim., p. 94.)

To the same effect is the doctrine of the United States. In Pennsylvania we have had the case of the King of France vs. Morris. (Referred to in Peter vs. Steel, iii Yeates, 250, 251.) In New York we have the recent case of the Republic of Mexico vs. Arrangoiz. (MS.) The King of Spain has appeared in the circuit court of the United States. (King of Spain vs. Oliver, ii Wash. C. C. R., 429.) The King Prussia has been plaintiff in the States of Missouri. (MS.) One of the cases above cited is particularly interesting, because it is a suit by the King of Spain against a citizen of the United States for duties on imports into the port of Vera Cruz. This appears by the charge of the court on the trial of the case. In that charge, it is not intimated that the King of Spain might not well sue in our courts for duties: and the answer of the defendant consisted of other matters; such as, that the duties were not due from this defendant, but from another party; and that they had in fact been paid or adjusted in account by that other party. (King of Spain vs. Oliver, i Peters' C. C. R., p. 276. See also ibid, p. 217.)

While, on its face, this case goes to show that a foreign government may sue in the United States for duties, yet such conclusion must be taken with the reservation that it was a case *at nisi prius*. It is open to very serious objections, as applied to the case of a suit by the Chinese government for duties. That is to say, our courts are free to foreign sovereigns for many purposes; but *non constat* that they are in all cases. And, among the questionable matters, are things of political obligation, as distinguished from municipal engagement. (Nabob of Carnatic vs. East India Company, i Ves., pp. 371, 388; ii Ves., p. 56.) This consideration

may or may not be material to the present inquiry. At any rate, it suggests reflection as to the bearing of the treaty upon the question.

I perceive, on referring to the treaty with China, not a single word, which implies that the judicial authorities of the United States there may entertain the suit of a government or sovereign. The treaty mentions explicitly "the subjects of China" and "the subjects of other governments," and "subjects" alone, as the parties to legal controversy, in which the public officers of the United States are to intervene. But the statute, as we have already seen, is but co-extensive with the treaty, and confers jurisdiction of those controversies, whatever they may be, which the treaty contemplates as the object of legal adjudication, and no others. Of course, as it would seem, the consular courts cannot entertain a suit by the government of China.

There is another class of considerations, which is conclusive. It is, that the treaty makes full provision as to the mode of assessing duties, and the means of securing their payment; and the provision on these points consists of political engagement. The consul of the United States is to adjust all disputes of appraisement with the Chinese superintendent of customs. (Art. xi.) That is political, not judicial, action. So without payment of the duties, the superintendent refuses to deliver a clearance, and the consul withholds the ship's papers. (Art. xxiii.) That is political action on both sides. And it is preventive action, and, therefore, better than remedial. The government of the United States engages to the government of China, that, until the duties be adjusted, no ship shall receive her papers; and the consul sees to this on the part, and as the officer, of the United States.

I do not mean to say that the treaty might not have stipulated a purely judicial remedy in these cases. I merely say that, in my opinion, it has not done this. It has provided other remedies, such as the high contracting parties at the time saw fit to agree to by sovereign convention. If it be desirable on either side to change the provision of the treaty in that respect, and to open the consular courts to the Chinese government for the collection of duties, and to that and all other governments, as courts within the United States are, an opportunity will be afforded during the next year, when, by the terms of the treaty, it becomes subject to revision and amendment. (Art. xxxiv.) But whether any such change be expedient or not, is a diplomatic question, for the determination of the President.

The act of Congress, herein commented on, is a most important and valuable one: It made provision, however, for a description of cases, new, in form at least, to the legislation of the United States, and subject, of course, to such amendment as time and experience might show to be desirable. I beg leave to call your attention to the instructive suggestions on this point, which occur in one of Mr. Marshall's despatches. (Mr. Marshall to Mr. Marcy, December 8, 1853, (B), Ex. Docs., ubi supra, p. 331.)

Permit me to observe, in conclusion, that the transaction, referred to in your note, in respect to duties claimed of citizens at Shanghai, was not judicial in its nature, either in form or in sub-

stance. It was a decision by the commissioner. There could be no judicial decision by the commissioner, except on appeal from the consular court at Shanghai. In that court, to constitute the ground-work of action by the commissioner, there must have been a trial and decision by the consul, with dissenting opinions of his assessors, certified in due course to the commissioner. None of these things appear. On the contrary, it is clear that the commissioner decided the question in his political or individual character as arbitrator between

the Chinese government and the particular citizens of the United States, and the decision has validity as an arbitral award of his, not as a judicial decision of the consular court of Shanghai. (Mr. McLane to Mr. Marcy, Nov. 25th, 1854, and exhibits, especially, Exh. F., MS. State Dept.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

C. CUSHING.

Hon. W. L. MARCY,

Secretary of State.

SAGHALIAN ULA.

BLACK RIVER, or Sághálian Ula,—as it is called in their own tongue by the Manchus,—is the principal river of their native country: indeed, it is among the great rivers of the world. Through a large number of lesser streams, some of them no inconsiderable rivers, its waters are drawn from an area of country four times the size of France, and more than equal to all the States of the American Union north of the parallel of lake Erie and east of the Mississippi, a region, extending over ten degrees of latitude and more than three times ten of longitude, and diversified with high mountains and deep vallies, with broad plains and numerous rivers and lakes.

Regarding this great river, the most reliable authorities, within the reach of the English reader, are the surveys made by the Jesuits in the last half of the seventeenth century, as given by Du Halde, and an Article prepared by Dr. S. Wells Williams and published in the nineteenth volume of the *Chinese Repository*. From these and Chinese Statistical books the following brief sketch is compiled; and the reader, who may wish more minute and extended notices, is referred to the above-named more elaborate works.

Judging from what we know of other regions situated in the same latitudes on the opposite side of the Asiatic, and on both sides of the American continent, we may expect the Great Basin of the Saghalian to be immensely rich in natural productions, mineral, vegetable and animal; while the country itself, if made accessible to the civilized nations of the earth, may be found capable of sustaining a population not inferior to that now inhabiting other similar regions where arts and industry are producing their legitimate results.

Aside from and beyond these considerations—which cannot fail to interest the man of science and all who desire to promote the welfare of our race, there is, at the present conjunction of events, a special reason which is operating to draw

attention to this river: “the Russians, in considerable force and irrespective of their treaties with the monarch of China, have entered the Amoor, and are fortifying themselves in that great and rich valley.” Now, such a procedure, though it may not be in the power of the Chinese government to prevent, yet it is such an one as will not, most assuredly, be tolerated by the rival powers of the northern autocrat.

The name *Amoor*, by the bye, has been borrowed, by the Russians, from one of the native tribes dwelling on the northern banks of this river—the Chiliaks—in whose language the word *Amoor*, or *Yámúr*, means Great Water or Great River. On Chinese maps, in imitation of its more proper name,—Saghalian Ula—it is usually called *Heh-lung Kiang*, or Black-dragon river. Near its embouchure, the Chinese call it *Kuan-tung*, i. e. Mingled Union, or “Brothers in Union.” In its upper regions it has received, by different tribes, various other names, which it is needless here to repeat.

Commencing on the east, and ascending up the Saghalian, the traveler passes through two of the most northern portions of the Manchu-Chinese empire—Kirin and Tsitsihar. Proceeding on westward, through a defile in the Daourian mountains, and after passing some low lands, he ascends a lofty range, a branch of the Altai. There, a few degrees south and east of the Baikal lake, he finds the headwaters of the Black River. From the summits of that range, all the waters, that make their course to the westward, descend to the Selengha, and thence flow into the lake Baikal; while those that flow in the opposite direction find their way down through the great valley of the Saghalian and so on into the “Gulf of Tartary.”

On Williams' map the embouchure is about longitude 142 deg. east and in latitude 53 deg. north; while the exact position of the headwaters, as laid down on Du Halde's large map (probably our best authority in this case) is between the paral-

lels of 48 deg. and 49 deg. north latitude, and of 106 deg. and 107 deg. east longitude, or between seven and eight degrees west of Peking.

There, in those high regions and within those narrow limits, as laid down by the Jesuits, the *Onon* and the *Kerlon* take their rise; and there, too, the historians of the Mongols would have us know, that their great chieftain, Genghis, was born and trained for his career of conquest.

Of the two above-named streams, the *Onon* and the *Kerlon*, the Jesuits consider the first as the veritable source of the Saghalian. After a course, first easterly and then northerly, of about five hundred miles, the *Onon* unites with the *Ingoda* at the town of Goroditch; thence it soon reaches Nertchinsk, where it is known as the *Shilka*, in the local dialect. From thence, retaining the same name, its course is north-east till it reaches fort Baklanova, in longitude 121 deg. east, latitude 53 deg. 23 m. north. From thence, in a course nearly due east, it forms the line of demarkation between the Chinese and Russian territories to the celebrated town of Nipchu, where the *Kerlon*, having made a circuitous course southward, formed a lake, and taken a new name, *Arguni*, comes in and unites with it, and the accumulated waters of the two form the one apparently broad and deep Saghalian Ula.

Lake Kerlon, or Hulun, would seem to be an expansion of the river, and occupies a bed having a circuit of more than two hundred miles. Other and smaller lakes are found in the same region.

Nipchu, or Niptchau, is situated about latitude fifty-two north, and memorable as the place where two treaties have been concluded between the governments of China and Russia, by their respective plenipotentiaries.

More than two centuries ago, or as early as 1655, efforts were made, by an ambassador of the "T'sar," to confer with the plenipotentiaries of the "Bogdu Khan." Negotiations were commenced and were broken off; ambassadors were hastened to and fro; troops were marched and countermarched; angry messages were sent and returned; and thirty and odd years had elapsed, when at length, and by the aid of learned Jesuits, a

Treaty was finally concluded. This was done in the autumn of 1689. And there, too, at Nipchu, on the banks of the Saghalian, a second treaty was concluded between the same high contracting powers in the summer of 1727. The first treaty may be seen in the second volume, folio, of Du Halde,* and the second in one of the recent numbers of the *North-China Herald*.†

It is important to notice these renewed negotiations, because they establish a precedent—in China, a law,—to which other foreign powers may ere long have occasion to appeal.

East of Nipchu, in which direction we now turn,—the aspect of the country would seem to be far more inviting than that which has been seen on the west. After passing Nipchu, the Saghalian "rolls on to the Pacific, a magnificent river, swelled as it approaches the ocean by the contributions of many affluents."

At first it runs nearly east by north, for about one hundred miles; then, after passing by Yaksa, and forcing itself though defiles in a succession of rapids, it gradually turns to the south-east, descending in a long course to its junction with the *Songari*, about the forty-seventh degree of north latitude.

Nearly midway between this junction and Nipchu is situated the capital city of Tsitsihar, called Saghalian *hotun* in Manchu, and Hehlungkiang *ching* in Chinese. A few miles above it, on the opposite bank of the river, is the town of Olous-sou-mutan.

Standing at the provincial capital, the traveler has on the west and south, and at no very great distance, the lofty ranges of the Sialkoi or Inner Hing-an mountains; while northward, far off at a great distance, the more lofty ranges of the Yablonnoi or Outer Hing-an raise their rugged summits, and, in a long line running about east by south and west by north, mark the boundary between the Chinese and Russian empires, in that quarter.

The southern declivities of the Outer Hing-an, with the plains and vallies below, must comprise—if we may judge from the maps,—some of the most valu-

* Also in the *Chinese Repository*, vol. VIII. p. 422.

† *North-China Herald*, No. 295—22d March 1856.

able and most inviting tracts of country that can be found in all the wide regions drained by the Saghalian and its tributaries. Everywhere well-watered by a great number of rivers, the situation of the whole is such as to indicate a rich soil, and a climate mild and healthy.

In the opposite direction, southward and westward from the capital, among the ridges of the Inner Hing-an, judging in the same manner, from our maps, the climate must be no less healthy, the scenery no less charming, though the soil can hardly be so well fitted for agricultural purposes.

It is in these wild mountainous regions, south and west of the town of Saghalian, that are found the headwaters of the Songari, the principal tributary of the Saghalian. At or near the junction of these two rivers, in the latitude already indicated, their united waters take a north-easterly direction, for more than five hundred miles, till they reach their embouchure, upwards of thirteen hundred miles in a direct line from their sources, and, by the course actually traversed, probably more than twice that distance, or not less than twenty-five hundred miles.

In the foregoing sketch of this great valley—as yet almost entirely unexplored

by Europeans,—no attempt has been made to furnish the reader with any long lists of names of its rivers and mountains, of its various productions, or even of its tribes of savage or half-civilized men. But enough has been said to show that this great area, of not less than 700,000 square miles,—seven times that of Prussia, has, as a part and parcel of God's creation, some claim to the attention of the most civilized and polished nations of the earth—opening a field for exploration and scientific research surely no less inviting than the icy regions of the polar seas.

Lands situated on the opposite side of the Pacific, in latitudes far more accessible and inviting than those here now examined, twenty years ago were as waste and as wild as those of Kirin and Tsi-tsihar. Twenty years ago, the Sierra Nevada and the rivers and vallies of California were just as much unexplored and as much uncared for as are now the Hing-an and the many waters of the Saghalian. It is passing strange that, during the last two years, the allied squadron and the U. S. A. exploring expedition, having been sent into the north Pacific, should both have failed to make a close survey of the entrance to the Great River of north-eastern Asia.

1. The first step in the process of the investigation is the identification of the problem. This is done by the investigator who is responsible for the study. The investigator must first identify the problem that is being investigated. This is done by the investigator who is responsible for the study. The investigator must first identify the problem that is being investigated.

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